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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

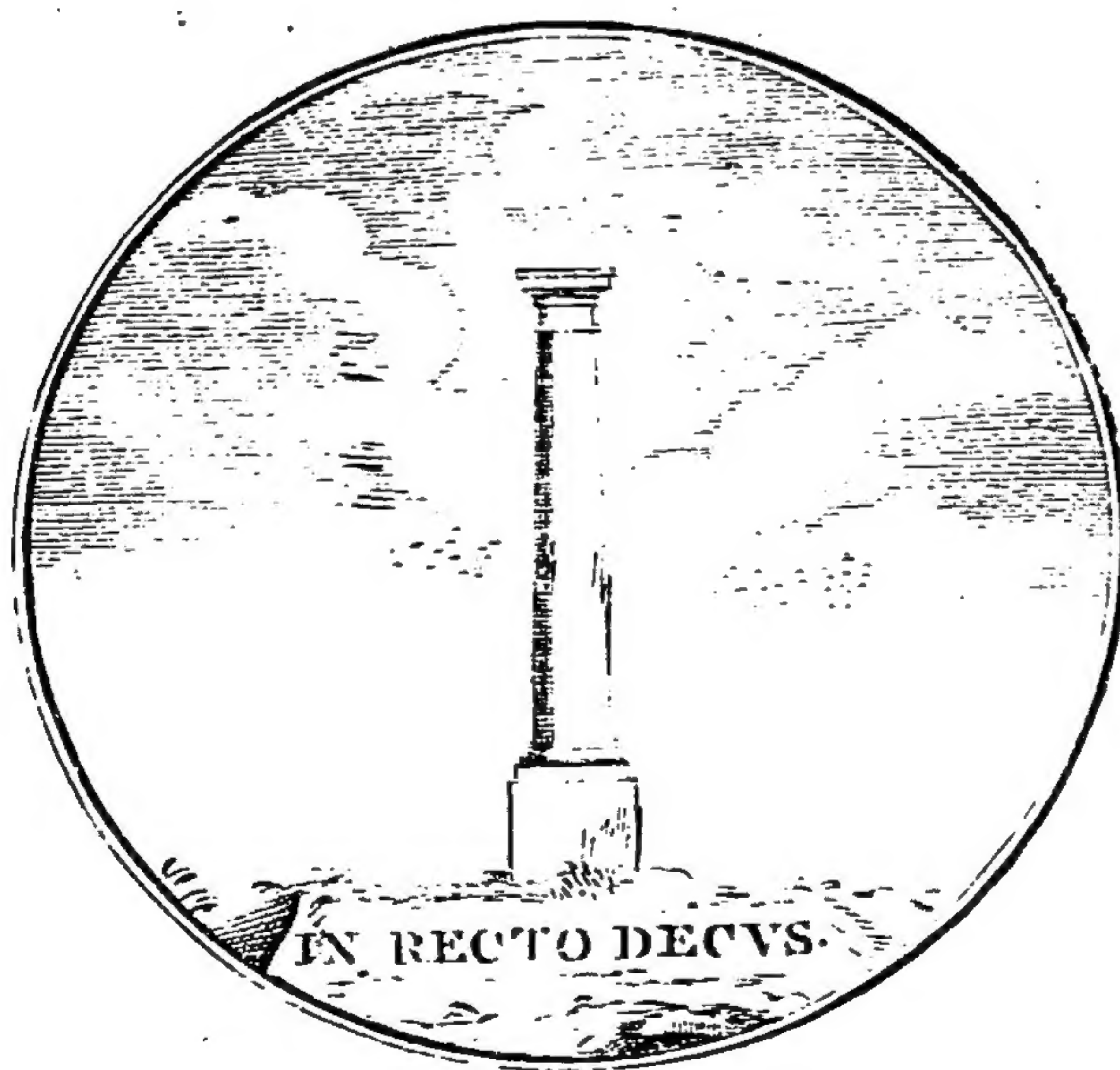
A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατὰ δύναμιν, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνήγαγον
ἐγκρίτως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. XIV.



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M.DCC.LXIII.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

The HISTORY of GENEVA.

S E C T. I.

Containing the Description of Geneva and its Territory ; with a Sketch of its History to the Year 1500.

THE town or city of *Geneva* stands on an eminence, at the discharge of the *Rhone*, out of the lake of *Geneva*, or lake *Leman* ; and below it the *Rhone* joins itself to the *Arve*. *Spon*, the learned historian of *Geneva*, is dissatisfied with the derivation of the word *Geneva* from the juniper shrubs that grew upon the eminence whereon it is built ; “ as if, says he, the *Latin* or *French* tongues were spoken four ages before *Rome* was built.” But he does not consider, that both the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, as well as the *French*, have their roots in the *Celtic*, of which the *Tuscan* itself was no other than a dialect. It is divided by the *Rhone* into three unequal parts, which are joined by four bridges. The largest division lies towards *Savoy* ; another, called *St. Gervais*, adjoins to the *Pais de Gex* in *France* ; and the third consists of an island in the *Rhone*, of seven hundred feet in length, and two hundred broad. Its inhabitants in general are *Calvinists*. It contains six churches, of which the finest is the cathedral of *St. Peter*. The professors of philosophy read their lectures in the chapel of the *Maccabees*, where the *Italians* and *Germans* are allowed to perform divine worship ; and in the year 1707, the *Lutherans* obtained the like indulgence, but within a private house. The town-house of *Geneva* is a stately building ; and its university, which was founded in 1558, and has twelve professors belonging to it, is, to this day, famous all over *Europe*.

Description of Geneva.

MANY circumstances contribute to render *Geneva*, small as its territory is, a most delightful place. The air of tranquility, freedom, and politeness, that is visible amongst the better sort of the inhabitants, is very inviting for strangers, especially those of a studious or contemplative cast, to reside amongst them. Its neighbourhood, both by art and nature, is enchantingly pleasant ; its air wholesome ; its inhabitants, mechanics especially, are industrious and ingenious. The city and small territory about it, is served with excellent provisions, and at a cheap rate ; and it is a general thoroughfare for traders and travellers to and from *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. Those and many other advantages, joined to the modesty and regularity of the magistrates and learned men here, have brought a great re-

The manners of the inhabitants.

fore

Ed. Bib. Fac. Sur. Edin.

sort of young foreigners of the highest distinction to study under their professors, and to complete themselves in the *French* language. The city contains two hospitals, a house of correction, and an armoury, together with a kind of a large dock-yard for public barges, yachts, and other vessels.

and govern-
ment.

BUT that which perhaps contributes most to the importance and independency of *Geneva*, is its form of government, which is that of a free republic, the supreme power of which is vested in the general council of citizens and burgeses. This council may be called the legislature of *Geneva*. It is subdivided, or rather modelled, into three other councils; viz. a council of twenty-five, or the lesser council, a council of sixty, and a council of two hundred. The twenty-five are part of the council of sixty, as the latter are of that of two hundred, which are formed out of the general council. In the assemblies of this last the syndics, who in fact are the heads of the government, are chosen; as are other subordinate magistrates, and the wine tax settled. The syndics are only chosen from amongst the council of twenty-five, who are charged with the executive part of the government, and who elect the members of the council of sixty; but the great council elects the lesser council. The council of sixty meets only by summons from the council of twenty-five; but the proceedings of both are controulable by the great council. Depending upon those councils are subordinate colleges, in which a lieutenant and his assistants preside; and there is likewise a chamber of appeals, from which causes might be brought before the lesser council. In short, every branch of the *Genevan* government is a check upon the other; and the whole is admirably well calculated for preserving the freedom and independency of their state. Their ecclesiastical discipline is under the direction of a consistory, who report matrimonial cases to the lesser council, and which in all cases proceeds with great moderation and tenderness. Their military establishment is properly regimented, of which the field-officers are members of the lesser council; but their garrison consists of twelve companies of sixty men each, into which foreigners are inrolled. Upon the whole, though the republic of *Geneva* is far from being a powerful state, yet its policy is so admirable, its members are so unanimous, and their œconomy so excellent, that the neighbouring kingdoms and states treat them with the highest esteem and regard; and the court of *France* always keeps a resident there. The independency, however, of their government is owing to the importance of their situation, which would make the acquisition of it so valuable to any particular power, that they all join in its defence, and the preservation of its liberty.

Its antiquity.

THE *Genevois*, like other states, run up their antiquities to times long before the Christian æra; and we have a particular detail of its history long before the time of *Julius Cæsar*; but as this is blended with the history of the foregoing part of this work, we shall omit it here. It is certain, that it early received the Christian religion, and that the inhabitants were reckoned amongst the *Allobroges*. It suffered in common with other *European* states, by the incursions of the barbarians, about the year 400; and in the year 440, we find one *Isaac* bishop of *Geneva*, whose jurisdiction was pretty extensive. It was at this time that the *Vandals*, who had over-run *Gaul*, settled in the country of *Vaud*; and having built several boroughs, were called *Bourguignons*, and according to modern orthography *Burgundians*. Those people at last were consolidated into a monarchy^a. The name of their first king, or as he is called by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, a cotemporary author, tetrarch, was *Gonderic*, who dying, divided his kingdom amongst his four sons, *Gondeband*, who had *Vienne*; *Chilperic*, *Lyons*; *Godefigile*, *Geneva*; and *Gotmar*, *Besançon*. The brothers, as usual in such partitions of territory, carried on bloody wars against one another; and *Godefigile* was slain in a church, but was succeeded in the government of *Geneva* by *Sigismund*, who was either his son or nephew. The barbarity of the times prevents our knowing much either of the civil or military government of *Geneva* till the year 620; but to make up this loss, the names and acts of its bishops are related in ecclesiastical records, the laity being too rude and uninstructed to keep any; and this silence, as to temporal affairs, has probably given the first handle for the claim of the bishops of *Geneva* to be its sovereigns. The names of *Cariatbo* and *Appellinus*, which last lived till the year 613, are however preserved as sovereigns of *Geneva*. In the year 620, *Clothair*, the king of the *Franks*, drove out the *Bourguignons*, and gave the *Genevois* the form of a civil government; and his grandson *Theodoric II.* erected several churches and religious houses in that city. Between the years 650 and 773, we have only the uncertain names of the *Genevois* bishops and princes, which seem to be confounded together. Towards the end of the eighth century, *Charlemagne* called an assembly of his states at *Geneva*, to consult about a war with *Didier* king of the *Lombards*. We are told, that that great monarch confirmed both the civil and religious privileges of *Geneva*, and erected his own statue in marble over the gate of the church, with an imperial

Kingdom of the
Bourguig-
nons.

Meeting of the
states at Ge-
neva under
Charle-
magne.

^a SPON'S History of the City and State of Geneva, p. 13.

- a double-headed eagle under it. The eagle was to be seen in *Spon's* time. After the death of *Charlemagne*, we have nothing relating to *Geneva* but a dry catalogue of its bishops and counts, who carried on their contests about the sovereignty. As an apology for the lameness of their history, we are told of four fires, which at different times destroyed *Geneva* and its archives; so that we are obliged to descend to the year 1050, at which time we find three competitors for the sovereignty of *Geneva*; the bishop, the earl of *Genevois*, and the earl of *Savoy*; and the city was more than once brought to the brink of destruction during their contests. The reader is to observe, that the earldom of *Genevois* is distinct from the present jurisdiction of *Geneva*, though those earls often called themselves counts of *Geneva*^b. In the year 1120, *Wide*, son to an earl of *Genevois*, was bishop of *Geneva*; and, to strengthen his family-claim to the sovereignty, or rather the superiority over that city, he gave his brother an investiture of several villages and castles belonging to the diocese of *Geneva*, as *Bonmont* and *Hautecombe*, with all his temporal jurisdiction in *Geneva*. But *Humbert*, his successor in the bishopric, disputed this grant; and the archbishop of *Vienna*, metropolitan of the province, and apostolical legate, ended the difference by a treaty in 1124, by which it was agreed, first, that the bishop should have the administration of justice and lordship in the city, the coining of money and confiscations of estates, as likewise the fines of those who had dwelt a year and a day at *Geneva*: that the earl should not build any fort without the bishop's consent: that he should have a vidame, or lieutenant, for secular affairs: that he should moreover do homage to the bishop, not respecting any one but the emperor before him: and several other articles touching toll, forfeitures, and fines. *Ardu- tius*, a man of quality, but, as we perceive by a letter from *St. Barnard* to him, not very well qualified for ecclesiastical functions, succeeded *Humbert* as bishop of *Geneva*; and under the patronage of the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, he got the better of the earl of *Genevois*, who had made encroachments upon his jurisdiction; and the earl, in the pope's bulls, is design- ed under the title of a faithful steward to the bishop. The emperor, however, afterwards gave to the duke of *Zeringuen* the sovereignty of *Geneva*, which he resigned in favour of *Amé* the earl of *Genevois*. *Ardu- tius*, the bishop, by his zeal and assiduity, prevailed with the emperor to annul his grant, as having been obtained by surprize, and to confirm the bishop's right of sovereignty. Those grants in favour of the bishop founded their temporal claims, which the citizens of *Geneva* afterwards opposed. They denied that the emperor could, without the consent of the empire, give away the sovereignty of an imperial city, as theirs was; and they quoted the oath of their bishops, who, at the time of their admission, swore to maintain the privileges and liberties of the city. They admitted, however, that the con- fidence their ancestors had in their bishops, had rendered them too remiss; but they brought a stream of authorities to prove that their bishop had no temporal jurisdiction over them, and that their power arose entirely from their ecclesiastical capacity. Notwithstanding all their arguments, the bishops seem at times to have acted as sovereigns of the state; though it does not appear that the people, or lay-magistrates, ever made any formal renunciation of their liberties to them.
- c *ARDUTIUS*, who held his see fifty years, was succeeded by *Nantelinus*, who was so pressed by *William* the earl of *Genevois*, that he was obliged to have recourse to the friend- ship of *Thomas*, the first count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, to whom the bishop granted several lands and castles, which the earl of *Genevois* pretended were his property. This produced a war between the two counts, in which the earl of *Genevois* was worsted, and obliged, after the death of *Nantelinus*, to submit to the arbitration of the archbishop of *Vienna*, and *Grand- son*, or *Grandison*, bishop of *Geneva*, who built fort *de Peney*, which still belongs to *Geneva*, and is governed by a castellan, who is a member of the great council. After his death several bishops succeeded, who exercised temporal jurisdiction over *Geneva*, and had many contests with their neighbours, in which they were always befriended by the counts of *Sa- voy*; one of whom, *Amé* IV. in the year 1285, came to *Geneva*, and with menaces demand- ed to be reimbursed for the charges of the war he had carried on with the earl of *Genevois*, on account of the city. *William* of *Constance* was then bishop, and proposed to compro- mise matters with the earl of *Genevois*; but the *Savoyard* party amongst the inhabitants pre- vailed, and the earl of *Savoy* obtained the possessions of the earl of *Genevois* within the city, which was likewise to serve him as a place of arms, he promising, at the same time, to de- fend it at his own cost against all enemies, and that there should be a free intercourse be- tween his states and *Geneva*. It was likewise agreed, that the earl should become vidame of *Geneva*, and that he should have a bailiff under him, as being possessed of the earl of *Ge- nevois's* property there. This treaty, to which the bishop was obliged to consent, con- tinued in force some years.
- f In the year 1291, *Humbert* dauphine of *Vienne*, and a friend to the earl of *Genevois*, at-

Rise of the
bishops of Ge-
neva,

and its earls.

A. D. 1157.

Succession of
its bishops.

Treaty be-
tween them.

^b *Spon's Hist.* p. 16.

*Attempt of the
dauphin de-
feated.*

tempted to surprize *Geneva*, while the earl of *Savoy* was fortifying it. His design was discovered; but, after burning part of the suburbs, he encamped before the city, with an intention to besiege it regularly. The bishop endeavoured, by intreaties, to divert him from his design; but the courage of the inhabitants proved more effectual than his submissions, for they forced the dauphin to raise the siege. In his retreat he took and plundered two castles belonging to the bishop, who thereupon excommunicated him. War continued between the courts of *Savoy* and *Genevois*, after the death of *William* of *Constance*, whose successor was *Martin*, as his was *Amé*. The prelate equally dreaded both counts, and was therefore suspected by both; and under him the earl of *Genevois*, who had built a castle called *Gaillard*, within a league of *Geneva*, gained ground; for he made an alliance with the bishop and commonalty of that city, and paid homage to the church for several lands. This bishop is noted for a remarkable decree he issued, that the inhabitants of *Geneva* should begin the computation of their year from *Christmas*, and not as they had always done before from *Easter*. a b

*Disputes about
Geneva,*

GENEVA, however, remained still a bone of contention between the two counts; and in the year 1307, the dauphin of *Vienne* got possession of the castle of *Entremont*, belonging to the earl of *Savoy*. That earl was shut up at *Geneva*, where he still maintained his footing; but he marched out of that city to retake his castle. The earl of *Genevois* and his friends laid hold of that opportunity to appear at the head of an army before the city, which sent out deputies to treat with him. His proposals seemed reasonable to the deputies; but when they made their report, the city was divided into two factions, which came to blows with each other. That of *Savoy* prevailed; for though the earl of *Genevois* and his followers were introduced into the city, they were driven out of it by the *Savoyard* party, with the loss of one hundred and thirty-two men; and the *Savoyards* put to death, in a judicial way, several of their chief antagonists, and confiscated the goods of others. Next year a difference happened between the bishop and the earl of *Savoy*, on account of the latter having coined money at *Nion*, which lay within the diocese of *Geneva*; but his right to that coinage was confirmed by arbitrators, upon condition of the stamp being different from that of *Geneva*; that he did homage for the same; and that the eighth part of the profit should go to the bishop. The year 1309, was remarkable for the disputes that happened between the bishop and the people of *Geneva*, who complained that he had illegally extended his power. The bishop cited them before his metropolitan, the archbishop of *Vienne*; but the people declining his jurisdiction, he excommunicated them, and obliged them to submit to his terms. The people of *Geneva*, however, considered this submission, not as a proof of his legal right, but of his usurped power. *Peter* of *Forigny* succeeded *Amé* as bishop of *Geneva*; and in the year 1313, *William* earl of *Genevois* did homage to him for his possessions. The bishop soon after accepted the like homage from *Edward* earl of *Savoy*; and this produced new wars amongst all the three, which continued many years. In 1321, a fire reduced great part of *Geneva* to ashes; and in the year 1330, the battle of *Monthoux*, or *Montbon*, was fought between the counts of *Savoy* and *Genevois*, in which two thousand men were killed; but the advantage lay on the side of the *Savoyards*. Another great fire broke out, which consumed two-thirds of the city of *Geneva* in 1334. c d

*which is ex-
communicated.*

*The Genevois
make peace.*

In 1342, *Peter* of *Forigny*, after being bishop of *Geneva* for 31 years, was succeeded by *Alamand*; but the differences between the counts of *Savoy* and *Genevois* were now compromised. *Amé* VI. was then earl of *Savoy*; and in his minority he did homage to *Alamand*, for his *Genevois* possessions; but growing up, he was by *Charles* IV. emperor of *Germany*, made vicar of the empire in that country; and in that capacity, joined with that of vidame, he claimed the temporalities of *Geneva*. *William* of *Marcoffay* was then bishop; and the emperor coming in 1366 to *Geneva*, he and the syndics prevailed upon him to revoke the vicarship he had granted to the count. The latter, however, refused to give up possession, and the emperor was obliged to publish four several decrees against him, with penalties in case of his non-compliance. The bishop appealed to pope *Gregory* XI. who then resided at *Avignon*, to whose arbitration the earl likewise submitted. His award was, that the earl should resign his letters of the vicarship, and relinquish all he held belonging to the church; but that he should be confirmed in the vidamate, and in possession of the castle of the isle. The earl submitted to this decision, which seems to have restored peace to *Geneva*; and in the year 1387, *Ademor* was bishop of *Geneva*. He published an act, confirming the liberties and privileges of the city: the most material articles of it are, "That all processes brought before the vidame, or steward, shall not be transacted in writing, but by word of mouth, in the mother-tongue: that criminal cases should be tried by the syndics chosen by the citizens: that no one should be put to the rack by them: that it should be lawful to none but citizens to sell wine: that the care of watching the town should be committed to none but citizens; and that neither the bishop, or any other deputed by him, should exercise any authority after sun-setting: that the citizens, burgessees, and freemen of

*The liberties
confirmed.*

a of the city, might chuse every year syndics, or recorders, for the town, to whom the commonalty should give full power and authority."

NOTWITHSTANDING those excellent regulations, the earls of Savoy did all they could to establish themselves masters of Geneva; but the spirit of the people rendering that impracticable, they invented various pretexts for keeping some footing in the city; but the magistrates always took care that it should be upon sufferance; and the requests and concessions on both parts are still carefully preserved, as evidences of Geneva's independency on the house of Savoy. In the year 1398, William of Lornay was bishop of Geneva, and had the courage to cite the earl of Genevois to appear before him, to answer a charge of felony; and the earl not appearing, he was outlawed, and his estate declared to be forfeited to the church.

The earl of Genevois outlawed.

b Two years after, viz. June 22, 1400, the emperor Wenceslaus gave Geneva a confirmation of her rights, in so ample a manner, that no succeeding emperor or king of the Romans could violate them. The next year died the earl of Genevois; and Odo his uncle, and successor, made a compromise with Amé the earl of Savoy, to whom he resigned his estates, part of which was claimed by Humbert's daughter; but the earl of Savoy did homage to the bishop for the whole. In the year 1409, John de Bertrandis having succeeded William of Lornay, was called upon by the earl of Savoy's vicar-general, to do homage to that earl for Geneva; but the emperor Sigismund interposed, and the claim was dropt. This Bertrandis was a cardinal, and assisted at the council of Constance, and was suspected of being a favourer of John Huss, who was burnt there. He afterwards made a visit to Charles VII. of France,

A cardinal bishop of Geneva.

c and laid before him the injustice of his subjects intermeddling in the quarrel between the city of Geneva and the earls of Savoy; and obtained an order, prohibiting such practices for the future. In the year 1415, the emperor Sigismund paid a visit to Geneva, where he was magnificently entertained for three days. Two years afterwards he erected Savoy into a dukedom, in favour of Amé, the eighth earl, who paid a visit to Geneva, in company with pope Martin V. and fifteen cardinals. This was in the year 1420. The purpose of this visit was, to petition the pope for the sovereignty of Geneva, of which John of Pierrencize was then bishop; and to him the pope referred the duke's suit, which was founded upon the inability of the bishop to punish crimes in the city and territory, unless assisted by the power of Savoy. The bishop summoned the people to a general assembly, and laid before d them the duke's request, which had been approved of by the pope. It was unanimously rejected by the inhabitants, who, in their turns, required the bishop to be true to his charge, in which case he might depend upon their assistance for maintaining his just rights, and those of the city.

Pretensions of the earl of Savoy.

THIS noble spirit encouraged the bishop, and produced a most excellent act in favour of liberty; for he entered into a formal concord or agreement with the people and the syndics, never to alter the constitution without their consent. This act was ingrossed in writing in Latin; and the observance of it sworn to by the bishop, the syndics, and the council, under the title of "A transaction between the reverend father John, patriarch and minister of the bishopric of Geneva, on the one part, and the citizens, burgeses, and commonalty of Geneva on the other, against the endeavours and suit of duke Amé to pope Martin." It was then subscribed by all the magistrates, commonalty, and clergy of Geneva, to the number of seven hundred and twenty-seven; and the year after was confirmed by the emperor Sigismund, who declared Geneva to be an imperial city, under the title of *Nobile Imperii Membrum*, and took it into his immediate protection against all princes, the duke of Savoy in particular. John of Pierrencize was succeeded by John of Courtecuisse, who was bishop for no more than one year. He was succeeded by John of Brogny, who in his younger days kept swine. He was then so poor, that not being able to buy a pair of shoes at Geneva, the shoe-maker gave him credit for them, upon condition he should pay him when he came to be a cardinal. A cardinal taking a liking to the boy, brought him up to literature; and becoming cardinal of Ostia, and bishop of Geneva, he rewarded the generous shoe-maker by making him steward of his household. He erected the chapel adjoining to the church of the Maccabees, where the philosophy lectures are held; and was so little ashamed of the meannells of his birth, that he bore a hog for his arms. He was succeeded in 1426, by Francis of Mies; and while he was in the chair, in 1430, another great fire happened in Geneva, which burnt down St. Peter's church, and a great part of the town.

The constitution of Geneva settled.

e IN 1432, Amé I. duke of Savoy, turned hermit at Ripaille, near Tonon, upon the lake Lemman, resigning the title, but not the revenues, of duke of Savoy to his eldest son Lewis, and that of earl of Genevois to Philip his younger son. According to our historian^a, he obliged the duke his son to live at Tonon, in so frugal a manner, that he amassed money enough to purchase himself the popedom at the council of Basil. His history as pope, under the title of Felix V. is foreign to this part of our work. His dignity, however, gave him authority

History of John of Brogny,

and pope Felix;

who is bishop
of Geneva.

enough to strip the bishop of Geneva of the greatest part of his revenues; and, upon that prelate's death, he made himself administrator of the bishoprics of Geneva and Lausanne. His reign, as pope, seems to have been very ridiculous; though, in other respects, he appears not to have been a weak prince. He held the bishopric of Geneva from the year 1444 to 1451, and governed it by an administrator or vicar; but, in the mean while, the emperor Frederick III. paid a visit to Geneva, and persuaded Felix to resign the popedom. It is remarkable, that, while he was in possession of that bishopric, he and his sons were so far from invading the sovereignty of Geneva, that they were at great pains to confirm all its rights and privileges; and his holiness declared, under his hand, that the Genevois, tho' not obliged so to do, lent him six hundred soldiers for the assistance of the city of Lausanne; and acknowledging, that the syndics, burgeses, and their successors, were no way obliged to such things, unless it came from their own free-will, leaving them in their ancient liberty. In the year 1450, the Genevois assisted Felix against the Friburghers, with another body of troops under Burdignin, their chief syndic. Next year, Felix died; and is said to have been buried with a bible under his head, at the end of which was a Latin inscription, importing, "That the city of Geneva is situated amongst mountains; that it was of small extent, sandy, and its inhabitants desirous of novelties."

Succeeded by
his grandson.

FELIX left Cyprian, archbishop of Tarantaise, his vicar in Geneva; and the people were so well pleased with the conduct of the house of Savoy, that Peter, his grandson, though but eight years of age, was appointed bishop of Geneva, which he held by his administrator for seven years and eight months. He was succeeded by his younger brother John-Lewis, son of duke Lewis, who, having a warlike turn, vigorously maintained his own authority and the privileges of the people, and forced his brother Janus, earl of Genevois, to resign the title of earl of Geneva, which he had assumed; but this intimacy with the house of Savoy soon cost the Genevois dear. Duke Lewis had a son, Philip, whom he kept so bare in his pocket, that the young man not only accused his mother, who was a Cyprian by birth, of lavishing her husband's riches upon her lovers, but was guilty of so many riots and murders about his father's court, which was held at Tonon, that the latter applied to his son the bishop, and the syndic of Geneva, for an asylum in that city, where he was accordingly received, and was lodged in the convent of the Grey Friars of Rive.

Remarkable
adventure at
Geneva,

THERE appears to have been some truth in part of Philip's charge against his mother; for he interrupted a cargo of cheeses that were conveying to Fribourg, in which a large sum of gold was concealed. On this discovery, he found means to get admittance into Geneva, where he informed his father of his mother's practices, and restored to him all the money, excepting what he had bestowed upon his accomplices. After this, Philip attempted to apprehend and punish all the Cyprians who were about his father's court; but they having taken refuge amongst the inhabitants of the city, he was obliged to leave Geneva. The uxorious duke, far from being pleased with this discovery and restitution, accused the citizens of conspiring with his son against him; and one of the syndics was hanged on that account. This did not appease the duke: he prevailed with his son to put him into possession of the archives of Geneva, which he carried to France, and presented to Lewis XI. who sent them to Lyons, where Spon, who was a physician in that city, consulted them, when he composed his history. The duke, at the same time, prohibited all merchants, travelling to or from his country, to go by the way of Geneva; and prevailed with the king of France to imprison Philip, whom he offered to set at liberty, if the Genevois would acknowledge the duke for their sovereign; but they rejected the terms. In the year 1465, duke Amé IX. of Savoy, prosecuted his father's designs against Geneva; but was, at last, obliged to restore the intercourse between his subjects and the Genevois; an act which the late duke had made use of as an argument of their dependency upon the house of Savoy. Amé IX. died in 1472, and left his wife Yoland, sister to Lewis XI. of France, guardian to his children. John Lewis of Savoy was still bishop of Geneva, which he governed by vicars; and the dutchess Yoland was in that city when Charles duke of Burgundy, being defeated by the Swisses at the battle of Morat, took refuge at Gex, in the neighbourhood of Geneva. The dutchess went with her children to pay him a visit; but the duke detained her prisoner by force; and would have seized the person of the young duke her son, had he not been hid in a corn-field by one of her domestics. After this, the duke's Lombards, as they are called, ravaged the neighbourhood of Geneva; the bishop of which, by way of retaliation, hanged up all the duke's subjects that were found in Geneva, to the number of two hundred. This did not prevent the victorious Swisses from ravaging the state of Geneva in their turn; but they were, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to desist, and to agree to a conference at Fribourg, where the Genevois and Savoyards consented to raise a sum of money, of which two thousand eight hundred crowns of gold were to be furnished by the Genevois for paying the Swiss troops. The interruption of the intercourse with Savoy had impoverished the Genevois so much, that they were unable to raise the sum so soon

which loses its
records.

Troubles of
Geneva,

a as the *Swiffes* demanded; so that about two thousand of them mutinied, and, breaking from their commanders, they would have plundered the city, had not the people of *Ligne* interposed, and obtained time for the *Genevois* to raise the money; which they did, with the utmost difficulty, by melting down their church-plate, and that of private citizens, besides laying heavy taxes on the people. This transaction happened in 1476. Next year the bishop, wisely considering the *Swiffes* to be the natural allies of *Geneva*, proposed a perpetual league between them and the *Genevois*; but the latter were so jealous of their bishop's intentions, that they rejected his proposal; and he was obliged to limit the duration of the league to the term of his own life.

which league
with the
Swiffers.

b This year was distinguished by some very remarkable adventures at *Geneva*. The bishop had two favourites, the one *Pommieres*, the other *Chiffy*; the former of whom, being disgusted, retired to *France*; and, by representing the duke of *Savoy* and the bishop of *Geneva* as enemies to that crown, he obtained the bishopric of *Vivieres*. He proposed to the *French* king, at the same time, to surprise *Chiffy* at the bishop of *Geneva*'s court, and to carry him into *France*, till he should be forced to reveal all the bishop's secrets. He undertook to execute this infamous exploit himself; and accordingly repaired, with three or four of his brethren to *Geneva*, on pretext of seeing their friends, and staid there fifteen days; during which time their other accomplices, by degrees, dropt into the city, till *Pommieres* thought them numerous enough to execute his purpose. Being well acquainted with the bishop's court and manner of living, and that his guards served only for shew, early in the morning c the conspirators rushed into the bishop's bedchamber, where they found *Chiffy*, whom they carried out in his shirt, with his hands bound behind him, to be put on horseback, the bishop not daring to oppose them. The youngest brother of *Pommieres*, during this transaction, was amusing himself in entertaining some ladies of the court; and, before he could make his retreat, was taken prisoner, and by the bishop put into the custody of the relations of *Chiffy*, who thereby obtained his liberty, by being exchanged for the other. This did not satisfy the bishop, who, in the year 1479, understanding that the bishop of *Vivieres* was at *Piedmont* upon a party of pleasure, he surprised him at the head of about forty horse, and killed him with his own hand as he was sitting at table, some of his companions undergoing the same fate.

A. D. 1477.
History of the
bishop's fa-
vourites.

d In the year 1480, the city of *Geneva* was visited by a famine, and so great a mortality, that seven thousand of its inhabitants died; as did their bishop *John Lewis*, the year following, of a pestilential fever at *Turin*. This prince and prelate has the character of being brave and generous; but very amorous. Though he was, in general, vindictive, yet he had sentiments of justice, as appeared by his forgiving a miller, who beat him for being too intimate with his wife, and making him a present of the cloaths he wore when he underwent the discipline.

Famine in
Geneva.

UPON the death of the bishop *John-Lewis*, the pope, the chapter, and the people, were divided in giving him a successor. The pope appointed his nephew, *Lauro Vere*, cardinal of *St. Clement's*; the people were for *Francis*, archbishop of *Auch*; and the chapter chose e *Urban* of *Chivron*, who resigned his right to *Francis* of *Savoy*, as the cardinal of *St. Clement's* did his to *Compois*, bishop of *Turin*. *Francis* of *Savoy*, however, by the assistance of his family, drove *Compois* out of *Geneva*, and taking possession of the see, he is noted for spending four hundred crowns at an entertainment which he gave to his brother *Philip*, lord of *Bresse*, and his nephew *Charles*, duke of *Savoy*. *Compois* sought relief at *Rome*; and, after some struggle, matters were so compromised, that *Francis* of *Savoy* remained bishop of *Geneva*; and, being like his predecessor, a laic, he had vicars who officiated under him, and took upon himself the title of administrator and protector of that church. Being settled in his new dignity, he prevailed with his nephew the duke of *Savoy*, and the earl of *Genevois*, to retract some acts which they had passed in prejudice of the church of *Geneva*; and f the duke obtained leave to reside in that city. Upon the death of *Francis*, in 1490, *Charles* of *Seyssel* was chosen bishop of *Geneva*; but *Anthony Champion*, chancellor of *Savoy*, was appointed by the pope. Both parties obstinately standing to their claims, *Champion* having got the metropolitan of *Vienna* on his side, and being assisted by the lord of *Bresse*, took arms and drove his antagonist out of the city. In the following year, one *John Gay* instigated the peasants about *Foucigny*, to an insurrection against their nobles, who oppressed them. They were encouraged by the example of the cantons of *Switzerland*, to make this attempt for asserting their liberty; but being no more in number than one hundred and twenty, they were first prevailed upon by the lord of *Bresse*, with fair words, to return home, after committing many outrages; and being dispersed, they were taken and executed as rebels.

Disputes about
the succession to
the bishopric.

g UPON the death of *Champion*, *Philip* of *Savoy*, who was but seven years of age, was chosen bishop of *Geneva*; and his election was confirmed by pope *Alexander VI.* who assigned the bishops of *Lausanne* and *Nice* for his guardians. Like some of his predecessors, he had a warlike turn; and, after his father's death, he threw off the ecclesiastical habit. In

Philip of Sa-
voy bishop.

1498, *Philibert* duke of *Savoy* came to *Geneva*, and was so delighted with its situation, that he obtained leave of the bishop and the magistrates, not only to reside there, but to keep courts of justice for his own subjects only. He was attended by *Rene*, his natural brother, a young man of a haughty tyrannical disposition; and to him the duke, who was immersed in pleasure, committed the management of his affairs. *Rene* having a particular spite against the *Genevois*, sought to make his brother absolute in that city; and under the colour of the court of justice that had been erected, he arrested one *Levrier*, a *Genevois*, which was so much resented by the bishop and syndics, that they cut off the right hand and head of a *Savoyard*, who had been guilty of coining money within their state.

S E C T. II.

Geneva recovers its liberty from the duke of Savoy; agreement between the duke of Savoy and the city; imprisonment of the French ambassador; history of Berthelier of Geneva; original of the word Hugonots; alliance between Geneva and Fribourg; struggles between the Genevois and the dukes of Savoy; the dawnings of the reformation in Geneva; agreement between the Protestants and Romanists in that city, where Farel preaches, and where the mass is abolished in 1535.

Geneva asserts its liberty,

THE *Genevois* maintained their liberties against the repeated attacks made upon them by the dukes of *Savoy*, under most amazing disadvantages. As those princes were in a manner possessed of the keys of their city, the little trade the *Genevois* carried on lay at their mercy; and money, almost unknown to the inferior ranks of the people, was very scarce with their superiors. Notwithstanding all those discouragements, their love of independency made them happy; and they had the spirit to oppose *Rene* in all his tyrannical practices. The residence of the duke of *Savoy* in their city, though it brought them some money, corrupted the manners of their youth, and gave *Rene* hopes of succeeding in his schemes of tyranny. He accused one *Eyria*, a *Genevois* gentleman, of having entered into a conspiracy with a physician of *Lyons* to poison the duke; and having trepanned the physician, he was brought bound hand and foot to *Geneva*, where he was thrown into the prison of the island, and beheaded, after being put to the rack by *Rene's* orders. This inhuman proceeding exasperated the magistrates and inhabitants of *Geneva*, who had in vain remonstrated against it, so greatly, that *Rene* durst not venture to put to death *Eyria*, who escaping out of prison, fled to *Bern* in *Switzerland*, and prevailed with those virtuous republicans to lay the oppressions and misconduct of *Rene* before the duke his brother. At the same time, a bare-footed friar, in preaching before the duke, compared him to a great purse, which was filled with a great many smaller purses, all stuffed with money, alluding to *Rene* and his associates, but, properly speaking, had none belonging to itself. This sermon, and the remonstrances from *Bern*, opened the eyes of the duke, who gave *Rene* three days for leaving his dominions, upon pain of death. *Philibert*, at the same time, perceiving he had no right to *Geneva*, retired to *Chambery*; and thus *Geneva* once more recovered its independency.

and recovers it.

Duke of Savoy renews his claims upon it.

EYRIA was then called home; but soon after the plague broke out in the city, and dissensions prevailed amongst the citizens. By the constitution of *Geneva*, and indeed the same prevails in other republics, no man could be judicially put to death there, without confessing the crime for which he suffered. One *Cotton* being capitally convicted, died on the rack rather than confess; and this accident was represented in such colours of inhumanity to the duke of *Savoy*, that he renewed his claim of jurisdiction over the city. The *Genevois* were forced to suffer the matter to be referred to arbitration; and the arbiters, tho' most of them were the duke's subjects, giving sentence against him, he swore by God and *St. Peter*, that he would desist from his claim, and leave the death of *Cotton* to the cognizance of his nephew the bishop, when he should come of age. This happened in the year 1503, while *Geneva* was afflicted with an intolerable famine.

A remarkable robber.

NEXT year was remarkable for the reign of one *Mortal*, a thief of peculiar art and address in *Geneva*. Neither locks nor bolts could withstand him; but he was so moderate in his depredations, that he generally left behind him more than he carried off; and he was so punctual in paying his debts and tavern bills, that he was every where well received, which made the common people entertain a notion, that he was assisted by fascination, or witchcraft. He was, however, sometimes apprehended; but so extraordinary was the strength of his constitution, that he endured the torture, and even made slight of it, so that he was always acquitted. He was as singular in his death as in his life. He fell sick of the plague, and his mother who attended him, seeing him deprived of speech, and afraid that he might recover through the strength of his constitution, shut him up in a coffin, and had him buried alive. Duke *Philibert* of *Savoy*, a prince of a mild and equitable disposition, died in 1504, and was succeeded by his brother *Charles*. This prince, more

a ambitious than *Philibert*, being at variance with the inhabitants of *Valey*, obtained of the *Genevois* an aid of two hundred men, which were sent him under captain *Burdig-
nin*. He then demanded from them six pieces of ordnance, which, at instigation of
Peter Faccon, *Leverry*, *Le Fente*, *Hurich*, and other leading men, were refused him. The
duke vowing revenge against those citizens, they purchased, by the payment of a crown
a year, the protection of the canton of *Fribourg*, with liberty to reside still at *Geneva*. The
duke of *Savoy* refused either to enter the city, or to swear to maintain its privileges, till
Leverry was delivered into his hands; upon which the latter was imprisoned by the bishop's
cancellor. The canton interposed; and the other cantons shewing dispositions to protect
the liberty of *Geneva*, *Leverry* was not only set at liberty, but sent to the bishop, who was
b then at *Piedmont*, to complain of the encroachments of the duke's officers upon *Geneva*;
and *Anthony Pecolat*, another citizen, was sent to complain to the duke himself, who being
apprehensive of a confederacy of the *Swiss* cantons against him, consented to come to *Ge-
neva*, where he and his mother received small presents of plate from their state, and not
only swore to maintain its privileges, but acknowledged that the court of justice, which he
held in the town, was merely by the indulgence of the syndics and council.

*Beginning of
the alliance
between Ge-
neva and Fri-
bourg.*

In the year 1510, *Philip* of *Savoy*, after being bishop of *Geneva* for fifteen years, resign-
ed his bishopric to *Charles* of *Seyssel*, brother to that bishop who had been driven out by
Champion; and *Charles* himself was made earl of *Genevois*, and afterwards duke of *Nemours*
in *France*. *Seyssel*, soon after his election, obtained from the emperor *Maximilian*, king of
c the *Romans*, a confirmation of the city's privileges. Next year the walls round *St. Gervais*,
one of the divisions of *Geneva*, were finished; the expence being defrayed by an excise on
wine, and a loan of money. The duke of *Savoy* offered to assist them with workmen, and
they accepted of his offer; but not till he had given it under his hand, that he assisted them
only as a neighbour, and not on account of any right he pretended over their city. Not-
withstanding this declaration, he laid a deep scheme for subverting the liberties of *Geneva*,
by effecting a peace between the king of *France* and the *Swisses*, whom he persuaded to inter-
pose in his behalf with the *Genevois*. It had been usual for the latter, before their breaches
with the house of *Savoy*, to hold annual fairs; and the disuse of them was of great prejudice
to both parties. The duke proposed to restore them, and thereby to renew the footing
d of his family in *Geneva*, as well as to increase his revenue, by the toll upon goods brought
through his country. The terms, however, that were annexed by the duke to this propo-
sal were,

*Succession and
disputes of the
bishops.*

*Proposals of
the duke of
Savoy*

“ FIRST, that the city and bishop should appoint an officer to keep account of the profit
of each fair, one third part of which should be given to the duke, bishop, and city. Se-
condly, that the city should, once a year, make a present to the duke. Thirdly, that the
warding the gates should belong to the duke, during the time of the fairs. Fourthly, that
the duke should have, henceforward, fines paid for every new building, both in city and
suburbs.”

As those proposals tended towards a direct superiority of the duke over the city, the *Ge-
nevois* unanimously rejected them. Notwithstanding this the duke, who was a thorough
c politician, tried other means to accomplish his ends. Several meetings were proposed, and
some were held, but all to no purpose; so jealous were the citizens of his views. Corn
this year was so scarce at *Geneva*, that one *Francis Mallet*, the dean of the chapel of the
Maccabees, lent his plate to the magistrates of the city, who caused it to be coined for the
supply of the poor; and he was for this generous humanity made a citizen, *gratis*.

rejected.

A. D. 1512.

It must be acknowledged, notwithstanding all the precautions the *Genevois* had taken to
secure their liberties against the house of *Savoy*, they were still very precarious. The
duke's vidame was in possession of the island of the *Rhone*, where the prison for lay-persons
stood, as that for the clergy did within the bishop's jurisdiction. The vidame's jailor had
f been excommunicated for debt, and was arrested by the bishop's officers; and those of the
vidame, in their turns, imprisoned them. A tumult ensued, and the vidame was forced
to surrender himself prisoner to the bishop's people; but at last mutual releases passed on
all sides, and all appeared satisfied.

*Danger of
Geneva*

BOTH the duke of *Savoy* and the bishop were then absent from *Geneva*; but both of them,
on this occasion, repaired to that city. The duke laid hold of the opportunity to revive
his claims upon the sovereignty of *Geneva*; but the matter being fairly discussed, it ap-
peared that the vidame was to blame. Not satisfied with this, the duke still insisted upon
his rights, and that the bishop should put to death the citizens we have already mentioned,
who had obtained the protection of the canton of *Fribourg*, he not daring to do it by his
own authority, for fear of provoking the *Swiss* confederacy. The bishop shewing a be-
g coming firmness against this demand, the duke told him, that as he had made him bishop,
he would strip him of that dignity, and render him the poorest priest in his diocese. The
g bishop, however, died in 1513, lamented by the bishop of *Geneva*, for the prudence, rec-
titude.

*from the duke
of Savoy,*

itude, and steadiness of his conduct ; and his death bade fair to overthrow the constitution of Geneva.

and the pope.

John of Savoy, bishop.

Dispute about a French ambassador,

who is carried off:

and about the rights of the Genevans,

who prevail.

Persecution of Pecolat, and other Genevans.

THE *Genevois*, who were no strangers to the encroachments of the pope, and the ambition of the house of *Savoy*, shut the gates of their city upon the death of their bishop *Charles of Seyffil*; and the chapter chose for their bishop *Ainé*, abbot of *Beaumont*; an ecclesiastic of noble extraction, and a fair character, only too much addicted to women. This choice being made, the chapter obtained the concurrence of the confederate cantons; and a joint letter was sent, with a deputation to the pope, at the abbot's expence, for a confirmation of his election; but his holiness had already been prevailed upon by the duke of *Savoy*, to grant the dignity to *John of Savoy*, prothonotary of *Auch*. This *John of Savoy* was the reputed natural son, by a common woman, to *Francis of Savoy*, bishop of *Geneva*, and had been provided for by the duke in an obscure station in the church. Being of a mean appearance, and of an abject disposition, the duke thought him a proper person to be preferred to the see of *Geneva*, as fearing from him no opposition to his ambitious views. It is even said, not without probability, that *John*, before his promotion, took an oath, by which he promised to comply with whatever the duke should command, with regard to his claims on the city. The *Genevois*, unable to withstand at once the papal and the ducal power, were obliged to receive him as their bishop; and he entered upon his office with great pomp, and at first with appearances of moderation and generosity; for he even obtained a promise from the duke of bringing the fair from *Lyons* to *Geneva*, with great advantages to the last.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Villeneuve*, the French king's minister, having disobliged the *Swiss* cantons, in his return to *France* stopped at *Geneva*, where deputies from *Bern* and *Fribourg* demanded of the magistrates and council, that he should be put into their hands; and in case of non-compliance, they threatened them with an immediate invasion. The bishop was then absent, and the danger was pressing; for the protection of *France* was at too great a distance to shelter them from the resentment of the cantons. After deliberation it was resolved, to put the ambassador under arrest; that a guard should be raised, and the gates shut, to preserve the public peace; and that, in the mean time, he should be lodged in the episcopal palace. Nothing, however, would satisfy the cantons, but that the ambassador should be immediately delivered up, while the court of *France* as strenuously insisted upon his being released. The syndics and magistrates applied to the bishop, who refused to give the ambassador up, because his enemies might put him to death; and advised the magistrates not to comply, because their compliance would be a kind of acknowledgment of superiority in the cantons over the city, besides making the French king and nation their enemies. The *Swisses*, however, proving intractable, and seeming determined to put their threats into execution, the magistrates told them, that though they could not deliver the ambassador up, yet the deputies might take him by force, which they accordingly did; and he was carried prisoner to *Bern*, where he underwent the rack; but was afterwards set at liberty.

THE connection by marriage that happened between the family of *Medici* and the duke of *Savoy*, gave the latter great hope of prevailing with pope *Leo X.* to authorize his claim upon the sovereignty of *Geneva*. To facilitate this, he obtained from the bishop a concession of all his rights over that city. The pope would readily have agreed to this request; but it was opposed by the conclave, who were of opinion, that the bishop's resignation of his temporalities to the duke was invalid. In the mean while it appeared, that the bishop was no better than the dependent and vassal of the duke. He was deeply in debt, on account of the expences of his nomination at the court of *Rome*; and the duke of *Savoy* received the revenues of the bishopric, and the abbey of *Pignerol*; so that the prelate used to say, that he had nothing belonging to a bishopric about him, but his mitre and crozier staff. His poverty led him to oppress the poorer clergy, and those who had suits in his court; so that he soon became equally hateful and despicable in the eyes of the *Genevois*. At last, being supported by the vidame, he wrongfully imprisoned a lawyer of good character, one *Vandel*, who had four sons, who resolved to rescue him; and the people taking their part, the bishop and the vidame were abandoned, even by their own creatures, and were obliged to release the prisoner; but he harboured an implacable resentment against those who had been most forward to oppose him, particularly against one *John Bernard* and *John Pecolat*.

THE latter, in conversing with the bishop of *Maurienne*, and the abbot of *Beaumont*, who were complaining of the wrongs they suffered from the bishop, jokingly desired them to be easy, intimating that the prelate (A) would not be long lived, being already far gone in the venereal disease. These words being repeated to the bishop by one of his spies who

(A) His expression was proverbial, *Non videbit dies Petri*, which is applied to popes when they are near their end (1).

a overheard them, he pretended that they implied a design against his life; and one of his servants happening to die of eating too heartily of a dish of unwholesome fish that had been prepared for the bishop's table, and several others falling ill of the same, he pretended that they had been poisoned by *Pecolat*.

AMONGST the reasons urged by the cardinals against the validity of the bishop's concessions of his temporalities, the strongest was, that it could not take place, but in cases where the people are in rebellion against their bishop, and he too weak to reduce them. The duke of *Savoy* and the bishop, therefore, omitted no means to provoke the *Genevois* to rebel; and the natural vivacity of the *Genevois* laid hold of every opportunity to turn the bishop and his officers into contempt. At last, upon an occasion which is too ridiculous for history to transmit, the duke and the bishop came to *Geneva*, with an intention to punish some young men, particularly one *Berthelier*, who had been guilty of some frolics against the bishop's officers. They were attended by the archbishop of *Turin*; but upon examination the affair was so far from deserving the name of rebellion, that, by the archbishop's advice, the persecution was dropt against all but *Berthelier*, and one or two of the principals, who were particularly obnoxious to the ecclesiastical power, and to the *Savoyards*.

THE bishop began now to despair of being able to prevail against the *Genevois* within the city, and withdrew to *Focigny*; where, in concert with the earl of *Genevois*, the duke of *Savoy's* brother, and other noblemen of that court, he apprehended *Pecolat* at the village of *Presinge*, together with his companion, and one servant. *Pecolat's* process had been privately drawn up by the vidame of *Geneva*; and being brought prisoner to the bishop's house at *Forigny*, he was there three times put to the rack, to make him confess a design against the bishop's life, on account of the words he had dropt, and the accident of the dish of fish. *Pecolat* denied all; but at last worn out by the force of torments, and being told that his companion's servant had accused him, he answered whatever they desired him to say. The inhabitants of *Geneva* took *Pecolat's* part, and remonstrated to the duke of *Savoy* upon the injustice of imprisoning him without the city, and trying him before any jurisdiction but that of the syndics, who were his lawful judges; upon which he was carried to *Geneva*, and being imprisoned in the castle on the island, he retracted all he had said, as having been extorted from him by the force of torments. A dispute then arose between the syndics on the one part, and the duke and the bishop on the other; the latter insisting that *Pecolat* ought to be racked again. The syndics, though they were afraid of the duke, hesitated upon this; and the prisoner, under pretence that he was a clerk, and not amenable to a temporal jurisdiction, was carried to the bishop's prison. The barbarity of his enemies went so far, that perceiving him to be proof against the rack, they imagined that he was assisted by some supernatural power which lay on his beard, and ordered a barber to cut it off. *Pecolat*, knowing what torments were intended against him, and afraid of his own weakness, had the resolution to snatch the barber's razor, and to cut out part of his own tongue. This, with the torments he had suffered, procured him many friends; and the officer who was to pronounce sentence against him, not only refused to perform that office, but advised him to appeal to the archbishop of *Vienne*, who sent an order to stop all proceedings against him, even by the bishop himself. One *Victor*, a young man of spirit, had the courage to serve this order upon the bishop; upon which *Pecolat* was removed to the castle of *Peney*, belonging to the duke. The consequence was, that the bishop, disregarding the summons of his metropolitan, was excommunicated, as were all his officers, which created such a tumult in the city, that the clergy joined with the people, and forced the bishop's officers to release the prisoner, which was done just at the time when an order came from *Rome*, annulling the summons and the proceedings of the metropolitan. *Pecolat*, we are told, afterwards recovered the use of his speech, because he had cut off only part of his tongue; but he attributed the same to a miraculous intercession.

f IN the mean while, the case of *Berthelier* proved still more interesting to the duke and the bishop. He was a young man of great resolution, vivacity, and address, and had always distinguished himself against the family of *Savoy*. Perceiving that the duke and the bishop were resolved, at any rate, to put him to death, he escaped in disguise to *Fribourg*, where he had purchased the privilege of a citizen, and engaged the *Fribourgers* so much in his interest, that they not only sheltered him, but sent a messenger to the duke and the bishop, to request that *Berthelier* should either be tried at *Fribourg*, where they might send lawyers to assist at the trial, or before the Syndics of *Geneva*, if they would furnish him with a safe-conduct to that city; but with a condition annexed, that some of the *Fribourgers* should be present at his trial. The duke and the bishop declined both those proposals; and the duke himself made a journey to *Fribourg*, but without being able to prevail with the *Fribourgers* to deliver up *Berthelier*. At last, rather than exasperate the *Fribourgers*, and embroil themselves with the other cantons, the duke and the bishop granted a safe-conduct to *Berthelier*, in the terms he had demanded, and he presented himself before the syndics. He

Cruelty used against Pecolat,

who cuts out his own tongue.

Remarkable persecution of Berthelier.

boldly justified all he had done against the duke and the bishop, and set aside *Picolat's* evidence as being extorted by the rack; so that nothing appearing against him but a few youthful frolics, the syndics would have acquitted him, had they not been deterred by the power of his persecutors, who offered him a pardon, which he refused to accept of, as having been guilty of no offence.

His courage.

BERTHELIER was so far from being intimidated by this persecution, that during its continuance he was pursuing the plan of an alliance between *Fribourg* and *Geneva*, as the only means of securing the independency of both states; and the house of *Savoy* was equally intent upon defeating it, great numbers of the inhabitants of *Geneva* being *Savoyards*, and attached to that interest. This encouraged the duke to proceed with cruelty against such of the *Genevois* as he found in his own dominions; and he put to death at *Turin*, two young gentlemen of respectable families at *Geneva*, as being accomplices with *Berthelier*, after extorting a confession from them by the force of torments. A copy of this confession was sent to the syndics of *Geneva*, who paid no regard to it, and who sent deputies to the duke and the bishop, complaining loudly of what had been done. The duke dissembled; but the bishop threatened the city with the utmost penalties, if the magistrates did not renounce their connexions with *Fribourg*, and give up *Berthelier* and his accomplices to punishment. *Spon*^a informs us, that the deputies had been debauched by the duke and the bishop, who gave them an answer in writing, such as the deputies themselves dictated; but the letter was not to be delivered till the syndics and council of *Geneva* had sworn to comply with the contents. The deputies returning, after an absence of five or six weeks, acquainted first the lesser, and then the greater council with the preliminary conditions; adding, at the same time, that if they were not complied with, the duke had sworn that no *Genevois* should possess his property in safety. The council treated this absurd and imperious proceeding with the indignation it deserved. They refused to take the oath; and returning the letter unopened, it was with difficulty the people were prevented from throwing the deputies into the *Rhone*.

Treats of the bishop against the Genevois.

Their alliance with Fribourg.

Origin of the word Hugonot.

THE independent *Genevois* now were sensible that nothing could save their liberties and estates from ruin, but the conclusion of the alliance proposed by *Berthelier* with *Fribourg*. *Besançon Hugues*, one of the syndics of *Geneva*, befriended it warmly; but the *Savoyard* party was so prevalent at *Fribourg*, as well as *Geneva*, that it met with great difficulties; and at last *Besançon* proposed, that if the alliance could not be rendered general, that an association should be entered into between its friends in both cities; those in *Geneva*, amounting to three hundred of the principal and most resolute of the citizens, who had set their names to the form of an association for that effect. Those associators were; by the *Savoyards*, termed *Eignots*, a *Swiss* or *High German* word, which signifies confederates by oath; and *Spon*, with great appearance of justice, thinks that from thence arose the famous word *Hugonot*, notwithstanding the various other etymologies that are assigned to it. The *Eignots*, on the other hand, called the *Savoyard* party *Mamalukes*, in allusion to the *Egyptian* soldiery, who, being originally Christians, had renounced both their religion and liberties, to become slaves to the sultan. The *Savoyard* party in *Fribourg* objected to the proposed alliance, because it was not clear to them that the *Genevois* were an independent people, and at liberty to enter into such an engagement. This objection being reported by the deputies at *Geneva*, the citizens were split into factions and cabals. The duke of *Savoy* and the bishop, perceiving that the *Eignots* had the majority in *Geneva*, complained to the *Fribourgers* of debauching their subjects from their allegiance. The *Fribourgers*, in answer to this, affirmed, that the magistracy of *Geneva*, in temporals, were independent of the bishop; and that if the duke would prove his sovereignty over that city, they would proceed no farther in the alliance; and that they were willing to enter a saving clause in the treaty as to his rights, till they could be judicially discussed. They added, that they were so far from being enemies to the bishop's ecclesiastical authority, that they were ready to defend it against all who should attack it.

Complaints of the duke of Savoy and the bishop.

THE duke and the bishop, far from being satisfied with those answers, complained of the *Fribourgers* in the next general assembly of the confederate cantons, for admitting the *Genevois* into their burghership, alledging, that the *Genevois* by their constitution could pretend to no right of burghership, being only *bindersassen* or inhabitants of their own country, by sufferance from the house of *Savoy*, whose dominions surrounded them. This plea was refuted by the *Genevois*, who produced evidences that the dominions he held about *Geneva*, had formerly belonged to them. While those disputes lasted, the abbot of *Beaumont* and *Bonnivard*, prior of *St. Victor*, two young citizens, warm in the cause of liberty, and several other inhabitants, with the consent of the council of *Geneva*, took up their burghership in *Fribourg*; and at last the alliance between that city and *Geneva* was fully completed, and *Berthelier* was formally acquitted by the syndics, of all the crimes that had

^a Ibid. pag. 61.

a been laid to his charge, by the bishop having only a slight fine imposed upon him for his youthful excesses.

THE duke of Savoy now perceived that the *Genevois* set both his and the bishop's power at defiance. At first he proceeded with temper, and joined with the bishop in sending one *Salleneuse*, a man of experience in business, to be their temporal deputy in *Geneva*; but the inhabitants disowned his authority. The duke had no better success in the complaints he had brought before the general assembly of the cantons; and while he endeavoured to amuse both the *Fribourgers* and the *Genevois* with terms of accommodation, he secretly assembled an army of seven thousand men at *St. Julian*. Before he began his march towards *Geneva* he sent a herald, who demanded audience in a full assembly of the council; b which being convened, the herald refused to seat himself along with the syndics, but placed himself in a chair above them, alledging, that he appeared there as representing the duke of Savoy, the lord and master of their city. He then delivered his commission, which contained a demand, that the council should provide splendid and magnificent lodgings for the duke in their town-house, and that they should furnish him and his company, which consisted of ten thousand men, with victuals, and all fitting entertainment, because, concluded he, the duke intends to appear with that equipage to do himself justice.

THE reader, from what we have already mentioned, may easily form an idea of the arguments made use of to evade this demand; upon which the herald pronounced them to be rebels; and other ceremonies of the like kind passed on the part of his attendants, and all c of them left the city. The magistrates were not wanting to themselves on this occasion; they made the best dispositions they could for their own defence; they obliged even the *Savoyard* party to take arms, and all of them appeared determined to defend their liberties to the last extremity. They sent messengers to acquaint the *Fribourgers* with what had happened, but they were intercepted by the duke's army, and put to the strappado, till they discovered all they knew with regard to the city. By this time the duke's army was increased to the number of ten thousand, and he was advanced as far as *Gaillard*. The *Fribourgers*, suspecting what had happened, sent *Marty*, one of their number, to endeavour to persuade the duke to proceed no farther against their allies the *Genevois*. *Marty* reported his commission to the duke, who pretended, that he only wanted to enter *Geneva* as a d friend, to put an end to the dissensions and heart-burnings of the inhabitants, and he sent *Marty* to persuade the *Genevois* to give him admittance; but in the mean while his army, which was destitute of great artillery, appeared at the gates of the city, while the citizens, who had never seen any action, deserted their posts, and a general confusion ensued. The magistrates in public demanded from *Marty* what they had to trust to from the *Fribourgers*, a suspension of arms having been granted by the duke till next morning. *Marty* frankly acknowledged that, however well affected his countrymen were towards the *Genevois*, their assistance must come too late to defend them from the duke; upon which the inhabitants threw down their arms, and gave over all thoughts of resistance.

They declare
the *Genevois*
rebels,

NEXT morning *Marty* and the syndics sent to *Gaillard*, to capitulate with the duke, who e promised to enter the city only at the head of five hundred men, besides his ordinary train. This capitulation, however, was most infamously broken. The earl of *Genevois*, the duke's brother, ordered the walls to be broken down, that the duke might enter as a conqueror through the breach; and soon after the whole *Savoyard* army marched into the city, where the soldiers were guilty of all manner of abuses and enormities, while the earl of *Genevois* took up his quarters in the town-house, and seized upon the public arsenal and artillery, as well as the keys of the gates. Not contented with this, proclamation was made by the duke's orders, that no citizen should presume to appear in the streets, or even to put his head out of a window, under pain of being publicly whipped. Notwithstanding this severity, we are told, that some of the *Genevois* appeared abroad with their swords by their sides, f but were forced to undergo the penalty. It is probable that the *Eignots* within *Geneva*, still depended on succours from *Fribourg*, where the spirit ran so strong in their favour, that the *Genevois* deputies obtained a company of infantry, which was soon after augmented to six or seven thousand men, some of them *Savoyards*, and they formed themselves into separate bodies, under different colours. They set out on their march with incredible expedition, and perceiving that they could do nothing against *Geneva*, they marched to the country of *Vaud*, where they seized the duke's governor *Lulins*, and desired him to acquaint his master, that he ought to beware in what manner he treated the *Genevois*, because they were determined to make severe reprisals upon his subjects.

and take *Ge-*
neva,

THE duke was sensible that his soldiers were all undisciplined and cowardly; and he took g the advice of the *Fribourgers*, who entered *Morges* without resistance. He immediately ordered another proclamation to be made, ordering, that none of the *Genevois* should be molested either in person or estate, on pain of death, and then posted a body of horse to guard the important post of *Nyon*, which lies between *Morges* and *Geneva*, on the side of the lake.

but it is re-
lieved by the
Fribourgers.

He

A treaty.

He sent for the deputy of *Fribourg*, and desired him to repair with his deputies to *Morges*,^a to endeavour to pacify matters, promising that no harm should come to the *Genevois*. The deputy, reflecting on the duke's late scandalous breach of faith with the *Genevois*, treated his request with a mixture of indignation and scorn, and refused to obey it. The duke's deputies therefore repaired to *Morges* by themselves; but meeting with no success in their commission, he ordered them to repair to the other cantons, and endeavour to prevail with them to interpose their authority with the *Fribourgers*. In the mean while he assembled the general council of *Geneva*, and he demanded of the members, that they should renounce their burghership with *Fribourg*, and send deputies to *Morges*, to assure the *Fribourgers* that they had suffered no outrages, and that *Huges* and *Malbreiffon*, his coadjutor, had no public commission from them. The *Fribourgers* treated this message as being extorted by force, and carried their point. (B) The duke was forced to agree to make an immediate payment of four thousand crowns, upon their promising to return home, without doing any other damage to the country than living at free cost, and to withdraw his army from *Geneva*, without injuring either the city or inhabitants, whom he was to leave in full possession of their privileges. He found himself, however, under great difficulties, to raise the money; but at last the *Genevois* agreed to pay one half, and the earl of *Genevois* pledged his plate for the other, which was to be redeemed by the *Genevois*. The duke remained at *Geneva* sometime after his army had left it, and there, on account of the plague, he retired to *Tonon*, in the *Chablais*, from whence he sent a safe-conduct by the vidame *Configli* to *Huges* and *Malbreiffon*, desiring them to attend him. They obeyed^c him, but had so indifferent an opinion of his honour, that they left the safe conduct in the hands of the wife of *Huges*, with instructions to send it to *Fribourg*, if she heard they were detained. This was a necessary precaution; for they had not travelled a mile from *Geneva*, before the vidame, enquiring about the safe-conduct, told that it had been sent to *Fribourg*, but that they were very willing to return to *Geneva*. This put the vidame into a passion: when they arrived at *Tonon*, the duke, surprised and vexed at his disappointment, put them under a strict arrest; but dismissed them, after making them swear to renounce the burghership of *Fribourg*, and all public business without his leave. Soon after, by arresting *Porral*, who was secretary of *Geneva*, he got into his hands the contract of burghership between that city and *Fribourg*.^d

Duke of Savoy baffled,

IN May 1519, the differences between the duke of *Savoy* and the two confederate states, *Fribourg* and *Geneva*, were laid before a general meeting of the cantons at *Zurich*, and accommodated on the following terms. "That the duke should desist from all attempts against the bishop and city of *Geneva*; in which case no use was to be made of the confederacy between *Geneva* and *Fribourg*, and the *Fribourgers*, who demanded more money, were exhorted to be content with the four thousand crowns they had already received." This accommodation being made under the sanction of the cantons, for some time restored peace to *Geneva*; and the *Eignots* and *Mamalukes*, as they were called, began to resume their intercourse with one another.

THOUGH the duke of *Savoy* was thus baffled in his attacks upon the independency of *Geneva*, yet having the bishop at his devotion, he was still very powerful in that city. Having still an implacable thirst of revenge against *Berthelier*, he employed the vidame *Configli*, who was a thorough paced ruffian, to arrest him in the bishop's name, which he did near the gates of *Geneva*. *Berthelier*, on this occasion, behaved at once like a philosopher and a patriot, tho' offered his life if he would submit to the duke, and own him as his master; and being carried to the prison on the island, he refused to be examined by any but his lawful judges the syndics; upon which, without any farther ceremony, his head was next day struck off (C), by the sentence of the bishop's provost. The *Eignot* party were struck with consternation at *Berthelier's* death, and the *Fribourgers* demanded satisfaction for it; but the duke threw the blame of it upon the bishop. By this time the *Savoyard* party had^f

(B) This expedition happening during lent, when little food besides herrings were to be had, it was called the Herring campaign.

(C) The reader perhaps will not be displeased, at being informed of a few more particulars of this extraordinary person. When he saw the vidame approaching to arrest him, he knew his fate, but refused to make his escape, though he might have done it. When he gave his sword to the vidame, he boldly told him to keep it well, for he must account for it; and when shut up in close prison, he was so unconcerned, that he

diverted himself with a little squirrel, which he commonly carried about with him in his bosom. Though in mean circumstances, yet he had learning and great parts; and being told he must die, he wrote upon his prison wall, "*Non moriar sed vivam, et narrabo opera Domini*. I shall not die, but live and declare the works of the Lord." When he came to the place of execution, he was not suffered to speak in public, and took very little notice of a confessor who was offered him. His epitaph was as follows:

*Quid mihi mors nocuit? virtus post fata vivescit.
Nec cruce, nec sævi gladio perit illa tyranni.* (1)

(1) *Spon. p. 71, 72.*

a got a great ascendancy in the government of *Geneva*; and the *Fribourgers*, who sought only a pretext to break with the duke, demanded more money, while he, on the other hand, insisted on satisfaction for the damages his country of *Vaud* had sustained, and referred the *Fribourgers* for payment to the *Genevois*, whom, at the same time, he advised to pay no more. This management increased his party among the citizens, who were disgusted at the new demands of the *Fribourgers*; and he had even interest enough to get the new syndics set aside, on pretence that they had not been legally elected, and that they had encouraged the *Fribourgers* in their exorbitant demands. In their room were chosen citizens of the *Savoyard* party.

b THE magistracy and council being thus new modelled in favour of the duke and the bishop, two deputies, *Richardet* and *Goulaz*, were sent by the syndics to the cantons at *Zurich*, to clear the duke from having any hand in *Berthelier's* death, and to vindicate the bishop's proceedings in that matter; to throw the blame of the *Fribourgers* demands upon the displaced syndics; and to exhort the deputies of the cantons to interpose with the *Fribourgers* to renounce their alliance with *Geneva*. In answer to those instructions, the *Fribourgers* justified themselves with great spirit and firmness, and represented the death of *Berthelier* in the blackest light; but notwithstanding all they could do, the sense of the cantons, who were for preserving the public peace, was in favour of the *Savoyards*. The duke of *Savoy* at this time resided at *Geneva*; and, upon his departure thence, he appointed the sieur *Salaigne* to be his vidame there, instead of *Configli*, who was extremely unpopular. In the year 1522, died *John* of *Savoy*, bishop of *Geneva*; whose body is said to have been so emaciated with the venereal disease, that after his death it weighed no more than twenty-eight pounds. He had in his life-time made *Peter* of *Baume*, who was of the noble family of *Montevel* in *Bresse*, his coadjutor; and he died expressing great remorse for the troubles he had brought upon the *Genevois*, at the instigation of the house of *Savoy*. Next year *Peter*, having been chosen bishop of *Geneva*, entered upon his office, after taking the oaths to qualify himself, which were as usual administered by the syndics upon the bridge of the *Arve*. The new bishop prevailed with the syndics and the magistrates to postpone the entertainments and shews, designed for him, till the arrival of the duke and duchess of *Savoy*. This happened a few days after, and their entry was made at an expence, and with a pomp, to which the *Genevois* were entire strangers. The young gentlemen of the city were dress'd in silks, velvets, and cloths of silver, and the ladies formed themselves into a troop of *Amazons*, armed and disciplined in the ancient manner. The duchess, however, having been disappointed in her favourite ambition of lodging in the town-house, gave so little attention to the honours that were offered her, and beheld the *Genevois* with so disgusting a coldness, that some of them shrewdly remarked, it had been more proper to have expended the money, in welcoming them to the city, upon fortifications to keep them out of it. The *Savoyard* party apologized for the behaviour of the duchess as owing to her education and the customs of her native country, she being an infanta of *Portugal*. At last the *Genevois* were better reconciled to her manners, and the residence of the duke's court at *Geneva* making money circulate, nothing passed but mutual entertainments and feasts; and the duchess was brought to bed of a son at *Geneva*; who died soon after in *Spain*, before the father could perform his promise of making him prince of *Geneva*, the sovereignty of which was most passionately coveted by the duchess.

but prevails again.

Death of Peter of Savoy.

c THE duke of *Savoy* by thus enervating the minds of the *Genevois*, made them forget the care of their liberties; and their dependency, which they had hitherto so jealously preserved, received daily violations. The inhabitants either neglected, or through their expences were unable, to repair the fortifications of their city; the bishop, though well intentioned, was voluptuous and indolent, and possessed so many livings under the duke of *Savoy*, that he durst not disoblige him: but above all the *Genevois* were deprived of all hopes of protection, either from the emperor or the king of *France*, who were at war with each other, while the duke kept himself neuter, with a view of becoming master of *Geneva*. In this state of affairs the duke, notwithstanding the last accommodation, carried his claims upon the sovereignty of *Geneva* higher than ever; and *Levrery*, the son of the lawyer of that name already mentioned, having the courage to oppose him, he was put to death, almost in the same manner as *Berthelier* had been, whom he imitated in his courage, constancy, and behaviour, disdaining to fly when it was in his power to have made his escape. While this tragedy was acting, the bishop, who ought to have interposed his authority to prevent it, was in *Piedmont*, but had left the care of the bishopric to his brother *Sorlin*, who was of the same character with himself, and withdrew to *Remilly*, to avoid being solicited to interpose in favour of *Levrery*.

Danger of the Genevois losing their liberties.

f His death brought the *Genevois* to a sense of their danger. *Richardet* was chosen one of the syndics, and called upon *Boulet*, the treasurer of the *Savoyard* party, to account for the
g

The Eignot
party worsted.

public money which he said had been idly dissipated. *Boulet*, instead of complying, up-
braided *Richardet* with being an *Eignot*; upon which the latter broke his syndical staff up-
on the treasurer's head. *Boulet* complained to the duke's council at *Chambery*; but the syn-
dics refusing to acknowledge its authority, their estates in *Savoy* were confiscated, and they
applied for protection to the bishop, whom they empowered to carry their complaints by way
of appeal to *Rome*, he pleading inability to give them redress. But he was now intirely at
the devotion of the court of *Savoy*; and he not only put into his own pocket three hundred
crowns, which had been given him to carry on the appeal, but prevailed with the gene-
ral council to retract it, and to refer the matter to himself. This affair at first met with
some approbation; but the duke's vidame proceeding to violence, forced the heads of the
Eignots to fly from *Geneva*, some of whom were taken in their flight; but *Huges* the chief,
and a few of his friends, escaped to *Fribourg*. There they applied to the magistrates for
protection in terms of the alliance between them; but receiving only fair promises, they
addressed themselves to the states of *Zurich*, who at their request sent deputies to the duke.
Upon their application, he readily agreed to the release of the prisoners, and the return
of the exiles; but it was upon conditions so dangerous to the public liberty, that they
rejected them, and once more applied for a general alliance with the confederate can-
tons.

Rise of the re-
formation.

THE reader is here to observe, that by this time the doctrines of *Luther* had made a vast
progress both in *Germany* and *Switzerland*; and the cantons were so much divided in matters
of religion, that they gave less attention than they otherwise would have done to the affairs
of *Geneva*. The duke of *Savoy* was sensible of this; and coming from *Chambery* to *Geneva*,
he ordered a general council of the inhabitants to be summoned, where he appeared at-
tended by his chancellor and guards in all the state of a sovereign prince. His chancellor,
without much preamble, demanded that the assembly should immediately recognize the
duke's sovereignty, renounce all alliance with the *Swisses*, and disclaim all connections with
the fugitives. But the people were less terrified than amazed at his proceedings, and refused
to comply with any of his demands. He then changed his method of proceeding; and
both he and his officers endeavoured to win them over by friendly protestations and fair
promises, which made some impression upon the counsellors; but the syndics persevered
firmly in their opposition. In about twelve days after, the *Swiss* deputies, from the can-
tons of *Fribourg* and *Soleurre*, came to the *Genevois*, and promised the inhabitants their as-
sistance against all attacks upon their liberties and independency. This message was deli-
vered, and debated upon in a general assembly of the *Genevois*, where the *Savoyard* party
had such an ascendancy, that the deputies were ordered to acquaint their principals, that
the subjects of *Geneva*, who had applied to them for protection and assistance, had no legal
authority for so doing, and that they were well satisfied with the duke of *Savoy's* proceed-
ings and intentions; and letters to the same purpose were sent likewise to the cantons of
Bern and *Lucerne*.

Ambition of
the duke of
Savoy.

ON the 10th of *December*, the duke ordered another general council to be convoked,
where, amongst other things for the establishment of his own authority, he demanded, that
the council should renounce all foreign connections, which was accordingly agreed to and
proclaimed. The chief *Eignots* disowned the authority of this council, as being partial,
irregular, and under undue influence; and on the 22d of the same month, *John Bandieres*,
and the secretary *Vandelli*, presented themselves before the council, at the head of the wives
and children of the fugitives, and above two hundred other citizens, who had signed a wri-
ting given in by *Vandelli*, approving of all that had been done with regard to the foreign
alliances by the fugitives. This bold stand gave a favourable turn to the *Eignot* party;
and it was agreed, that the bishop should be invited to return from *Pignerol*, and resume
his functions at *Geneva*.

The Eignots
prevail.

HE was, by this time, tired of the mortifications that had been imposed upon him by
the duke of *Savoy*, and complained heavily of them to the syndics, promising to maintain
their privileges to the utmost; but recommending to them secrecy in their proceedings,
and their voting by ballot, as at *Venice*. This was a wise advice; and at the next election
of syndics, *John Philippe*, who had great credit with the cantons of *Fribourg* and *Bern*, was
chosen the chief. The *Eignots* now carried every thing before them. The fugitives re-
turned to *Geneva*; and *Huges*, as then spokesman, acquainted the council, that the cantons of
Bern and *Fribourg* had agreed to enter into a defensive alliance for twenty-five years, or for
ever, as should be thought most proper. The citizens had three days granted them to de-
liberate upon this proposal; and then another general council being held by the ringing of
the great bell, not above five or six members gave their negatives to it; but the bishop,
who was present, protested against every thing that might prejudice his authority. Thus
the alliance was completed, and the permanent foundations of the *Genevois* liberty were laid.

Eight

- a Eight *Genevois* deputies swore to the agreement at *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and as many from those cantons did the same at *Geneva*, where they were received under the discharge of the city cannon, and entertained at the public expence, amidst the loud and general acclamations of the people.

- THE clergy, who in general were devoted to the house of *Savoy*, were startled at this revolution, but the syndics promised them protection, provided they behaved dutifully. The duke of *Savoy* represented the new alliance as being inconsistent with the engagements between him and the two cantons; but he received no other satisfaction than that those engagements were ready to be dissolved when he pleased. The chief *Mamalukes*, to the number of forty-two, were obliged to leave *Geneva*, and take shelter in *Savoy*; but it was b intimated to them by the *Genevois* syndics, that they were at liberty to remain in *Geneva*, if they would behave like honest men. According to *Spon*^a, that was far from being their intention; for they entered into a conspiracy with the vidame, who remained still at *Geneva*, for seizing the chief *Eignots*, and cutting off their heads. This conspiracy being discovered, the conspirators were summoned by sound of trumpet to appear, and upon their remaining contumacious, they were declared to be traitors, and their estates forfeited. *Gruet*, the bishop's vicar, being suspected of favouring the duke, was deposed, and his place filled up by the abbot of *Beaumont*. The vidame himself at last fled, as did his deputy and jailor; and thus an end was put to all the authority of his court, which was the greatest grievance the *Genevois* had suffered. In doing this, the syndics proceeded with great formality, and c executed by their own authority a malefactor, who was confined in the vidame's prison, their own common serjeant acting the part of his provost. After this the duke of *Savoy*, whose arms over the castle gate in the island were broken down, and his officers, never more exercised any jurisdiction in *Geneva*.

Exile of the
Mamalukes.

- THIS great revolution was planned and completed, with a perseverance, moderation, and regularity, which do not always reside with the spirit of liberty; and it must be acknowledged, it was chiefly owing to the discernment, honesty, and abhorrence of tyranny in the *Fribourgers*, who brought the *Bernois* into their confederacy. The *Genevois* did not, as was too often the case with the other republican states of *Italy*, proceed with rancour against their antagonists. They agreed, at the bishop's intercession, to readmit into the city d such of the *Mamalukes* as should behave with moderation, upon their paying a fine; but this reconciliation was prevented by the duke of *Savoy*, who threatened, if the *Mamalukes* agreed to it, to treat them as enemies, and if they did not, to restore them upon honourable terms. His chief dependence was upon his interest with the confederate cantons; but the allies gave him to understand, that he had no grounds for hope from that quarter, and that they would hear no arguments he could urge in favour of his claims upon *Geneva*. Those altercations continued till the 22d of *December*, 1526, and were renewed next year; when the duke refused to make satisfaction for some murders committed by his subjects upon the *Genevois*, or to suffer the fugitive *Mamalukes* to appear at *Geneva*, though they were offered letters of safe-conduct by the bishop.

and expulsion
of the Savoy-
ard power out
of Geneva.

- e THE latter was now so much in the interest of the confederates, that the duke's party formed an ambuscade for carrying him off, as he was going to say mass without the town, and this obliged him to retire to *Franche Comte*, having first cancelled all the evidences of his opposition to the confederacy. Fifteen days after his retreat, he sent a letter, or the copy of one, written by the emperor to the duke of *Savoy*, injoining him to desist from all his claims of sovereignty over *Geneva*, which was an imperial city. By this time the *Mamalukes* had removed their cause before the archbishop of *Vienne*, but the great council of the *Genevois*, encouraged by the imperial letter, refused to acknowledge that tribunal; and an act was passed, that no *Genevois* from thenceforward should prosecute a suit before that court. In the mean while the duke of *Savoy* was so much exasperated with the bishop, f that he confiscated all his livings in *Savoy*, but offered to restore them if he would join with him in establishing the vidamate in *Geneva*; which the bishop was so far from doing, that he remitted all his own temporal power to the syndics, for the ease of the suitors in his court.

Danger of the
bishop.

A. D. 1527.

- A WHIMSICAL institution which took place at this time, had almost overthrown the new established liberty of *Geneva*. Certain *Vaudois* gentlemen eating broth with wooden spoons at the castle of *Vaud*, some of them proposed in jest to join together, to oblige the *Genevois* to make use of the like spoons. The joke soon grew serious; a fraternity of the Spoons was instituted; each member hung his spoon about his neck by way of badge, and *Francis* of *Pontverre*, who had the reputation of a good soldier, was chosen to be their captain. g The duke of *Savoy* seemed to dislike this association at first, but was better reconciled to it,

History of the
fraternity of
the spoon.

^a SPON. p. 32.

when he perceived that those knights of the spoon made war in earnest upon the *Genevois*; so that in a very short time, he and they came to a good understanding with each other. The *Genevois* applied to their confederate states for succour; but unfortunately for them, the two cantons of *Bern* and *Fribourg* were at variance together, on account of religion. All they did at first was to send deputies to persuade the knights to forbear hostilities; but that proving ineffectual, they sent two companies of soldiers, of about eight hundred each, who pretending that they were obliged only to defend the city, and not to act offensively against the duke's subjects, with whom they were in alliance, lay idle in and about *Geneva*; where they eat and drunk of the best at free cost. The truth is, neither of the cantons at this time chose to provoke the duke; and nothing, worth mentioning, was done to suppress the knights for above two years. During this time, the *Mamelukes* continuing contumacious, sentence of death was pronounced against them by the syndics.

Perplexing
situation of
the *Genevois*.

In the year 1528, the *Genevois* found themselves in a very perplexing situation. Their friends, the *Bernois*, had driven the *Roman* catholic religion out of their jurisdiction, while the *Fribourgers* zealously retained it: and the *Bernois* wanting to propagate their new faith amongst certain peasants, whom the *Fribourgers* pretended to be their subjects, each state applied to *Geneva* for assistance. This was a case that had not been provided for by the articles of the alliance; and the *Genevois*, to please both parties, sent each a company of one hundred and fifty men; that designed for the assistance of *Bern*, being commanded by *John Philippe*, and the other by *Richardet*. The reconciliation that soon after happened between the two cantons, prevented any bad consequences from the absurdity of this conduct; for both parties returned home without coming to action. All this while the knights of the spoon were insulting the *Genevois* under their own walls; and a difference happening between *Huges* and *Bonnivard*, no care was taken to repel them effectually. The *Genevois* laboured at this time under a more essential difficulty. Their city was filled with the reformed fugitives from *Fribourg*, and *Roman* catholics driven from *Bern*. The latter state exhorted them earnestly to forsake the errors of popery, and the *Fribourgers* to stick close to the religion of their ancestors, under the forfeiture of their friendship. Both parties agreed upon the necessity of reforming the clergy; and the *Genevois* consulted *Bonnivard*, the abbot of *St. Victor*, on that head, as being a man of honesty and understanding. His answer was, "If you will be ruled by me, you shall do one of these two things: that is, if you continue debauched, as ye are at present, you must not wonder if others be so too: and, secondly, if you will reform the clergy, you must first shew them the way by your good examples." An incident that happened soon after, more fully explained *Bonnivard's* sentiments. The *Mamelukes* had obtained from the archbishop of *Vienne*, a writ of excommunication against the *Genevois*, for their contempt of his authority, and it was fixed up in most public places. *Bonnivard* travelling along with the *Genevois* deputies, observed one of those writs fixed up in the high road, and stopped to read it, which they were simple enough to dissuade him from doing; "for (said they) as soon as ever you shall have read it, you will stand excommunicated." He smiled at their simplicity, and replied, "You are much mistaken; for if ye have condemned the *Mamelukes* unjustly, ye are excommunicated by God himself; but if justly, what power has the archbishop of *Vienne* over your consciences."

Rise and progress of the reformation at Geneva.
A. D. 1529.

THOSE are incidents material to the knowledge of the original of *Geneva's* reformation. The good sense of *Bonnivard* created doubts, and a spirit of inquiry in the minds of the *Genevois*; and being already sufficiently exasperated by the spiritual claims of the *Romish* clergy, the more they inquired, the more they were disposed to embrace the doctrine of the reformers. While this suspense lasted, there was a cessation of hostilities between the *Genevois* and the knights of the spoon; but *Pontverre*, in marching through *Geneva*, openly expressed himself in terms so insolent, and at the same time so threatening to the *Genevois*, that they were alarmed, but without daring to shew their resentment. Next year, in passing through the city slenderly attended, some of the inhabitants who knew him put him to death, though in no very warrantable way; but the syndics, tho' they did not approve of the action, protected his followers, and sent his body for interment to his friends, who complained to the duke of his murder, as it was called. Though the duke had no great regard for him, yet he sent deputies into *Switzerland*, who complained bitterly of the *Genevois*; but they were so well vindicated by *Vandelli*, who escaped all the ambuscades laid for him by land, by crossing the lake in a boat, that the cantons would take no cognizance of the matter. This exasperated the fraternity of the spoon still more, who received fresh assistances from their allies; and the cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* interested themselves so far in their quarrel, that they sent deputies to inquire into the grounds of it, and to report the same at a meeting of the cantons, which was to be held at *St. Julien*. Their report was so favourable for the *Genevois*, that after various negotiations, the duke of *Savoy* was prevailed upon to pay the auxiliaries from *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and to admonish the knights of the

a the spoon to forbear their hostilities against the city. His admonitions were disregarded, and their insults continued even to the plundering some houses in the suburbs. The rest of the year was spent in various altercations about dissolving the fraternity of the spoon, which was generally looked upon to be an illegal and a predatory institution; but nothing effectual was done, saving that the *Bernois* and *Fribourgers* renewed their assurances of friendship for the *Genevois*, and cancelled their treaty of alliance with the duke of *Savoy*.

By this time the bishop of *Geneva* had laid aside all business; so that the magistrates were obliged to re-establish a kind of commission for managing the affairs of the bishopric, and *Richardet* was chosen his steward, with four assistants, who have ever since been called auditors. When this regulation was intimated to him in the *Franche-comté*, he approved of it; but was so immersed in indolence, that he desired to have no further concern in the matter, that he might do nothing farther to exasperate the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he had renewed a correspondence. Next year the plague raged in *Geneva* to such a degree, that a set of miscreants, who had recovered from it, and therefore thought themselves proof against it, entered into a confederacy for propagating it; but being discovered, they were punished with the most exquisite tortures. Both the duke and the *Knights of the Spoon* continued their hostilities against *Geneva*; and the bishop, who remained still in *Franche-comté*, was prevailed on to give them his countenance. This encouraged them so much, that they formed a scheme for surprising the city itself, by scaling the walls in the night-time. Their courage failed them in this attempt; but they plundered the suburbs of *St. Leger*. Not only the allies, but the other cantons of *Switzerland*, considered the case of the *Genevois* as a common cause; and, says *Spon*^a, "There set out from *Bern* seven thousand men, and twelve pieces of ordnance, under the conduct of the governor of *Erlach*; from *Fribourg* two thousand, with four pieces of cannon; and some time after, five hundred from *Soleurre*, with two pieces of cannon. Two or three thousand volunteers joined this army." All those auxiliaries arrived at *Morges*, where they staid four days, while the knights thought proper to break up their camp. This army, however, which was more formidable than any that had been seen for some hundreds of years in those parts, struck the duke of *Savoy* with very serious apprehensions; and he sent *de Vauru* to assure the *Genevois*, that he knew nothing of the late attempt upon their city, though *de Vauru* had appeared as one of the heads of the knights.

Increase of the power of the magistrates.

Danger of Geneva,

which is delivered by its allies.

d THE leaders of the confederates, while at *Morges*, proposed terms of accommodation between the duke and the *Genevois*; but the latter earnestly desired to have a conference with him at *Geneva*. Upon the army of the cantons decamping from *Morges*, and looking upon the *Knights of the Spoon*, as being no better than outlaws and ruffians, they burned down the castle of *Rolle*, and most of their houses in the *Vaud*, and then marched to *Geneva*, where they arrived about the 8th of *October*. A peace was proposed between the duke and the *Genevois*, and hastily concluded at *St. Julian*. The terms were, "that the prisoners should be released on both sides; and that no acts of hostility should pass from either party, under penalty, on the duke's part, of the forfeiture of the country of *Vaud*; and of the *Genevois*, of the revocation of the alliance." It is probable, that the *Genevois* agreed to this peace, chiefly with a desire to get rid of their friends, who had consumed all that was eatable in their territory, and left the inhabitants on the point of starving. Nothing had been stipulated either as to the vidamate or the alliance; and the duke of *Savoy* continued to insist upon the revival of the one, and the dissolution of the other, in an assembly of the cantons held at *Payerne*, *December* the 3d. He likewise insisted upon the fugitive *Mamalukes* being restored to *Geneva*, and to all their honours and estates there; and upon his being paid two hundred thousand crowns, to indemnify him for the expences of the war. The deputies of the cantons were for referring the matter to the emperor; but that expedient was rejected by the *Genevois*, who insisted upon referring it to a general assembly of the cantons. The affair came before the latter on the 31st of the same month; and their determination was, that the affair of the fugitives should be postponed; that the alliance with *Geneva* should be confirmed; that *Bonnivard*, who had been illegally imprisoned by the duke, should be released; and that the duke should pay to the three cities twenty-one thousand crowns, which he was to raise upon the bishop of *Geneva*, and the *Knights of the Spoon*; and that the agreement of *St. Julian* should stand good, but that the vidamate should be restored to him.

A peace.

A. D. 1533. Differences arise anew:

f THE duke rejected all the terms of this arbitration that were in his own disfavour; but appointed a person to act as his vidame. The *Genevois* would not admit him, because the other articles were not complied with, and fortified their city, so as to secure it against all surprize; while the duke, on the other hand, threatened to raise an army of ten thousand men to reduce them, and prohibited all manner of provisions from being carried into the

Conduct of the duke of Savoy.

^a SPOND. p. 92.

city out of his dominions. But the religious disputes, which now began to be very warm at Geneva, promised him greater advantages than all he could hope for from his arms, as they threatened an utter dissolution of the confederacy.

*Progress of the
reformation in
Geneva.*

CERTAIN young *Genevois*, either from a spirit of controversy, or the love of truth, fixed up in all public parts of the city, a number of propositions, which they undertook either to defend or confute; but the tendency of the disputations was generally against the established religion. The reader who reflects upon that invincible love of liberty that was inherent in the natives of Geneva, and the perpetual struggles they had with their bishops, whose lives were far from being exemplary, cannot be surprised that the *Genevois* imitated their neighbours the *Swisses*, in canvassing the absurdities in religion. By what can be gathered from their history, the ecclesiastics amongst them differed in little or nothing from the laity, excepting in their hasty performances of their modes of worship; for they served in their armies, and wore swords when they appeared abroad. One *Veily*, a canon, drew his sword upon one of those young *Genevois* disputants, who stood upon his own defence; and a fray ensued, in which several persons were wounded. Upon this the syndics published an order against all such public disputations for the future, and against the broaching of new doctrines. Soon after this order was published, the *Bernois*, who were extremely zealous for the conversion of the *Genevois*, persuaded *William Farel*, an eminent reformer, and *Anthony Saunier*, to repair to Geneva, where, though in defiance of the civil power, they preached the new doctrines as they were called, and gained many secret converts. The clergy took the alarm; and though two syndics were their friends, they were obliged to leave the city. Their place was supplied by *Anthony Froment*, one of *Farel's* disciples; a brisk lively young man, who introduced himself under the character of a reading and writing tutor into many families, where he instructed his pupils, their parents, and friends, in the principles of the reformed religion; but his success chiefly lay amongst the women. His mission was not long a secret; for his audiences soon grew so crowded, that the magistrates could no longer wink at such assemblies; and an order was issued from the council, commanding him to desist. This order was delivered to him by the common serjeant, while he was in the middle of his sermon; but he returned the usual answer on such occasions, that it was better to obey God than man. This answer being reported to the council, a warrant was issued to apprehend him; and this obliged him first to abscond, and then to leave the city. Those proceedings made great noise in the cantons of alliance. The *Fribourgers* repeated their threatnings to break with the *Genevois*, if their magistrates did not effectually put a stop to the new doctrine. The answer of the magistrates was, that they had done all they could, and that they would strengthen the ecclesiastical power for that purpose. It is likely that they were not very sincere in those confessions, for the reformed daily increased; and the *Roman* clergy, the more the *Genevois* read the scripture, became the more detested. At last, in one of their assemblies which they held in a garden, one *Guerin*, a cap-maker, took upon him to administer the sacrament, for which he was obliged to fly the city. It must be acknowledged, that those first reformers amongst the *Genevois*, were not remarkable for their meekness. Several tumults happened between them and the established clergy; and blows were frequently dealt between the followers of both parties. The magistrates, however, continued to protect the Papists, and to banish such of the Protestants, particularly *Olivetan*, as were most forward in preaching and disturbing the public peace, by presuming to accuse the mass of idolatry.

*Disputes about
religion.*

*The Bernois
offended.*

THIS offended the *Bernois*; and they in their turn threatened to break with the *Genevois*, if their magistrates continued their severities against the reformers. Thus the city was divided between the *Bern* and *Fribourg* interest. The *Romish* clergy had still great credit; they complained that the threatening letters which had been sent from *Bern*, had been procured from thence by the reformed faction at Geneva; and while the council was assembled, about two hundred of the *Roman* catholics called out for justice against the reformed, whom they threatened to punish if the magistrates declined it. This tumult being appeased, with great difficulty, and by fair words, four days after another of a more threatening nature broke out. One *Baudichon* had assembled, at his house, about two hundred reformed, all of them men of spirit and courage, well armed, and determined not to be insulted by the *Romanists*. The popish part, on the other hand, assembled in great numbers in the church of *St. Peter*; and great preparations were made on both sides to come to bloodshed. Two of the syndics repaired to *St. Peter's*, and two to *Baudichon's*, to endeavour to compromise matters. In the mean while the great bell was rung by the *Romanists*, which was a signal for all of them to put themselves in arms. Some eminent citizens were wounded; the city gates were shut; the great artillery was drawn out against *Baudichon's* house; and some of the council put themselves at the head of the *Romanists*. It happened, as it generally does on those occasions, that father was divided against son, and husband against wife, and all burned with irresistible fury; so that nothing was now expected but an unnatural

a natural scene of blood. The priests blew the flame, as believing their party the most numerous; but the syndics, by their incessant labours for peace, brought the reformed in *Baudichon's* house to consent to a treaty. This proposal was rejected by the *Romanists*, who advanced to the assault; but understanding that they would meet with a warm reception, they halted, and began to listen to some *Fribourg* merchants, who happening to be in the place, interposed, and brought both parties to consent to a parley. This interposition being seconded by the prudence of the syndics, three hostages on either side were interchanged for keeping the peace; and next day the articles of agreement were published by the syndics. The substance of them was,

An insurrection,

b THAT all enmity should cease on both sides, in words as well as deeds: that none should rail against the sacraments of the church; but that all persons might use their own liberty: that flesh should not be eaten on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*: that none should preach without licence from the syndics and superiors; and that nothing should be maintained in sermons that could not be proved out of the holy scriptures. Those articles were solemnly sworn to, the syndics taking the oath of the laity, and the vicar, of the clergy, for their observance.

and accommodation.

c IT is easy to perceive, that, by this concordate, the reformed, or as they were then called, *Gospellers*, carried their main points. The *Bernois*, sensible of the strength of their party, sent a herald to desire that *Peste* and *Baudichon*, two of the chief *Gospellers*, should not be molested; and after *Easter* they sent *Farel* and another minister to *Geneva*, to dispute with the popish preachers. This renewed the tumults. The *Romanists* met together in a quarter of the city called *Molard*. Swords were drawn; the great bell was rung, and the canon *Verley* appeared armed from head to foot, brandishing a naked sword, as the champion of the *Romanists*. Above seven hundred appeared on each side, and *Verley* was killed in endeavouring to make his retreat; while *Coquet*, a syndic, was wounded in the head, in endeavouring to separate the combatants, which was at last effected with great difficulty; and two of the ringleaders were imprisoned. *Verley* happening to be a *Fribourger*, that canton demanded satisfaction, not only on those who actually killed him, but on *Coquet* and the magistrates, who had not suppressed the tumult. Some days after deputies came from *Bern*, who acted as mediators; and at last it was agreed, that every person might be at liberty to go either to mass or sermons, as he pleased; and this compromise was likewise sworn to, the other standing still in force.

The Fribourgers demand satisfaction.

d THE bishop, all this while, was absent; but was now in hopes that the divisions of *Geneva* would render his presence there so necessary, that he might re-establish his authority. On the 1st of *June* he arrived at that city, having been met a league out of town by the syndics. His first care was to release several ecclesiastics out of prison, and then he assisted with the *Fribourg* deputies, at a general council, which was held after mass. In that council a president of *Franche-comté* harangued the members, in favour of the bishop, and against the *Gospellers*. It soon appeared, that the reformation had taken too deep root to be crushed by his authority amongst the *Genevois*. *Verley's* kindred having assembled one hundred and twenty men at *Fribourg*, passed the lake, and advanced to *Gaillard*, from whence they sent to *Geneva*, and once more demanded justice for their kinsman's death. Here the old dispute between the bishop and the syndics, concerning jurisdiction in capital cases, was revived; and he was given to understand, that he had no power to judge the prisoners; upon which, finding all his endeavours in vain to establish his authority, he hastily left *Geneva*, about the middle of *July*, and retired into the duke of *Savoy's* dominions. In the mean while nine men and a woman were indicted for *Verley's* murder, before the attorney-general; and being acquitted, the attorney offered to enter an appeal, which was rejected, the syndics acquainting him, that they owned no superior on earth, and therefore would admit of no appeal. To prove, however, that they were in earnest to punish the murder, f one *Thoberet*, who was convicted of having stabbed *Verley*, was publicly executed. This example of justice did not quiet *Verley's* relations, who fell upon the *Genevois* *Gospellers* wherever they met them; and those bickerings were often attended by bloodshed.

The bishop returns to Geneva.

g FROMENT was now returned to *Geneva*, together with one *Alexander Camus*, another reformer; while one *Furbity*, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, appeared at *St. Peter's* church, as the champion for popery. The indiscreet zeal of *Froment* and *Camus* led them to break the late pacifications, by publicly contradicting *Furbity* in the church; upon which *Camus* was banished, and *Froment* put under arrest. This proceeding disobliged the *Bernois*, whose religion being *Lutheran*, was not implicitly embraced by the reformed of *Geneva*. It is probable, likewise, that the syndics neither approved of the indiscretion of the reformed preachers, nor of the forwardness of the *Bernois*, in pressing upon them their religion. The *Bernois*, on the other hand, were disgusted with the slowness of the syndics; and to quicken them, they demanded the arrears owing them on account of the late war. They likewise insisted upon *Furbity* being punished, for preaching erroneous and blasphemous doctrine,

Demands of the Bernois

doctrine, and complained of the treatment of *Froment* and his companions. The *Genevois*, upon the *Bernois* deputies entering the city, took them to be *Lutheran* ministers; and the Papists, both laics and ecclesiastics, ran to arms; but understanding how matters went, they were quieted. Upon the application of the deputies to the council, the custody of *Furbity* was offered to the grand vicar, who refused to receive him; and the council made the best apology they could to keep the *Bernois* in temper. Soon after a herald came from *Fribourg*, complaining that *Farel*, who was returned to *Geneva*, was suffered to preach, and again threatening to break off their alliance. The episcopal and *Savoyard* parties foresaw that it would be impossible for the syndics to preserve their alliance both with *Bern* and *Fribourg*; and this encouraged the grand vicar, on the 1st of *January*, 1534, to give notice to all the parishes, that none should presume to preach, either in public or private, without licence from the bishop or himself; and that all the inhabitants should, under pain of excommunication, burn their *French* and *Dutch* bibles.

insisted upon.

THREE days after fresh deputations, on the former account, arrived from *Fribourg* and *Bern*; but the latter was by far the most importunate. They demanded the arrears that were owing to their state, and insisted upon satisfaction for *Furbity* having railed against their religion. The *Genevois* promised the payment of all that was justly due to them; but pleaded that they had no power over *Furbity*, because he was an ecclesiastic. Upon this the deputies, in a rage, threw upon the table the letters of association; but took them back upon *Furbity* being ordered to answer for himself in the town-house. This revived the dispute between the spiritual and temporal courts. Though the magistrates had declared, that they did not mean to injure the bishop's rights, by ordering *Furbity* to answer before them; yet the bishop sent express orders, that his case should be remitted to the ecclesiastical court; while the *Bernois* insisted, with equal perseverance, upon his being tried by the syndics alone, and that one of their ministers should be permitted to preach in *Geneva*.

Conspiracy discovered.

It must be acknowledged, that the *Genevois* magistrates had, at this time, a most difficult task to manage; but the discovery of a dangerous design formed against their liberties, soon determined the part they were to act. Amongst other instances of bloodshed between the professors of the two religions, one *Pennet*, a Papist, killed *Porral*, a Protestant; and the murderer, accompanied by *Portery*, the bishop's secretary, took refuge in the steeple of *St. Peter's* church, with design to ring the great bell in the night-time, and alarm their party. The syndics, on being informed where they were concealed, entered the church, made both of them prisoners, and *Pennet* next day lost his head. *Portery's* house was then searched, and many blank commissions, and other papers, sealed with the duke of *Savoy's* coat of arms, were found in his closet, with an order for appointing a governor over *Geneva*, who was to act, in temporals, as the bishop's lieutenant, and to punish the reformed with the utmost severity. Papers of the same import were likewise found under the bishop's hand; and, in short, a discovery was made of a design to render *Geneva* subject to the house of *Savoy* and the bishop.

Consequences of it.

THE evidences of this conspiracy were read on the 10th of *February*, in the general council, convoked for electing the syndics, and produced great effects. The *Bernois* deputies animated the *Genevois* against the *Savoyard* party, and promised, in the names of their principals, to stand to their alliance. *Portery's* indictment was drawn up, and his relations pleaded the bishop's pardon in bar to his trial; but the syndics refused to admit it; and being convicted of man-slaughter, treason, and sedition, he was executed according to his sentence. This served to encrease the intestine divisions of the city, where, after the discovery of the late conspiracy, the magistrates evidently leaned to the reformers. The ridiculous expedient of a public disputation between *Furbity* and the ministers was tried before the council of two hundred, who condemned *Furbity* to make a public recantation in the church of *St. Peter*, of the expressions which had given offence to the *Bernois*. He was accordingly led to the pulpit, and the form of recantation put into his hands; but instead of pronouncing it, he began to harangue the auditory in favour of popery; upon which he was pulled from the pulpit, and kept close prisoner. He was not the only preacher whom the *Bernois* complained of; they accused the preacher of *Rive*, one of the parishes of the city, of maintaining doctrines that were not to be found in the scripture, extracts of which they produced in writing. The syndics answered, that the preacher should be warned not to propagate such doctrines for the future. The *Bernois* then complained of one of their ministers having been banished the city; but the syndics and council replied, that they could not repeal his sentence of banishment. Lastly, the deputies desired that they might be allowed a chapel and chaplain for themselves, both which were accordingly granted them.

By this time, the reformed had secretly taken a resolution to try their strength with the *Roman Catholics*, and endeavoured to get possession of the church of *Rive*. For this purpose

- a pose a reformed minister openly contradicted a preacher, who had delivered a sermon there on the first *Sunday* in *Lent*; and on the 1st of *March*, *Baudichon* and *Amy Perron*, with other vigorous reformers, obliged *Farel* to get up into the pulpit, after the preacher had finished his discourse, and to confute him. This was the first time that the reformed had preached in a regular place of worship within *Geneva*; nor does it appear after that, that they ever quitted possession of the church of *Rive*, where they not only preached, but baptized, married, and administered the sacrament. Some of the counsellors and new deputies from *Fribourg* complained of those proceedings, as encroachments and breaches of the late pacification. The magistrates laid the fault upon their allies of *Bern*, whom they said they could not disoblige at a juncture so critical to their liberties; and they exhorted the *Fribourgers* to join them in defending them against the bishop, which were so far from doing, that they utterly renounced their alliance with them, by tearing the seals from the treaty. Thus an alliance, which was formed upon the noble principles of liberty, was cancelled through fantastic differences in religion.

Progress of
the reformation,

- ON *Whitsun-eve* the heads of the images over the church gates were struck off, by some unknown offenders; and *Bernard*, a priest of *St. Peter's* church, renounced popery, and was married by *Peter Vieret* to *Amy Perron's* sister. In short, the party of the reformers every day gained ground. This was the more extraordinary, as the episcopal and ecclesiastical power and property in *Geneva*, was at least equal to those of the temporal, and indeed can only be accounted for by the ignorance, heat, imprudence, and pride of the ecclesiastics themselves. Lamentable, however, were the divisions that reigned both in public and private, when the two parties came near to an equality, and which encouraged the bishop to attempt once more to re-assume his authority. He was supported by the duke and nobility of *Savoy*, who raised a considerable body of soldiers to assist him to enter *Geneva*, the gates of which were to be opened by his party within the city, while the charges of the cannon that defended the walls were to be privately drawn. The vigilant syndics, three of whom were now Protestants, discovered this conspiracy; and at nine of the night preceding the morning of the intended execution, they shut their gates, and put the inhabitants under arms; but continued the signals that were to be given to the bishop by his accomplices within the city. His scouts finding all the gates shut, and that all was quiet within, concluded that the design was discovered, returned to *Lebussyet*, within two miles of *Geneva*, where the bishop was; and thus the design came to nothing, the *Savoyards* only plundering a few open houses, and making *Peter Vandiel* prisoner; but he was soon after exchanged. As to the bishop, he retired again to *Franche-comté*; and thinking that he was ill-served in *Geneva*, he turned out his officers there, and settled at *Gex*; but the magistrates of *Geneva* refused to send him the seal of the bishopric when he demanded it.

which gains
ground.

- A GENERAL assembly of the cantons was then held at *Baden*, and the *Genevois* laid their grievances before it. The *Bernois*, at the same time, sent deputies to desire the duke of *Savoy*, who affected to be in good understanding with them, not to abet the enemies of *Geneva*; but they received little satisfaction. The duke complained of the *Genevois*, for the indignities they had formerly done him, and of their lately demolishing his altar in the church of *Rive*; and not only demanded that the bishop should be re-admitted, but that his vidame should be restored in the city. In answer to this, the *Genevois* referred themselves to the treaties of *St. Julien* and *Payerne*; but refused to re-admit the bishop. Several other conferences were held on the same subject, at *Tonon* and *Lucerne*; but all was to no purpose. About this time the magistrates of *Geneva* had the honour of receiving a letter, written to them by the *French* king, informing them, that he had set at liberty two of their countrymen, *Baudichon* and *Cologny*, who had been imprisoned at *Lyons* for their religion, and requesting the *Genevois* to set *Furbity*, who was his subject, at liberty. Even that powerful intercession did not prevent the *Genevois* from asking leave of the *Bernois* before they would grant the request; and then *Furbity* was exchanged for *Saunier*, a minister.

An assembly at
Baden.

A. D. 1535.

- THE impolitic proceeding of the *French* king, who persecuted the Protestants within his own dominions, while he favoured them in the empire, was of vast service to the reformation in *Geneva*, as it filled that city with *French* refugees, and furnished them with men and preachers of far greater abilities than any the Papists had to oppose to them. New converts were likewise every day renouncing the errors of popery, even among their own clergy. During all those proceedings, the syndics took care to be attended with a captain and a herald belonging to the *Bernois*, to give countenance to their party. On the 4th of *April*, a woman, an inhabitant of *Bresse*, under pretence of being a proselyte to the reformation, came to *Geneva*, where she was discovered, and executed for attempting to poison three ministers. *Viret* was the only one who tasted the poison, and it almost killed him. The woman accused a canon as being her confederate; and he was imprisoned by order of the syndics.

A female poisoner discovered.

Unsuccessful
attempt of the
Genevois.

On the 5th of *May* the *Genevois* attempted to surprise the town of *Peney*, which they considered as belonging to their jurisdiction, though in possession of the bishop. Their attempt proved unsuccessful, though five hundred men and seven pieces of cannon were employed in it; and after losing two or three of their number, they returned to *Geneva*. This attempt, the justice of which does not clearly appear, occasioned hostilities to break out between the people of *Peney* and *Geneva*; and the latter, for that and many other reasons, proceeded in strengthening and augmenting their fortifications. The bishop and his court continued still at *Gex*, where he had the mortification to see an end of all his authority in *Geneva*. The syndics, on the other hand, affected to do nothing but upon the clearest evidences of scripture and reason. *James Bernard*, guardian of the convent of *Grey Friars* of *Rive*, and brother to the *Bernard* of the same convent, who had abjured popery the year before, held public disputations at the convent of *Rive*, against *Caroli*, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and *Chapuisy*, a *Dominican* friar, who were champions for popery. The bishop prohibited all his clergy, as the duke of *Savoy* did his subjects, from being present at those disputations; but they were mightily encouraged by the syndics, who ordered four secretaries to attend, and to take down all that passed at them, with a view of publishing it. On the 22d of *July*, *Farel*, at the head of many of his hearers, drove the *Romish* clergy and auditory out of *St. Magdalen's* parish church, of which he took possession; and six days after he preached at *St. Gervais*, attended by a guard of fifty men, assigned him by the syndics, for preventing disturbances. On the 5th of *August*, he preached at *St. Dominick's*; and at last, on the 8th of the same month, at *St. Peter's* itself, under the sound of the great bell.

The Roman
Catholic reli-
gion expelled
out of Gene-
va.

It was a misfortune, not peculiar to *Geneva*, that the spirit of her reformers carried them sometimes into unwarrantable, nay barbarous excesses. Being in possession of their churches, they not only destroyed the relics and images there, but demolished the statue of *Charlemagne*, which stood over the great gate of the church, which was erected by himself, as is most probable; an outrage that gave great concern to the lovers of antiquity and learning. Next day *Baudichon*, *Vandel*, and *Amy Perrin*, who had been appointed captains of the city guard, went at the head of their men to the churches of *St. Gervais* and *Dominick*, where their zeal against popery led them to destroy a noble picture which had cost six hundred ducats; and they would have pulled down the fine chapel of *Rene* of *Savoy*, had not the syndics interposed with their staves and prevented them. Next day *Farel* preached before the council of two hundred; and the 22d of *August* gave the fatal blow to the *Romish* religion in *Geneva*, by the syndics passing an order for utterly abrogating the same, and for establishing the Protestant doctrine. We know of no tumults that this great revolution of religion was attended with. The nuns of *St. Clare* had leave, if they pleased, to continue in their convent; but perceiving they could not be indulged with having the mass celebrated there, they begged to be carried to the duke of *Savoy's* dominions, to which they were escorted by the syndics, and where the duke built them another convent at *Aney* (B).

At this time, all the regular military force of *Geneva* amounted only to four hundred volunteers, who were commanded by *Baudichon*, instead of the syndic *Philip*. *Claude* of *Savoy*, a *Genevois*, was sent to *Bern*, to prevail with that canton to send them some assistance. The *Bernois* were then in good terms with the duke of *Savoy*, and offered to be mediators between him and their allies; but declined to spare the troops that were required; upon which *Claude* went to raise supplies in *Neufchatel*. Having raised some, the deputies of *Bern*, as they were marching through their country, procured them to be disbanded, while the *Savoyards* intercepted three of the *Genevois* deputies, and confined them in the castle of *Chilon*.

(B) Those nuns were but nine in number, one having turned Protestant; and some of them had not, for thirty years, been out of the walls of the convent. They were a whole day in travelling to *St. Julien*, which is but a league; but were vastly astonished when they found themselves in the open fields, where they took the sheep and oxen for lions and bears. Before their

departure, *Farel*, with great zeal, preached a sermon, in which he exhorted them to marry; but without any effect. Their journey is recorded by one of themselves, called sister *Jussie*, in a little tract, entitled, *The Beginning of the Heresy in Geneva*; which is written with inimitable simplicity.

S E C T. III.

Containing the progress of the reformation amongst the Genevois, and their wars with the duke of Savoy; arrival of Calvin at Geneva; his history there, with that of Servetus, whom he procured to be burned; Calvin's troubles and death; successes of the Genevois against their enemies; Beza appears among them; and their history continued to the year 1603.

NO people perhaps, under the denomination of a republic or a sovereign state, ever were at a lower pass than the *Genevois* were, when they had the spirit to reform themselves from the errors of popery; and what is still more, to shake off the yoke of their bishop and the duke of *Savoy*. They had amongst them neither trade nor manufactures, and so little money of their own, after the expulsion of the *Savoyards*, that it was with the utmost difficulty two pieces of coarse money of the *Geneva* coin were discovered, to be patterns for a new coinage. They were on all hands surrounded by enemies, who had every motive for hating them that revenge, ambition, and popery could inspire. They were even destitute of provision for their daily support; and now that their friends the *Bernois* had failed them, they seemed to be abandoned by all human aid, as the people of *Gex* had intercepted and cut off the few auxiliaries, who still appeared willing to follow *Claude*. The *Savoyards* had seized upon *Peney*, where they committed the most inhuman outrages, and carried away the inhabitants, whom they accused of treason, prisoners to *Gex*; but the *Genevois*, though thus surrounded with difficulties, and though they scarce possessed a foot of ground they could call their own, without their gates, never seemed to have entertained the least thoughts of submitting to their former tyrants, either temporal or spiritual.

A. D. 1536.
Difficulties of
the Genevois;

WHILE they were in this distress, they were relieved, by an accidental effect; of their poverty. Having no manufactures, and little agriculture of their own, the poorer sort generally sought their livelihood in *France*, where they were employed as printers and compositors, and in other ingenious arts, particularly about *Lyons*. Those poor journeymen could not withstand the call of their country's distress, and about six hundred of them took arms for her relief, being commanded by one *Roboan*, a printer, and one *Francis* of *Montbel*, sieur of *Veray*. Beginning their march with that intention, they found the *Savoyards* in possession of all the passes as far as *Salleneuve*. Notwithstanding this they forced their way to *St. Claude*; and *Montbel* undertook to acquaint the *Genevois* of their approach, and to desire them to favour their entering the town, by making a sally. *Montbel* discharged his commission with great danger to himself; for being alone he was taken for a spy; and as he was approaching the gates of *Geneva*, he was fired upon by the inhabitants. He found means, however, to acquaint them with his instructions; and the *Genevois* made the sally accordingly with all their force and artillery. Both parties, however, were so ignorant in military discipline, that they missed each other upon the road, so that part of the auxiliaries fell into the hands of the *Savoyards*, and part threw themselves into *Geneva*.

who are oppressed by the
Savoyards.

THIS reinforcement, inconsiderable as it was, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the *Genevois*; it enabled them to make sallies, and to procure provisions. Though they were rather straitened than besieged in the city, yet they were threatened with all the miseries of a siege; but the fortune of the war was now changed, and they enlarged their quarters. Their enemies had taken the convent of *Our Lady of Grace*; but being obliged to quit it, the *Genevois* razed it to the ground; and on the 16th of *January*, they defeated their enemies, in an attempt they made to surprise their city by a scalade, on the side of *Gervais* and *St. Victor*. Those small successes, joined to the apprehensions of famine, gave them courage and an additional degree of weight with their allies of *Bern*, who, resenting the attempt of the *Savoyards* to surprise their city, declared war against the duke of *Savoy*, and sent him back the articles of agreement they had entered into with him, promising, at the same time, to send the *Genevois* a speedy reinforcement. This induced the duke to fill the neighbourhood of *Geneva* with an additional number of soldiers, in order to cut off all resources from the inhabitants. This was so far from discouraging the *Genevois*, that they resolved, under *de Veray*, to beat up the enemy's quarters; and accordingly, in a sally, they surprised a body of six hundred horse and foot, whom they cut into pieces, or made prisoners, with the loss of not above three or four of their own men. Some days after this action, being disappointed of the succours promised them by the *Bernois*, they fitted out a bark, and as many boats as carried eight hundred men across the lake, where they alarmed the country of *Savoy*, and plundered *Gentoux* and *Verfoy*, even to the bells of their churches. This expedition was commanded by *de Veray*, who next day took possession of *Sacconex*, which had been abandoned by the enemy on the approach of the *Bernois* auxiliaries that were now in motion; and in those two castles they

Favourable
turn of their
affairs.

they found a vast quantity of provision, which they sent to *Geneva*, where it proved a most seasonable relief to the inhabitants: they then blew up the fortifications of *Peney*, which had long been a thorn in their sides, and which they had not men to garrison.

They are assisted by the Bernois.

ABOUT the 31st of *January*, the *Bernois* auxiliaries were advanced in their march to *Geneva* as far as *Nyons*, having destroyed all that part of the *Vaud* through which they passed. *Charles III.* was then duke of *Savoy*; but he was so ill-served by his subjects, that he was obliged to take mercenaries into pay, who plundered his dominions equally as his enemies did, so that his subjects of the *Vaud*, as well as the *Chablais*, considered the *Bernois* rather as their protectors than their foes. The city and castle of *Gex* surrendered to the *Bernois*; as did *Tonon*, though lying on the other side of the lake; and the castles of *Jussy* and *Gaillard* were, upon summons, delivered up to the *Genevois*. At last the *Bernois* auxiliaries, who, with those of *Neufchatel*, did not amount to above seven hundred men, arrived at *Geneva*. In a council of war it was resolved to attack fort *la Cluse*, which they took, and sent the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, prisoners to *Gex*. But the joy of the *Genevois*, who returned from this expedition loaded with booty and provisions, was greatly damped by the avarice and insolence of their *Bernois* auxiliaries, who demanded, for their expence of the war, all the revenues of the vidamate and the bishopric. The senate, on the other hand, represented to the *Bernois* the dishonour of staining the generous assistance they had given them, by a demand which would subject them to the same oppression from which they had been relieved; and the demand seems, at that time, to have been dropt. The truth is, the *Bernois* were no inconsiderable gainers by breaking with the duke of *Savoy*. It gave them an opportunity of making themselves masters of *Lausanne* and *Yverden*; and at last, by the help of the *Genevois* frigate, they took the castle of *Chilon*, where they delivered *Bonnivard*, who had been many years confined prisoner in a dungeon. The French king, *Francis I.* was master of the greatest part of *Savoy*, *La Bresse*, and *Piedmont*, and desired the *Bernois* to confine their conquests within the *Vaud* and the *Chablais*. The *Fribourgers*, at the same time, though at peace with the duke, took possession of the county of *de Romant*, lest, as they pretended, it should fall into the hands of the *Bernois*. Thus the duke was stripped on all hands; and in the beginning of *May* this year, the *Genevois* possessed and garrisoned *Jussy*, *Thy*, *Peney*, *Bellerive*, and *Seligny*; but demolished the castle of *Gaillard*.

A new alliance.

THE *Bernois* had never lost sight of their claim upon the *Genevois*, whom they now thought to be in a condition to satisfy it; and a meeting was held at *Bern* for that purpose, where matters were settled on the following terms. The alliance between the two states was continued for twenty-five years; the *Genevois* obliged themselves to pay to the *Bernois* ten thousand crowns in six months time; the *Bernois* were to be admitted into *Geneva* as often as they thought proper, and to be put into possession of the lordship of *Gaillard*, the abbey of *Bellerive*, and the castle of *Cholex*. Thus the *Genevois* preserved the revenues of the vidamate, the bishopric, and the valuable abbey of *St. Victor*.

Religious affairs.

FAREL, who seems to have had in his composition a strong tincture of enthusiasm, still continued at the head of the *Genevois* reformation; and it is more than probable, that the syndics thought he had too much sway with the common people. The persecution of the Protestants still raging in *France*, the famous *John Calvin*, with his brother *Anthony*, came to *Geneva*, in his way to *Basil* and *Strasbourg*. He was a man of parts and zeal for the reformation; and his learning was far superior to that of *Farel*, who, with great difficulty, engaged him to remain at *Geneva*. By their joint labours the Protestant religion acquired great strength; but the divisions and imprudence of its professors had almost ruined it. The *Bernois* were smitten with the itch of disputation, upon the most ridiculous trifling matters of religion; and assuming a superiority over the *Genevois*, pressed the latter to comply with them in every whimsical article as a matter of salvation. In the year 1537, an Anabaptist endeavouring to introduce his doctrine into *Geneva*, was disputed with by *Farel*, who prevailed with the magistrates to banish him and his followers out of the city. They retired to *Switzerland*, where the *Bernois* put some of them to death. In *March*, *Caroline*, a famous champion for popery, came likewise to *Geneva*; and *Farel*, after disputing with him, prevailed with the magistrates to drive him out of their city likewise. *Farel* then presumed to differ with the *Bernois*, upon the articles of making use of unleavened bread in the sacrament; and of women being married with their hair dishevelled. This created a breach in the friendship between the two states; and *Calvin* joining with him in rejecting the doctrine of consubstantiation, it was widened.

The Protestant ministers expelled;

IT was no wonder that the *Genevois* magistrates were prejudiced against men who could thus endanger the peace and liberty of a state for such whimsical trifles. The *Romish* party was indefatigable in representing and exaggerating those absurdities; and at last the magistrates, who are said to have been *Roman Catholics* in their hearts, cited the three principal Protestant preachers, *Calvin*, *Farel*, and *Courant*, who was blind, to appear before them,

- a them, which they accordingly did, and offered to defend their Confession of Faith. They had against them, not only the *Romish*, but the *Bernois* interest; and upon their refusing to conform with the canton of *Bern*, in celebrating the sacrament, the syndics ordered them to depart the city in three days time, which they were obliged to do. *Calvin* retired to *Basil*, and from thence to *Strasbourg*; as *Farel* did to *Neufchatel*; but both of them held a frequent correspondence with their friends in *Geneva*; and it was easy to foresee, that their exile would be of no long duration. Their banishment was followed by the persecution of the other Protestant clergy, some of whom were prudent enough to comply with the *Bernois* discipline in indifferent matters; while others, particularly *Saunier* and *Matturin Cordier*, were banished for not complying with the *Romanists*, by administering the communion in
- b a wafer.

- DURING the year 1539, the liberty as well as the religion of the *Genevois* was in suspense. The banished ministers and their followers had the merit of maintaining the independency of the state in both. The *Bernois* pretended to dictate; the *Roman Catholics* improved the differences to their own purposes; and the magistrates, without troubling themselves about the affairs of religion, passed a decree in the general council, that whosoever should so much as advise a change of government, should lose his head. This was a necessary precaution; for a faction now sprung up, who called themselves *Artichauds*, or *Artichokes*, from their wearing leaves of that plant as badges, who favoured the superiority of the *Bernois* over *Geneva*. Those artichauds had been enemies to the banished pastors. Three of
- c them resided as deputies at *Bern*, and had agreed to give up to the *Bernois* the lordship and abbey of *St. Victor*, with other articles extremely prejudicial to the public liberty. This agreement being reported in the general council, the deputies were sent for home, imprisoned, and condemned to lose their heads as traitors. Being men of great interest, their condemnation produced considerable disturbances. *John Philippe*, who was then captain-general of the troops, and had borne the highest posts in the state, befriended them, and killed a partizan of the other faction. This in an instant lost *Philippe* all his interest and popularity. He endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken; and though the *Bernois* earnestly interposed in his favour, he lost his head. *Richardet*, another leader of the same party, was killed by a fall, in trying to make his escape over the city walls. Two of the
- d three deputies who were under sentence of death, had been joint syndics with *Philippe* and *Richardet*, when the reformed ministers were banished out of *Geneva*; and nothing was now more talked of than the repeal of that banishment. In the mean while the emperor *Charles V.* A. D. 1540. sent a letter to the citizens of *Geneva*, encouraging them to maintain their independency against the *Bernois*, to whom he had wrote to desist from their claims; and threatening the *Genevois* with his highest displeasure, if they did not maintain themselves in the possession of those privileges that had been granted them by his ancestors. Those letters being read in the general council, an order was made for repealing the banishment of the ministers; and *Calvin* was accordingly invited to return to *Geneva*. He was at that time settled at *Strasbourg*, where he had vast success in making converts; and it was with great difficulty he
- e was prevailed upon to return to *Geneva*, where a consistory was now established. Being returned, his exile seemed to have given him new lustre. He applied himself indefatigably to the duties of his function: he kept up a close correspondence with the most eminent Protestants all over *Europe*; and at last he became in a manner the dictator of the state, where he established that ecclesiastical policy which still prevails there. The high credit he was in was of service to *Geneva*, where many useful manufacturers and artists took refuge on account of their religion.

but restored.

- In the year 1542, the plague being at *Geneva*, the great palace there was fitted up for an hospital; but the magistrates held *Calvin* in so great esteem, that they would not suffer him to attend the infected, and he went to *Strasbourg*, where he renewed his disputations
- f with *Caroline*. Next year *Peter* of *Baume*, bishop of *Geneva*, died, and that dignity was conferred by the pope upon *Auberive*, who resided at *Arnig*. Some pretend that *Calvin* was jealous of the superior parts of the excellent *Castalio*, who was his fellow-labourer in the ministry, and that he employed underhand means to procure his expulsion from *Geneva*. It is certain that *Castalio* was accused before the council of maintaining some heterodox opinions, particularly with regard to the song of *Solomon*, which he considered as an amorous poem, and the descent of Christ into hell; which being disapproved of by the council, he was deposed from his ministry, and obliged to withdraw to *Basil*.

Death of the bishop of Geneva.

- In the year 1545, a most incredible scene of wickedness was discovered in *Geneva*. That city had been often subject to the plague, which a set of miscreants, who were employed as
- g cleansers, and who being recovered had nothing to fear from the infection, endeavoured to spread. Those wretches, consisting of men and women, erected themselves into a kind of fraternity, and made use of cant words to express their detestable practices. One *Lentilles* was at their head; and it was common for them to collect the morbid matter in rags,

A scene of wickedness discovered.

which they dropped or distributed in places which were not infected. One *Tallent*, an accomplice of *Lentilles*, had been discovered in this detestable crime at *Tonon*, and being apprehended he confessed his guilt, and impeached *Lentilles* and his confederates. *Lentilles* being apprehended, was confronted with *Tallent*; but would confess nothing, tho' racked to the most exquisite degree till he expired. All they could extort from him, was his desiring them to seize upon all who attended the hospital. This being done, seven men and twenty-four women were tried, convicted, and upon their own confession burnt alive; and a surgeon, and two others, had their skins pulled off them by red-hot pincers. All of them acknowledged that *Lentilles* had engaged them, under the most horrible oaths, to the perpetration of their crimes. Those executions, in a few weeks, restored the city and state to salubrity, after losing twenty thousand people.

Dissentions in Geneva.

NOTHING memorable happened for some years after in *Geneva* but religious disputes. *Calvin's* rigorous discipline shut up the taverns, put a stop to all sports, and prohibited all prophane dancing and singing, which gave great offence to the young *Genevois*; but it was in vain they repined. *Calvin* got the magistrates on his side, and the contumacious were threatened with excommunication if they did not submit. A member of the council, however, had the courage to impeach *Calvin's* doctrine as being unsound; but the magistrates, without farther inquiry or application, committed him to prison, and condemned him to do penance for his accusation, by walking through the city with a torch in his hand. A letter about this time was intercepted from *Calvin* to *Viret*, and read before the council, accusing the *Genevois* of impiety and hypocrisy. *Calvin* being questioned upon this letter, boldly justified it; but applied his reflections to particular persons; upon which he was acquitted, and he continued his disputations and publications upon religion with vast success. He met with a keen opponent in the person of *Bolsec*, who had been a *Carmelite*, but pretended to embrace protestantism, and at the same time charged *Calvin* with making God the author of sin, and with other absurd tenets. *Calvin* defended himself, as is said, with great learning, and was seconded by *Farel*; and *Bolsec* was first imprisoned, and then banished the city. One *Troillet* was another of *Calvin's* opponents, but was silenced by the secular power, though that did not prevent many disturbances on the head of religion from arising.

Condemnation of Servetus.

BUT the most impious abuse of the secular power in matters of religion, happened in the case of the famous *Michael Servetus*, a *Spaniard*, and one of the most learned physicians of his age. It is far from being our intention to enter upon the speculative points of this unhappy gentleman's doctrine in which he differed from *Calvin*; we shall relate facts. *Servetus* had been imprisoned for his opinions at *Vienna*; from whence making his escape, he took refuge at *Geneva*. It was natural for him to hope for an asylum amongst a people who had founded their liberties upon their right of thinking for themselves in matters of religion, and disclaiming authority in points of conscience. He was deceived; and being arrived at *Geneva*, he was thrown into prison, and accused by *Calvin* of some heterodox opinions with regard to the Trinity, and other articles of faith. He was at the same time robbed by the magistrates of a gold chain, and a considerable sum of money, which never were returned him; so that he was in danger of perishing for want in the prison. Being called upon to make his defence, he did it with so much freedom and learning, that *Calvin* could oppose him with nothing but the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. *Servetus* suffered this sentence without retracting his opinion, to the indelible infamy of those concerned in it. This cruelty gave many advantages to *Calvin's* enemies. He was represented as a favourer of persecution in matters of religion, which was the strongest charge that he himself had brought against the *Romish* church; and the defence he made for himself was vague and illiberal; for it contained nothing more than recriminations upon *Servetus*, and a pretended confutation of his heresies, as if those bare allegations, had they been proved, could have justified murder.

Jealousy of the Genevois.

THE fiery spirit of *Calvin* seemed to communicate itself to the laity of *Geneva*. The *French* had retired to that city in such numbers, that the *Bernois* sent the magistrates some intimations of their having formed a design against their liberties; upon which the people of *Merindol* and *Cabrières*, who had fled for refuge to *Geneva*, were employed in farther fortifying the city. This did not satisfy the hot-headed citizens, and under *Amy Perrin*, their captain-general, they entered into a design to massacre all the *French* within *Geneva* in one night. This detestable conspiracy was discovered by the council, who put to death as many of the heads of it as fell into their hands; but thirty of them fled, and were condemned in their absence. They, however, procured the *Bernois* to intercede for them, but to no purpose, which produced many tumults in and about the city.

Valentine Gentil condemned.

GENEVA was now the chief sanctuary of all the reformed, whom religion had driven from their own countries. The *English*, the *French*, the *Italians*, and other nations, had their several churches there, or in the suburbs, and their transactions make a considerable figure.

- a figure in the ecclesiastical history of that time. In the year 1556, the confederacy between *Geneva* and *Bern* was renewed; and next year it was rendered perpetual. In the year 1558, some *Italians* professing *Arian* principles, which they neither understood nor could explain, came to *Geneva*; amongst them was *Valentine Gentil*. The secular power continued to be the great test of truth amongst the *Genevois*; and those heretics, as an answer to their doubts and doctrines, were required to sign the confession of faith drawn up by *Calvin*. Some complied through conveniency, amongst others was *Gentil*; but others, because they would not comply, were forced to leave the city. *Gentil*, notwithstanding his subscription, continued to dogmatize upon *Arian* principles, and to oppose the doctrine of *Calvin*; upon which he was committed to prison, and great doubts arose, whether he did not deserve the
- b fate of *Servetus*. *Gentil* was, however, more pliable at this time than *Servetus* had been. He exhibited a writing, by which he retracted his opinions; and by a seeming repentance prevailed with the magistrates to inflict upon him no other punishment than burning his books, and obliging him not to depart the city without their leave. Notwithstanding the mildness of this censure he joined with *Matthew Gribalde*, a disciple of *Servetus*, and withdrawing from *Geneva*, he propagated his doctrines in the county of *Gex*, where the bailiff obliged him to a second recantation; but being irreclaimable, he was afterwards burnt at *Bern*.

- THE great apology for *Calvin* pursuing those sanguinary persecuting measures is his sincerity, and his being satisfied as to the truth of what he taught. He had now acquired a reputation all over *Europe*, which occasioned a resort of Protestants to *Geneva*, to the vast benefit of that city. About the year 1558, those emigrants encreased so greatly, that it was judged necessary to found a college at *Geneva* for their reception and education. This college was divided into seven classes, in which *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and philosophy, were taught by separate professors, while *Calvin*, and the famous *Theodore Beza*, read the divinity lectures. The statutes of this college were afterwards printed. About this time *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*, succeeding to his father, who had been stripped of almost all his estates, obtained the restitution of part of them from the cantons; but complained bitterly that the *Genevois* encouraged his subjects of *Lucerne* and other places in their contumacy. A like complaint was brought against the *Genevois* by *Charles IX.* the *French* king, who taxed
- d their state with being the source from which all the divisions and distractions of his kingdom proceeded. In answer to those charges, the *Genevois* did not deny their having encouraged foreigners to study there, and to qualify themselves for the protestant ministry; but they protested that they never entertained the least thoughts of fomenting disobedience in subjects against their sovereign; and as to the *Savoyards*, they declared, that they had no farther connection with them, than by praying God to deliver them from military cruelty.

- GENEVA* was at this time considered on the continent of *Europe*, as being the great seat of the reformed religion. Their magistrates were so severe in their discipline, that they put a banker to death for being guilty of adultery; and another person condemned to be
- e whipped for the same crime, having appealed for a mitigation of his punishment to the council of two hundred, was so far from receiving it, that he was put to death likewise by their sentence. In all religious disputes, the *Genevois* divines were the umpires, and they furnished preachers and ministers to all the reformed states in *Europe*. In the year 1564, *Calvin* died, and his corpse was attended to the grave by almost all the inhabitants of *Geneva*. Nothing remarkable happened in that state till the year 1566, when *James Paul Spiffame* was put to death at *Geneva*. He had been bishop of *Nevers*, and had retired to that city on account of his embracing the reformed religion. He had, at his own request, been admitted a citizen; and he was so much esteemed for his learning, that he was sent as a missionary into *France*, for the propagation of protestantism. During his absence a suspicion
- f arose of his wanting again to reconcile himself to the church of *Rome*; and it was discovered that, being married, he had antedated his nuptial contract, that he might enable his son, whom he had by his wife before marriage, to inherit his large estate. Being imprisoned upon this charge, he was examined, convicted, and put to death, upon his own confession. It was, however, believed by many, that his chief crime consisted of his having disoblighed *Catharine de Medici*, whose influence with the syndics procured his execution.

- THE duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1567, procured from the *Bernois* the restitution of *Gex*, *Gaillard*, *Terny*, and *Chablais*, on condition of the inhabitants being indulged in the profession of the protestant religion. That same year the duke d'*Alva* being to pass through *Savoy*, the duke of *Savoy* endeavoured to engage him in an attempt to make himself master of *Geneva*, and for that purpose raised a considerable army. His design taking air, many of the *French* protestants repaired to *Geneva*, and offering their services for the defence of the city, they were formed into companies, under proper commanders; and such other precautions were taken, that the duke, without making any attempt upon the city, proceeded

A college instituted at Geneva.

Death of Calvin.

Geneva in danger.

proceeded to *Islanders*. He was no sooner gone, than the foreigners at *Geneva*, who had been formed into seven companies, marched to the relief of their brethren in *Gex* and *Verfey*, and took possession of both places, which were abandoned by their garrisons. Soon after this *Geneva* was again visited by the plague, and other natural calamities; but nothing remarkable happened in its government till the year 1578, when *Henry III.* of *France* made an alliance with the *Swisses*, in which *Geneva* was included, as being the key and bulwark of *Swisserland*. It was stipulated by this alliance, that in case that city was besieged, the cantons should send a sufficient number of men to its assistance at the king's charge; and, on the other hand, that the city should suffer his troops to pass through it, marching orderly in rank and file, granting no retreat or passage to his majesty's enemies. This treaty was concluded at *Soleurre*, betwixt the king and the cities of *Bern*, *Soleurre*, and *Geneva*; *Zurich* was afterwards comprehended, at the suit of the *sieur de Cocumartin*, ambassador from the king to the *Swisses*^a.

Duke of Savoy renews his attempts against it.

IN the year 1582, the duke of *Savoy* renewed his attempt to make himself master of *Geneva*, being encouraged thereto by a *Dauphinois*, who lived at *Toncn*, and pretended that he had confederates, who would open the gates of the city as soon as the *Savoyards* should appear before it. The duke upon this raised a number of men; and one *Lance*, who commanded in the quarter of *St. Gervais*, undertook to give his troops admittance into the city; but gave information of what he had done to the council, after he had got all the money he could from the duke. The *Savoyards* were to be commanded by the count *de Raconis*, who advanced to *Gex*, where the *Dauphinois*, who had some reason to be suspicious of the event, left him. This defection made the count believe that he was betrayed; and though he found the gates of *St. Gervais* open, he durst not enter, but retired to *Terny* and *St. Julian*. The truth was, that *Geneva* at that time was plentifully furnished with Protestant soldiers both from *France* and *Swisserland*, besides natives, who were well prepared to receive the count, had his army entered the city. He, on the other hand, being at the head of a considerable army, of which fifteen hundred were raised out of the popish cantons, resolved to attempt something against the city by open force; but he was defeated in all the attempts he made, and obliged to retire after plundering the neighbouring villages. Upon his retreat an enquiry was made after his accomplices, and a vintner, with three others, were beheaded on that account.

Case of the Jews.

ABOUT this time the *Jews* suffered a violent persecution both in *France* and *Germany*, and fixed their eye upon *Geneva*, as the most commodious situation in which they could settle. They offered to repair thither to the number of eight or ten thousand; to build houses in a quarter that should be allotted them, which they were to fortify and garrison at their own charges; to serve with the other citizens as soldiers; to pay a yearly tribute, and to raise their proportion of all other taxes. A considerable number of the *Genevois* were strongly disposed to accept of this offer; but prejudice and prepossession prevailing, it was rejected, and the *Jews* were obliged to purchase their peace with the *Germans*.

Natural calamities in Geneva.

THE year 1584 was distinguished by a most dreadful hurricane, earthquakes, and tempest, that happened in *Geneva*, and all over its neighbourhood, which buried a great number of men, castles, and houses. In *October*, the same year, the city of *Zurich*, considering *Geneva* as the key of the *Swiss* cantons, entered with it into a perpetual alliance; the memory of which is preserved by a *Latin* inscription in the town-house, and the same was celebrated by great rejoicings at *Geneva*. Next year an extraordinary famine succeeded, which carried off a vast number of the *Genevois*, and the fields were filled with numbers of villagers, expiring with hunger. The effects of this calamity were long felt, and encouraged the duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1588, to apply to the pope for assistance, to make himself master of *Geneva*. His holiness received the *Savoyard* ambassador with great respect, but consulted the bishop of *la Cave*, who was a *Genevois* by birth, as to the practicability of the proposal. The bishop giving his opinion against it, his holiness answered the ambassador, that he would not expend the church's treasure in advancing the duke of *Savoy*'s temporal concerns; but that he was ready to assist him in reducing *Geneva* to the power of the church. The duke communicated this answer, with which he was highly exasperated, to the *Spanish* ministry, who dissuaded him from having any connection with his holiness; upon which he resolved to attempt the thing by force; but the *Genevois*, at this time, found a powerful ally in *Henry III.* of *France*.

Duke of Savoy seizes Saluces.

THE duke of *Savoy*, taking advantage of the distracted divisions of that kingdom, had seized upon the marquise of *Saluces*; and *Henry* sent *Harley* *sieur de Sancy*, one of his ministers of state, to persuade the *Genevois* to break with the duke. *Sancy* offered, in his master's name, not only to furnish them with troops, but to bear all the charges of the war, and that they should keep all the conquests they should make. This matter being laid

^a SPON. p. 123.

a before the council, some of the members thought the proposal too hazardous to be embraced; but the advantages attending it were so evident, that it was agreed to by a great majority. The inducement was, that the duke had shewn himself an open enemy to their state; that by complying with the king's request, they would obtain advantages for the Protestants in *France*; and that they would be sure of the friendship of the prince palatine, and the *Swisses*, during the war.

FROM *Geneva*, *Sancy* proceeded to *Switzerland*, where he induced the *Bernois* to declare war against the duke; and the *Genevois* being furnished with some able officers from *France*, took the field with six companies of foot, and three troops of horse, commanded by two *Frenchmen*, *Quitry* and *Baujeu*. In the night time they surprized and took *Monthoux*, and b in the morning they took the castle of *Bonne*, which is situated at the entrance into *Focigny*, from the *Genevois* country. They then broke down some bridges in the *Chablais*, to prevent the enemy's approach, and at last laid siege to the important castle of *St. Joire*, which belonged to the baron of *Hermance*. This nobleman had been the capital enemy of the *Genevois*, and the contriver or manager of the chief enterprizes against them. The duke of *Savoy*, little expecting that the *Genevois* would have acted offensively, had made no dispositions for saving the castle, which fell into the hands of the *Genevois*, and with it all the material papers relating to the operations of their enemies against their city. On the 7th of *April* they pursued their good fortune, by besieging and taking *Gex* itself, the governor and garrison of which they sent prisoners to *Geneva*. By this time, the duke of c *Savoy* being alarmed at the progress of the *Genevois*, dispatched *Sonaz*, his governor of *Remilly*, with eight troops of horse, and nine companies of foot, to recover the places they had taken. He presented himself before *Bonne*, which was defended by one *Bois* for the *Genevois*; and though its garrison did not exceed ninety men, he durst not attack it. In the mean time the *Genevois*, under *Quitry*, besieged *La Cluse*, situated at the foot of mount *Jura*; but *Quitry* found the place so strong, that the garrison held out till it was relieved by *Sonaz*. In this siege, which was very desperately carried on by the *Genevois* and *Bernois*, they lost the baron of *St. Lagier*, and some of their best officers.

AFTER this, the headquarters of the *Genevois* was at *Cologny*, in the neighbourhood of *La Cluse*, where they were joined by colonel *Erlach*, with some auxiliaries from *Bern*; and lay- b ing aside all farther thoughts of besieging *La Cluse*, the whole army marched back to *Geneva*, where they were joined by some reinforcements from *Soleurre* and the *Grisons*. They then, about the middle of *April*, besieged and took the castle of *Tonon*, having transported their artillery thither by water, with several other strong places in the *Chablais*. After that they laid siege to the fort of *Ripaille*; but the duke of *Savoy* came to its relief with three thousand men. Though the *Genevois* appeared as principals in this war, yet the numbers they brought into the field were very inconsiderable, compared to those of the *French*, the *Swiss*, and the *Grisons*, for their army amounted in the whole to ten thousand men. They were, however, far from being united, and the *French* behaved but very poorly; but the *Genevois* and the *Swiss* acted so bravely, that *Ripaille*, though the garrison consisted of five e hundred men, was obliged to capitulate. After this the *French* army withdrew to *Franche Comte*, and the *Bernois* ordered three thousand men to protect the conquests that had been made in the bailliages of *Vaud* and *Chablais*. The withdrawing of the *French* had almost ruined the affairs of the *Genevois*. They saw themselves burdened with the charge of a war, while their treasury was empty, and their magazines exhausted. The duke of *Savoy*, on the other hand, had great resources, and by this time had raised an army of about eight thousand men, the command of which he gave to the baron of *Hermance*, who immediately retook the castle of *St. Joire*, and some other places in the *Chablais*, and besieged *Marcouffy*, which made a vigorous defence, and was relieved by a party of three hundred *Genevois*. The latter, however, upon the main, found themselves unable to maintain the f places they had taken, and therefore abandoned them all, excepting *Bonne* and *Monthoux*, or *Monthon*. They at the same time began to raise a fort near the bridge over the *Arve*, in the neighbourhood of their city, in which they were interrupted by the duke of *Savoy*, at the head of two thousand horse and foot, but he was repulsed with loss; as he was in two vigorous attacks which he made upon the *Genevois* castle of *Terny*, belonging to the abbey of *St. Victor*. The duke, to be revenged, ravaged the adjacent country; and bringing up his heavy artillery, he began a furious cannonade against the castle, which being old and defenceless, the garrison was obliged to surrender, on promise of having their lives spared; but this capitulation was infamously broken by the duke, who ordered them all to be hanged.

g THIS breach of faith exasperated the *Genevois*, who were now much better soldiers than the *Savoyards*; and, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, they had the better in all encounters. The duke was again repulsed at the fort near the *Arve*, and five hundred *Genevois* musqueteers beat four thousand *Savoyards*, upon the plain of *Ouattes*, half a league who are exasperated with the duke of Savoy.

league distant from the same fort, killing two hundred, amongst whom were several general officers, with the loss of no more than two men, and four or five wounded of their own. This desperate engagement obliged the *Savoyards* to keep for some time within their intrenchments. The duke, hearing that the van of the *Bernois*, under colonel *Erlach*, was advancing to *Geneva*, attacked them in the village of *Escoran*, near *La Cluse*, but was so warmly received, that he was obliged to retreat with loss. About the same time he was forced to raise the blockade of *Bonne*, and to abandon the village of *Feling* in *Focigny*, where part of his army was quartered. Notwithstanding those partial advantages, the duke continued greatly superior to the *Genevois*, even though they had been joined by forty companies of *Bernois* auxiliaries, commanded by the advoyer of *Vatteville*: but the duke's army lying between that reinforcement and the *Genevois*, he redoubled his efforts against the latter, before they could be joined by their auxiliaries, and made repeated efforts against the fort on the *Arve* and *Bonne*, but all without success. In the mean while, some of his counsellors proposed a peace between him and the canton of *Bern*; but his demands being very high, only a three weeks truce was concluded, to the infinite prejudice of the *Genevois*. The truce being expired, the *Genevois* at last were joined by their auxiliaries, and both fell into the country of *Focigny*, where they took several forts; the *Savoyards*, in the mean while, making reprisals in the lordship of *St. Victor*, where *Bois*, one of the best officers of the *Genevois*, was killed.

Death of
Henry III. of
France.

THE assassination and death of *Henry III.* of *France*, which happened about this time, put the duke of *Savoy* upon invading *Provence*. He had been disappointed in his design of subduing the *Genevois*; but thinking it dangerous to leave *Bonne* in the hands of his enemies, he besieged it, and battered it so furiously, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, on promise of having their lives saved; but the duke as usual broke the capitulation, and put them all to death, excepting *Mercier* the minister, who was reserved, and afterwards flayed alive. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had the duke pursued this advantage; but he was intent upon his expedition to *Provence*. Finding the *Genevois* resolved not to submit to him, he built a fort at *Verfoy*, which commanded the navigation upon the lake; and leaving it under the government of the baron of *Serra*, he withdrew his army beyond the mountains, as the *Bernois* did to their own country. Upon their retreat, the *Genevois* found themselves in a most deplorable situation, by having lost the navigation of the lake. The governor of *Verfoy* threatened to oblige them by famine to come with halts about their necks, and make their submission to the duke his master, which they were sensible must be the case if they could not take *Verfoy*. Their force in *Geneva* was at that time eight hundred foot, two troops of horse, two troops of light horse, and one hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them commanded by the sieur *Lubigny*, a *Frenchman*. They had for some days harrassed the garrison of the fort by false alarms, and on the night of the 7th of *November* they resolved to attack it, as they imagined that the garrison of the castle would be then fatigued. They divided their little army into four parts; and after performing public prayer, they marched out upon the expedition with petards and scaling ladders. Their greatest dependence, however, was upon seventeen resolute soldiers, who with iron crowes in their hands, conducted by a peasant, forced their way by a narrow passage into the body of the place, where they overthrew all before them, while the division without had leisure to break open the gate, and scale the walls; and entering the place, the governor, with the loss of two hundred men, was driven into the castle, which he was in a day's time obliged to surrender, to the great joy of the *Genevois*, who immediately set fire to the place, and destroyed all its fortifications, and carried the provisions and ammunition, which they found in it in great abundance, to *Geneva*. The rest of the winter was spent in skirmishes of no great importance, farther than as they served to render the *Genevois* excellent soldiers.

Progress of a
new war.

In which the
Genevois are
successful.

IN the beginning of *January*, 1590, the *Genevois*, who still kept the field, after beating a party of the *Savoyards*, were repulsed in an attack they made upon the castle of *Bastie*, near *Verfoy*; but bringing up their heavy artillery twelve days after, they took it, and demolished it. Soon after they reduced the castle of *Monthoux*, and by way of reprisal, they put the garrison, who were the inveterate enemies of *Geneva*, to the sword. About the same time they took the city and castle of *Gex*, and repulsed the *Savoyards* in two fresh attempts which they made upon their fort on the *Arve*. In *April*, *Lubigny*, the *Genevois* general, took the castle of *Pierre*, near *Farges*, which had been a great thorn in the side of *Geneva*, and then he once more formed the siege of *La Cluse*. The place was exceedingly strong, and a great body of *Savoyards* under *Don Amadeo*, a natural son of that duke, was advancing to relieve it. *Lubigny*, however, took his measures so well, and pushed his attacks so warmly, that the governor of the place, a *Piedmontese*, having only twenty-eight soldiers left, surrendered the fort, which *Lubigny* entered on the twenty-first of *April*. Soon after *Amadeo* arrived with his army before the fort, and perceiving, by a discharge of artillery

A coward
beheaded.

- a tillery from the walls, that it was in the hands of the *Genevois*, he carried, through the cowardice of one captain *Esgaillon*, a post in a neighbouring mountain, a post which commanded the fort, and rendered it untenable by *Lubigny*, who was forced to abandon the same, after blowing up part of the fortifications. He carried his army back to *Geneva*, where *Esgaillon*, by the sentence of the council of two hundred, was, notwithstanding the great interest made for him, beheaded for cowardice. Upon *Lubigny's* retreat, *Amadeo* repaired the fort of *La Cluse*, and ravaged the bailiwick of *Gex*; but the *Genevois*, by the friendship of the bailiff and people of *Nyons*, got safe home three barks laden with merchandizes, and ten thousand crowns in ready money, which the *Savoyards* endeavoured to intercept. After this many inconsiderable actions happened on both sides, in which the
- b *Genevois* generally had the better; but they were repelled in an attempt they made upon the castle of *Brant*, in the bailiwick of *Tonon*. Some days after, the *Savoyards* endeavoured to carry off three hundred head of cattle from the bailiwick of *Gex*; but *Lubigny* obliged them to abandon their prey, with the loss of one hundred and twenty of their best men, their cavalry taking refuge in *La Cluse*: while the *Genevois* lost only a single man. Two days after, Don *Amadeo* sent a message to *Geneva*, to know what number of *Savoyard* prisoners were in that city, and complaining, that the *Genevois* carried away even his drummers. The *Genevois*, who had about four hundred *Savoyard* prisoners, in their turn reproached *Amadeo*, for the barbarous manner in which he made war upon them, not sparing even their women and children. At this time the *Genevois* were at a great loss in being
- c deprived of *Lubigny*, who had been bruised in an encounter, and was obliged to keep his bed. Being the only officer amongst them who understood discipline and military affairs, the *Genevois* soldiers grew licentious, and were defeated in several encounters; in one of which they lost two hundred of their best men by ambuscades, which *Amadeo* had laid for them, within a league of their city. The *Genevois* historian ^a says, that such of their troops as were wounded and carried to the hospital, instead of being cured, had their wounds poisoned by a villainous surgeon, who was afterwards executed. The *Savoyards*, however, lost more men in proportion than the *Genevois*. This defeat threw the city into such a consternation, that it was expected every moment the *Savoyards* would enter it sword in hand; but *Lubigny*, notwithstanding his illness, went round the fortifications in his night-
- d gown, and made such dispositions as prevented farther ill consequences.

The *Genevois* worsted.

- ON the 23d of *August*, the sieur *Clugny*, baron of *Conforgien*, arrived at *Geneva*, and took upon him the command of the troops of the republic. To keep up in the minds of the *Genevois*, the high opinion they had conceived of his activity and courage, the very night of his arrival he put on board some barks three companies of foot, with which he intended to surprize the city of *Evian*; but the citizens being provided to receive them, the barks were obliged to return, after making some booty. The *Genevois*, by this time, had conceived a contempt for their enemy, which had almost proved fatal to them. *Hernance* observing the little caution with which they proceeded, concealed his force, and lay upon the defensive in *Focigny*, where the *Genevois* were informed by the peasants of the coun-
- e try, that he had not with him above four hundred troops. The *Genevois* were so much convinced of this, that one hundred and fifty foot, and one hundred and thirty horse, issued out of *Geneva* to carry in their enemies vintage harvest; and notwithstanding all the admonitions of *Conforgien*, proceeded so inadvertently, that they were completely surrounded by the *Savoyards*, and must have been intirely cut to pieces, had they not been disengaged by *Conforgien*, who foreseeing what had happened, had his troops in readiness, and not only brought off the foragers, but obtained the most complete victory the *Genevois* had ever gained over the *Savoyards*, after a dispute of three hours, in which the *Savoyards* lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, five hundred men; while the loss of the *Genevois* amounted to about ten foot soldiers, one trooper, and fifteen wounded, but not
- f dangerously. This victory was of the greater importance to the *Genevois*, as their enemies were resolved to have given them no quarter, and were so sure of conquest, that their officers had dressed themselves in their richest cloaths and armour; so that the spoils which the *Genevois* carried from the field, were very considerable. It was observed, that *Conforgien* began and finished all his actions with public supplications and thanksgivings to heaven, performed on the field.

The war renewed.

The *Genevois* victorious.

- TOWARDS the end of *October*, the war between the *Genevois* and their enemies became so desperate, that both sides came to a resolution to give no quarter. The *Savoyards* had been reinforced by *Neapolitan*, *Spanish*, and *Italian* auxiliaries, who, if possible, hated the *Genevois* worse than the *Savoyards* did, and three companies of them lying at *Crusille*, a
- g town about three leagues from *Geneva*, they filled all the neighbouring country with devastations and cruelties. On the 29th of *October*, *Conforgien* marched out of *Geneva*, at

^a SPON. p. 138.

the head of his troops to surprize this nest of barbarity ; but his march being discovered a by the *Savoyard* peasants, part of the garrison stood upon its guard, whilst others had such a contempt for the *Genevois*, that they loitered in the town, which was sacked by the *Genevois*, who put them all to the sword, and made a vast booty. The castle, however, still held out, and all the neighbouring country being alarmed, *Conforgien*, after killing about one hundred of the enemy, retreated with the loss of three soldiers and a lieutenant. The rest of the year was spent in actions of small importance, in which the *Genevois* burnt some *Savoyard* villages.

Farther operations of the war.

ON the 1st of *January*, 1591, the *Genevois* being reinforced with some *French* troops under *Sancy*, their army amounted to two thousand men, with which they laid siege to the castle of *Buringe*; but were attacked in their camp by three hundred *Savoyard* horse, b of whom they killed sixty, and repulsed the rest. The siege was then carried on with such vigour, that the garrison desired to capitulate, but could obtain no other terms but their surrendering at discretion; upon which they made their escape out of the place, which was immediately taken possession of, and demolished by the *Genevois*. The next besieged *Tonon*, which they took on composition, and found in it the value of six or seven thousand crowns of gold ; and they afterwards took *Evian*, and plundered the neighbouring country. Those successes inspired the *French* with intolerable licentiousness ; and while they were lying dispersed about the country, news came that their enemies, consisting of *Savoyards*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, to the number of six thousand foot, and about one thousand horse, were advanced as far as *Roche* to attack them. The *French* and *Genevois* generals, *Sancy*, c *Quity*, and *Conforgien*, were then encamped at *Buringe* ; and hearing of the enemies approach, they called in their parties, and strengthened their army, drawing the garrisons out of the neighbouring places. The duke's army was commanded by *Don Amadeo*, *Olivarez*, an experienced *Spanish* captain, *Sonaz*, the marquis of *Treffort*, and the count of *Chateau Neuf*. The opinion of *Olivarez* was against attacking the *French* immediately, for he said their own disorders, and want of provision, would oblige them to retire, and he was joined by *Don Amadeo* ; the other two generals, however, were for cutting the *French* off without suffering them to retreat, and alledged, that their own army would mutiny for want of pay, if they were not led to action ; upon which the attack was resolved on, on the 12th of *March*. By this time the *French* and the *Genevois* had gained a position which secured their communi- d cation with *Geneva*, and were very advantageously encamped. The *Spaniards*, however, made so furious an attack, that they entirely defeated five hundred *French*; and their whole army must have been defeated, had not this first advantage encouraged *Sonaz*, and the count of *Chateau Neuf*, to advance so far into the plain with thirteen hundred musqueteers, that *Conforgien* charged and routed them before they could fall back upon their main body, which at last they did with great difficulty, with the loss of their leader *Sonaz*, and three hundred men, of whom one hundred were gentlemen. When night drew on, the army of *Savoy* passed the river at *Buringe*, but broke down the bridge, for fear of being pursued ; while the *French*, who had suffered a good deal in the encounter, retired to *Franche Comte*. The rest of the campaign was spent in mutual inroads, in one of which the e baron of *Hermance* was made prisoner by the *Genevois*, and carried to *Geneva*, where he was confined till the *February* following, when he paid eight thousand crowns for his ransom.

A peace proposed.

IN *October*, 1592, the baron of *Conforgien* returned to *Geneva*, and resumed his command. After several military operations, in which he was generally successful, he had some conferences about a peace with the baron of *Hermance*, and being disgusted with the severe four manners of the *Genevois* towards his men, he returned to *France*. Upon his departure, the marquis of *Treffort* encamped with eight hundred men at *Lancy*, near the new fort upon the *Arve* ; and being forced from thence, the *Genevois* demolished that village. In the mean while *Conforgien*, upon the invitation of the *Genevois*, returned to f that city ; but a truce for three months had taken place between the *French* king and the duke of *Savoy*, to which the *Genevois* were invited to accede, which they accordingly did, on the 16th of *September*, 1593. In a few days after, six of the *Swiss* cantons sent their deputies to *Geneva*, to persuade the magistracy there to a peace with the duke of *Savoy*. This proposition was rejected ; but the truce was continued for two years, during which time, the *French* king being in no condition to assist them, the *Genevois* demolished the fort upon the *Arve*. This compliance had the effect to open a kind of a communication between the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois* ; and they appeared less intractable towards one another than they had been for many years. In the year 1597, a report spread that *Theodore Beza*, the great pastor of *Geneva*, had turned *Roman Catholic*, and that the *Genevois* g had sent deputies to *Rome* to be reconciled to that see. This idle report arose from the effect of the truce, which had been concluded two years before. That being expired, hostilities recommenced between the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*, who were now deprived of

a of the assistance of *France*; but the duke being as unable as the *Genevois* were to continue a war, those hostilities soon ceased, and new conferences for a peace were set on foot.

At last a treaty was concluded between the *French* king, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, in which the *Swisses* and their allies were comprehended on the part of *France*. The duke of *Savoy* denied that those general terms comprehended the *Genevois*, who were not named in the treaty; and the *French* king insisted as strenuously that they were. This difference was likely to be attended with serious consequences; for *Villeroy*, the *French* minister, by his master's order, signified, under his own hand, that his master never would depart from the comprehension of the *Genevois*, under the title of allies to the *Swisses*; and he dispatched *Chapeaurouge*, the *Genevois* deputy, with letters to the re-
b public, intimating that he never would forsake them; and that if they were attacked by the duke of *Savoy*, he would defray all the expences of the war. Those dispatches were so agreeable to the council, that upon reading them their great guns were discharged, and a public thanksgiving was celebrated in the city.

This year the plague broke out again in *Geneva*, but not so fiercely as before; and the *Genevois* had the mortification to perceive, that the greatest part of their brethren of *Tou-
non* had reverted to popery, partly through the persuasions of one *Cherubin*, a priest; and partly through the power of their sovereign the duke of *Savoy*. That prince perceiving the crown of *France* to be in earnest to maintain *Geneva* in its independency, at last per-
suaded the *Genevois* magistrates to agree to a meeting for discussing that affair at *Hermance*.

c His deputies were the *sieur Jacob*, one of his lieutenants; the president *Rochette*; the president *Berliet*, baron of *Bourget*; *Lambert* baron of *Terny*; and *Marin* earl of *Viry*. The deputies of *Geneva* were, the counsellors, *Maillet*, *Dausin*, *Leff*, and *Roset*, together with the secretary *John Sarrafin*. The conference was long, solemn, intricate, and learned; the matter was debated verbally, and in writing; and the papers interchanged on this ac-
casion, exhaust all that can be said on this subject. Nothing satisfactory, however, resulted from this conference, only the *French* king, by a letter to the duke of *Savoy*, dated *November 11*, 1599, again insisted upon the *Genevois* being comprehended as his allies in the late treaty; and acquainted the duke, that he had taken them into his pecu-
liar protection.

d THE duke perceiving the *French* king to be steady in his resolution with regard to the *Genevois*, endeavoured to shake him in point of interest. The *French* king urged him to restore the marquisate of *Saluces*; and the duke took a journey to *Paris*, to treat on that affair. He applied to the pope's nuncio, to whom he gave a commission to offer to give up the marquisate, provided the king would abandon the defence of the *Genevois*. The nuncio attacked *Henry* on this head, with all the subtlety of his profession; but in all his arguments he still went upon the presumption, that the dukes of *Savoy* had an original and uncontrovertible right to the sovereignty of *Geneva*; and from that he inferred, that the duke had as lawful a claim upon that as *Henry* had upon the marquisate. His argu-
ments made no impression upon the king; for he disputed the duke's right, and told the
e nuncio, that in protecting the *Genevois* he only followed the example of his ancestors, and the dictates of gratitude; concluding, that he could not, without staining his honour and that of his crown, abandon them or suffer them to be oppressed by the duke. This re-
solute answer put an end to all farther conferences on that head; and the king and duke disagreeing in other respects, both parties took the field. The king had the advantage of the campaign; and having stripped the duke of almost all *Savoy*, he laid siege to *St. Ca-
therine's* fort, that had been but lately erected within two leagues of *Geneva*, near *Sonzy*, and was of infinite detriment to the *Genevois*. This castle was a regular fortification, and of so much importance to the *Genevois*, that they appointed a solemn deputation to the king, with *Beza* at its head, to beg that he would give them leave to demolish it. The
f duke *de Sully*, a protestant, and one of the best servants ever any king had, was then both the first minister and the friend of *Henry*, whom he convinced that all the maxims of policy, as well as honour, led him to protect the *Genevois*. The duke in person intro-
duced the deputies to his master; and *Beza*, that aged venerable reformer, in a speech he made on the occasion, shewed how well he had studied the most fulsome adulation of heathen and popish orators to their sovereigns, but without directly mentioning the main point of the deputation. *Henry* in his answer spoke like a friend and a gentleman: he assured them, that they might depend on the good offices of the duke *de Sully*, whom he took by the hand; and added, it must be a very unreasonable request which they could make, and he not grant it. To cut off any farther unnecessary formalities, he whis-
g pered in the ears of the deputies, that he was no stranger to the purport of their com-
mission; and he assured them, that fort *St. Catherine* should be demolished as soon as taken.

The French king favours the Genevois.

As does the
duke de Sully.

THIS noble open behaviour of the king, had it not been for the considerate generosity a
of the duke *de Sully*, must have been inconveniently expensive to the *Genevois*. It trans-
ported them so, that they threw open their gates to the *French* army, and kept open table
for their officers, so that no fewer than four thousand *French* were reckoned in one night
to be in the city. The duke of *Sully*, both by his example and authority, discounte-
nanced this resort, by returning to the camp himself, and ordering all the officers and
others to follow him. In the mean while, the trenches being opened before fort *St. Ca-*
therine, the garrison capitulated; and having marched out with the honours of war, *Sully*
blew up the bastions; and the *Genevois* serving as pioneers, so effectually demolished the
fort, that, in two days' time, not a vestige of it remained. *Henry* gave six pieces of can-
non, which were found in the fort, in a present to the *Genevois*. b

Peace of
Lyons.

NEXT year, by the interposition of the pope's legate *Aldobrandini*, an accommodation
was made between *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy* at *Lyons*, by which *Henry* agreed to hold
the county of *Bresse*, which he had conquered, with *Gex* and other acquisitions he had
made, and to leave to the duke the marquisate of *Saluces*. *Gex* was then held by the
Genevois, who earnestly begged of *Henry* to remain in possession of it; but all was to no
purpose, for they were obliged to resign it; but *Henry*, by way of compensation, again
declared them to be his allies, and that they were under his protection. This accommo-
dation between *Henry* and the duke, was far from reconciling the *Savoyards* and the *Ge-*
nevois. The former found means to get possession of some villages belonging to the *Ge-*
nevois; but were disappointed in their attempts upon others; and the *Genevois* thought c
them of so little importance, not to mention that their right to them was doubtful, that
rather than break the peace, they suffered them to remain with the *Savoyards*; but an event
was now at hand, the most important of any in the *Genevois* history.

History of the
famous scalade
of Geneva.

IN the year 1602, a kind of jubilee was celebrated at *Tonon*, belonging to the duke of
Savoy, and finely situated on a river by the lake, about eighteen miles distant from *Geneva*.
The resort to this festivity was very numerous; and amongst others were some *Frenchmen*,
who, mingling with the *Savoyards*, understood that a scheme was in agitation for surpriz-
ing *Geneva*. They communicated their discovery to the *Genevois* magistrates; but they
disregarded it at first, as being improbable. At last they complained to the sieur *Albigny*,
who was governor on that side of the mountains for the duke of *Savoy*, who gave them the d
strongest assurances that his master was determined, at all events, to observe the late trea-
ties of *Vervins* and *Lyons*, made with the king of *France*, in which the *Genevois* were in-
cluded, but not mentioned. The *Genevois* seemed to be satisfied with those assurances;
and their credulity had almost cost them their liberties.

THE plot for surprizing *Geneva* had been formed originally by the Jesuits and violent
Romanists, who considered that city as the seat and shelter of heresy; and during the *Tonon*
jubilee, they had bound the undertakers of it to execute it, by solemn oaths and sacra-
ments. The duke himself omitted no means to render it successful. He caused troops
to defile towards *Focigny*, without being discerned, and particularly the regiment of the
baron of *Laval d'Isere*, which was made up of *French* fugitives, banished their country e
for their crimes, and ripe for any desperate enterprize. *Brunaulieu*, who was lieutenant-
colonel, undertook to reconnoitre the place; and after taking the height of the walls, and
the dimensions of the ditches, he assured *Albigny*, that the undertaking was not only prac-
ticable, but easy to be accomplished. To render the *Genevois* perfectly secure, and like-
wise to form a party amongst them, the duke sent the president *Rochette*, his counsellor
of state, with a commission to *Geneva*, where he proposed to the magistrates, the heads of
a new and a lasting treaty between them and his master, which had such an effect, that
the *Genevois* even neglected to place the usual guards at their gates, and upon their walls.
Notwithstanding the duke's secrecy, the affair was intrusted into so many hands, that the
Genevois had repeated informations of a blow that was to be speedily struck against them; f
but they disregarded all advice of that kind, and treated a man as a visionary for assuring
them that their enemies were actually upon their march to attack them. The night be-
tween the 11th and 12th of *December*, was pitched upon for the execution; and *Albigny*,
about six in the evening, put his troops in motion at *La Roche*, *Bonne*, and *Bonneville*.
In their march they endeavoured to secure all the peasants, lest any of them should carry
intelligence to *Geneva*; but some of them escaping, endeavoured to alarm the guards,
who continued to despise the information. Every thing was provided with the utmost
precision, for the success of the undertaking, which was proposed to be performed by
scalade. *Brunaulieu*, and some of the chief officers, had bound themselves in the most
solemn manner, not to return alive if they were not successful. Petards were provided, g
the ladders on which the scalade was to be performed were blackened, to prevent their
being perceived, jointed, and fortified with iron, and accommodated with pulleys, for
their more easy management, and three hundred resolute troops, who were to mount first,
were

Dispositions for
surprising the
city.

a were armed at all points with breast-plates, helmets, pistols, and cutlasses; some of them were furnished with great steel hammers, which served as hatchets at the same time, and pincers for pulling nails and bolts. They were to be supported by another party, armed with half-pikes and musquets. The duke himself came incognito post over the mountains to *Tremblieres*, within a mile of *Geneva*, that he might animate his men, who approached to the city without meeting with any considerable obstruction, though they were sometimes alarmed by their own fears and superstition. The main body was left at *Plein Palais*, a delightful walk in the suburbs of *Geneva*, while *Brunaulieu*, with the three hundred we have mentioned, advanced to the escalade. At first they were startled by springing a flock of wild ducks; but being provided with hurdles, they passed the ditch of the quarter called *Corraterie*, and raised three ladders against the wall, near the watch-tower of the *Monoye-gate*. The reader is to observe, that within the wall was a large void space, which was left unguarded, and which terminated in a gate towards the city, called *Tartas*, which generally stood open. *Sonaz*, the son of him who was killed at *Monthoux*, was amongst the first to mount the wall; but a stone happening to fall from it, knocked him down and stunned him. *Albigny* and one *Alexander*, a *Scots* Jesuit, stood at each side of the ladder, the first encouraging the assailants by the promise of booty, and the latter by the hope of heaven, and giving them, by way of talismans, slips of paper, inscribed with texts of scripture, for their preservation. Their exhortations were so effectual, that about one in the morning *Sonaz*, *Attignac*, and six others, had mounted the wall, and in an instant were followed by two hundred more. The first eight who mounted entered the gate of *Tartas*, walked through the streets unperceived, and found that every thing was quiet; while the rest concealed themselves in the void of the *Corraterie*, it having been agreed not to proceed to farther action till day-break, that they might the better know what they were about, and give the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* auxiliaries, who were at some distance, time to come to their assistance. This precaution seems to have ruined their enterprize; while the duke was so confident of success, that he dispatched messengers through *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Dauphiny*, with an account that he was master of *Geneva*, which was for some days believed.

Confidence of
the duke of
Savoy.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the precaution of the assailants, a centinel in the tower near the *Monoye-gate*, informed his corporal that he heard a noise; upon which the latter sent out a soldier with a lanthorn to reconnoitre, and he seeing some men approach, fired his piece, but was immediately knocked down; upon which the centinel on the tower fired his piece likewise, to alarm the main-guard, which consisted of no more than six men. This discovery did not disconcert *Brunaulieu*, who, by this time, had passed the walls likewise. He divided those who had got in into four parties; one was to seize the New Gate, one that of *Tartas*, another that of *Monoye*, and the fourth, the entrance to the town-house, till petards could be brought for blowing up the New Gate, so that the main army might enter in a body from *Plein Palais*. Thirteen men had been placed to guard the New Gate, which was then the chief one of the city; but they were no sooner attacked e by the *Savoyards*, than ten of them discharged their pieces, and ran to alarm the guards at the town-house, *La Four*, and the gate of *Rive*. They were so closely pursued, that it was with difficulty they could shut the gate of *La Trielle* behind them. The *Savoyards* upon this returned to the New Gate, where one of the three guards, who had hid himself upon the top of the tower, let down the port cullice, which prevented the petard from taking effect. In the mean while, all the quarter about the gate of *Tartas*, which was the only one now in possession of the *Savoyards*, was alarmed by a vigilant citizen. Part of the citizens were employed in barricadoing the streets, and part in endeavouring to retake the gate, where a sharp conflict began, and several were killed on both sides; but the assailants, at last, were obliged to return to the New Gate. It was still pitch dark; and f both parties in general using the same language, the confusion was prodigious, the *Savoyards* purposely calling out, as if they had been citizens, to march to the *Rive*, for the enemy was there. By this time they had forced open the gate of *Monoye*; but they found a barricade behind it, defended by citizens, who killed some of them, and obliged others to retire to the *Corraterie*, where they began to plunder the houses. The scaling-ladders all this time remained at the wall that joins the tower of *Monoye*, with a bastion called *Oye*, which last the *Savoyards* had not attempted; and one of its embrasures flanking the ladders, a *Genevois* gunner discharged a shot so happily, as to destroy or carry most part of them off. The troops that were waiting at *Plein Palais* mistook the noise of this shot for that of the petard, which was to have been their signal for advancing; and thinking that all was their own, ordered their drums to beat, and rather ran than marched towards the New Gate. Finding it shut, they hastened to the ditch of the *Corraterie*, where they thought their scaling-ladders were still standing. While they were in the ditch, the *Genevois* gunner made a second discharge upon their flank, from a cannon loaded with small

whose troops
are beat by the
Genevois.

Their loss.

small shot, while a resolute party of the citizens, attacking the *Savoyards*, who were still endeavouring to force open the New Gate, drove them into the open part of the *Corraterie*. Here every *Genevois* became a hero. A taylor performed wonders with a two handed sword; and a woman split the skull of one of the enemies officers. In short, while they were thus shut up in *La Trielle*, fifty-two of them were killed. *Brunaulieu* obstinately refused at first to retreat, and was killed. At last his party, imagining themselves still possessed of the sure means of escaping, retired to the wall where they had left their ladders; but finding none there, they were forced to throw themselves down, by which many were wounded, and some killed. By this time the citizens had found means to mount a battery of cannon upon the platform of *La Trielle*, which bore directly upon *Plein Palais*, and routed all the *Savoyard* army there. *Albigny* having no hopes of success, ordered a retreat, which his troops performed in great disorder to *Bonne*. When the duke of *Savoy* was informed by *Albigny* of the ill success of this enterprize, all he said was, "That he had made a fair flourish."

The Savoyards executed.

In this attempt the *Genevois* made thirteen prisoners, amongst whom were three of quality, *Senas*, *Chaffardon*, and *Attignac*; and being considered as no better than common robbers, all of them were hanged, and their heads, as well as those who had been killed in the enterprize, were placed on the walls of the city, by order of the council of sixty, the whole amounting to sixty-seven. This attempt cost the duke of *Savoy* two hundred of his best troops; but the *Genevois* had no more than thirteen killed and thirty wounded. *Beza* was now grown so old, that he had heard nothing of the tumult; but next day, after viewing the slain along the *Corraterie*, he mounted the pulpit, and preached a thanksgiving sermon, ordering the 124th psalm to be sung; a practice that has been kept up ever since in *Geneva* on that anniversary, which they still observe. The tranquility of the city being somewhat restored, there was the strongest reason for believing that the *Savoyards* had a correspondence with some men of note within the walls; and two syndics, who had disregarded the advices of the enemy's approaches, narrowly escaped being torn into pieces by the people, who were greatly divided about the choice of the succeeding syndics; but they at last fixed upon four who were unexceptionable.

Apology of the duke for his attempt.

THE *Genevois* having returned public thanksgivings for their deliverance, which they commemorated by inscriptions and other institutions, applied themselves to guard against the like surprizals for the future. They wrote letters to *Bern* and the other Protestant cantons of *Switzerland*, informing them of all that had happened; and they immediately sent twelve hundred men to their assistance. They wrote likewise, in the same strain, to the *sieur de Guiché*, governor of *Lyons*, imploring the *French* king's assistance, in case *Albigny* should renew his attempt upon their city, as they were apprehensive he would. This letter was laid before the *French* king, who, till he read it, had believed that *Geneva* was actually in the power of the *Savoyards*. Being undeceived, he wrote them a letter full of friendship and affection, promising them that if the duke of *Savoy* should again molest them, that he would not only send them assistance, but if it was necessary, that he would march in person to their relief. As to the duke of *Savoy*, all *Europe* reproached him for his insincerity and treachery towards the *Genevois*; but he made use of two kinds of apologies to justify his conduct. He excused it, at the *Roman Catholic* courts, from his zeal to introduce the true religion into *Geneva*; and he ordered the count *de Tournon*, his resident with the *Swiss* cantons, to apologize for it to the government of *Bern*, by pretending that the *Genevois* had refused to pay him his lawful tolls and customs, and had mal-treated his officers. The *Bernois* magistrates disregarded this apology so much, that they returned no answer to it; and had not the count and his secretary left *Bern*, they would have been insulted by the populace. It is said, that the pope himself disapproved of the duke's attempt; and the *Genevois*, in the manifestos they published upon the occasion, shrewdly observed, that a prince, who, like the duke of *Savoy*, had been guilty of perjury, gave but an indifferent specimen of his regard for religion. The duke, however, omitted no means to preserve the friendship of the *Bernois*, and the other Protestant cantons.

HE found this the more necessary, as he was so far from laying aside his designs against *Geneva*, that he straitened it by his garrisons on all quarters. But the *Genevois* being reinforced, not only by their *Bernois* auxiliaries, but by some troops from *France*, manned their walls so as to prevent all future surprizes, cut down their trees about their city to take away all shelter from their enemies, and in their turn invaded the dominions of *Savoy*, where they took *St. Genis d'Aoste*, and made incursions to the gates of *Chambery* itself, which they were very near taking.

S E C T. IV.

Friendship of the French King to the Genevois ; their Accommodation with the Duke of Savoy ; Terrail's Conspiracy discovered, and he himself executed ; other Conspiracies and Executions ; Execution of Nicholas Antoine ; Death of the Duke de Rohan at Geneva ; Cromwell's Letter to the Genevois ; they fortify their City, which is again in Danger of being surpris'd ; but is protected by the French.

- a **T**HE French king Henry IV. was the real friend of the Genevois. Being sensible that they were unable to support themselves, he ordered *de Vic*, one of his ministers, to endeavour to bring them over to the thoughts of a peace ; but in so gentle a manner, that they could not perceive that he assumed the smallest superiority over their government. *De Vic* was received in Geneva with great marks of distinction ; but he found many of the leading men strongly disposed to continue the war with the duke of Savoy. *De Vic*, however, by a little management at first, brought them to conclude a truce, which was a kind of prelude of a negociation for a peace. This met with great difficulties ; for though the duke of Savoy wanted peace as much as the Genevois did, yet the pride of the court of Spain, which declared itself to be the duke's protector, would not suffer him to stoop to the terms of the Genevois. The negociation therefore was several times broken off and resumed ; but at last the count *de Fuentes*, the Spanish governor of Milan, sent one *Sebastian Culebro* to Geneva, where, obtaining admittance, he produced his credentials, by which it appeared, that his Catholic majesty was determined to declare war against the Genevois, unless they made peace with the duke of Savoy. The Genevois, elated by their late successes, were ready to have bid defiance to this menace ; but the French king interposed, and treated so effectually with the Genevois allies amongst the cantons, that a peace at last was concluded at *St. Julien* ; but more to the joy and satisfaction of the Savoyards, than of the Genevois. Both parties thus laying down their arms, they resumed their pens. The Savoyards were the aggressors, by publishing treatises tending to revive that duke's claim to the sovereignty of Geneva ; but they were answered by *Sarrazin*, by order of the Genevois magistrates.

The French king proposes a peace.
A. D. 1603.

- In the year 1604, a prosecution was commenced against *Philibert Blondel*, who had been one of the syndics when the Savoyards attempted to scale the walls of Geneva. Having amassed a fortune of forty thousand crowns, by means for which no body could account, the people suspected him to be a traitor, and in the pay of the duke of Savoy. At first he was tried upon a charge of misdemeanors ; and it was proved, that in the night of the scalade he had been remiss in his duty, for which he was fined two thousand crowns. He refused to submit to the sentence, and his effects were seized to make good the fine. He still stood on his justification, and fresh evidence coming out against him, he was fined three thousand crowns more. This additional censure was worse than death to *Blondel*, who was equally haughty, vindictive, and avaritious ; and he was resolved to die in prison rather than pay the money.

History of Blondel,

- A FRESH prosecution was commenced against him, and it was proved, that he held a correspondence with the duke of Savoy ; that he possessed an estate under him, for which he paid neither rent nor taxes ; that a lanthorn, with his mark on it, was found in the city ditch the day of the scalade, besides several other strong circumstances of treason. This drew upon him another fine of two thousand crowns, and he was sentenced to lie seven years in prison. All this severity was far from daunting *Blondel* ; and the principal evidence against him being a peasant, who used to manage his correspondence, he attempted to win him over by money ; but that failing, he found means to have him imprisoned ; and the fellow continuing to stand by his former evidence, *Blondel* suborned one of his jailors, who strangled him in prison ; but being apprehended and put to the rack, he laid all the blame upon *Blondel*. The latter, according to the detestable custom in Geneva, was put to the rack likewise. Though torments upon torments were multiplied upon him, nothing could be extorted from him, but that he was guilty of the murder, and of having offered his service to the duke of Savoy ; upon which he was hanged and quartered, and died as impenitent as he was unpitied. After his execution the magistrates fortified their city, so as to render it less liable to sudden attacks for the future.

who is executed.

- In the year 1605, died *Theodore Beza*, the successor of *Calvin*, in his functions as a minister of the reformation. His credit with the reformed was so great, that he was commonly called the pope of the Hugonots ; and his disposition was more amiable than that of *Calvin*. Soon after his death, an incident happened which threw the Genevois into vast perplexities.

Death of Beza.

Request of the
the French
king.

perplexities. Henry IV. the French king, who had been their father and protector, sent the sieur de Ncrestan, to desire the *Genevois* to grant him a place for building a fort, or an arsenal, to secure their city against future surprizes. Such of the *Genevois* as had been accustomed to look upon the French as their friends and protectors, espoused this request; but the more considerate looked on it, if complied with, as a prelude to the loss of their liberties; and they very truly observed, that the future kings of France might not all of them possess the disinterested, virtuous, and noble sentiments of Henry IV. Not being willing, however, to shock their august benefactor with a flat refusal of his request, it was referred to the council of two hundred, and by them to the general council. Henry was generous enough to interpret those delays at once as a mark of respect for his person, and of their backwardness to comply with his request; and he ordered his ministers to press it no farther. He even, that very year, in June 1606, granted to the *Genevois* letters of naturalization, to free them from the *Aubeine*, and other taxes.

THE independency of Geneva became now so much the object of attention amongst the Protestant powers; that this year the landgrave of Hesse made the citizens a present of twelve thousand crowns, as the prince palatine did of three thousand, for building a bulwark near the lake; to defend and fortify the gate of *Rive*, which was accordingly completed; and the munificence of the two princes was commemorated by an inscription upon the work. The rest of this year, and the two next, were spent at Geneva in domestic and religious regulations. In the year 1609, one *Carrai*, the common serjeant of the city, was broken alive upon the wheel, for carrying on a correspondence with the court of Savoy, which he informed of all that passed at Geneva, and for other detestable crimes.

Conspiracy of
Terrail and
Bastide

A MORE dangerous conspiracy now broke out. A French gentleman, called *Terrail*, a man of courage and quality, having been guilty of murder, was obliged to fly France; and having spent some years in different armies, particularly in Flanders, he, together with one *Bastide*, another Frenchman, and an excellent engineer, in travelling through Italy came to the court of Savoy, where they were well received by that duke, who was no stranger to their characters and qualifications. After some conversation he acquainted them, that he was far from having dropt his designs against Geneva, and that he was willing to engage their assistance in making them successful; which they willingly agreeing to, his highness made both of them very generous presents; and *Bastide* was sent to Geneva, where he viewed all the new fortifications, and then returned to the duke. Both he and *Terrail* agreed, that it was practicable to surprise the city; and at last, *Terrail's* proposal was to make themselves masters of the gate leading to the lake, and that of *La Rive*, which could not be done without great difficulty, and their being thoroughly informed of the nature and situation of the place. For this purpose both of them passed over to *Evian*, where they had an opportunity of informing themselves by the boatmen, and other persons trading to Geneva, of the nature of the watch that was kept at the gates, and other particulars which they wanted to know. In a few days they returned to the duke; and it was agreed to prepare five large flat-bottomed boats, which should be laden with wood, piled up in such a manner as to conceal two hundred men in each boat; and it was proposed to defer the execution till the following May, during which time *Terrail* and *Bastide* were to repair to Flanders, to provide men on whom they could depend; for they proposed to have in readiness several bodies, both of horse and foot, in the neighbourhood of Geneva, to second their main enterprise.

discovered,

THE indiscretion of the conspirators, before they left the duke of Savoy's court at Chambery, occasioned the discovery of their design. *Terrail's* valet overheard some suspicious expressions that passed between him and *Bastide*; and at the same time he discovered they were often consulting a draught of Geneva. He imparted his observations to his brother in that city; and by his means the magistrates, who had some dark intimations of it before, were put upon their guard. They informed themselves all they could concerning *Terrail's* person and intentions, and even privately procured his picture, which they sent copies of to such bailiffs and magistrates as they could trust, of those places through which they were informed he and *Bastide* were to pass. With some difficulty they were known, and arrested at Yverdon, a little town belonging to the Bernois; and though *Terrail* offered the soldier who knew him one thousand crowns to favour his escape, yet they were first imprisoned, and then put into the hands of one of the syndics, who carried them to Geneva. *Bastide* being put to the rack, confessed the whole, as did *Terrail* likewise; upon which the former was hanged, and the latter beheaded. Some doubts were held concerning the legality of those executions; but they were justified by the magistrates, who affirmed, that the sufferers had no right to any protection from the laws of nations, which they had forfeited, by entering into such a conspiracy in time of peace. Notwithstanding this apology, it would perhaps be hard to ascertain what degree of credit is due to a discovery that is extorted from the rack.

and the conspi-
rators exe-
cuted.

- a It is certain, that the jealousy which the *Genevois* entertained of their public liberty, hurried them sometimes into precipitate measures. An *Italian*, one *Giovanni*, accused one of the chief counsellors of corresponding with the duke of *Savoy*, who had his picture in his closet. The counsellor being brought to *Giovanni*, the latter candidly owned that he was not the person he expected to have seen. This acknowledgment, however, did not save him from being hanged for calumny and imposture. After his execution his information was discovered to be right, there being another person of the same name with the counsellor he had cleared, and who kept up a close correspondence with the duke. Upon this discovery the attorney-general wanted that a new process should commence against the real person; but the evidence being executed, the affair was dropt. Giovanni wrongfully executed.
- b THE *Genevois* sustained a great loss by the death of *Henry IV.* of *France*, who was no sooner assassinated than the duke of *Savoy* renewed his preparations against *Geneva*. But the preservation of that city became now the common cause of Protestantism itself. The reformed churches of *France* made large collections, which they remitted to the *Genevois*, to assist them in fortifying and defending their city. The queen-mother of *France*, who bore them no good will, complained of those remittances made by *French* subjects; but *Anjorrand*, the *Genevois* deputy at the court of *France*, proved to her majesty, that the late king, by the treaty of *Saleurre*, had permitted his Protestant subjects to assist the *Genevois* with their persons and estates. His reasons being accepted of, *monf. de Soubize*, of the house of *Roban*, and *monf. de Bethune*, nephew to the duke of *Sully*, with other leaders of the *French Hugonots*, repaired to *Geneva*, which they fortified as completely as the nature of its situation could admit of, particularly the gate of *Rive*, the weakness of which had often endangered the city. It was about this time that a new conspiracy was formed by one of the *Genevois* officers, for putting *St. Anthony's* bulwark into the hands of the *Savoyards*; but the treason being overheard by a *French* Protestant, the traitor was seized and executed. Those precautions, however, had so much effect, that they discouraged all the attempts of the *Savoyards*; and the *French* auxiliaries of the *Genevois* were permitted to return home, *Geneva* being then thought to be out of the reach of danger. For some years after this, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of *Geneva*, but natural or accidental events; such as fires, famine, plagues, and pestilence. The most severe plague happened in the year 1615; when about four thousand *Genevois* died of it, most of them of the meaner kind of people. Death of Henry IV.
- d DURING this public calamity, the duke of *Savoy* was remarkably attentive in assisting and relieving the *Genevois*; and his conduct was such as gave them no kind of room for believing that he had any design upon their state. In the difference that happened between him and the duke of *Nemours*, who was supported by the *Spaniards*, the *Genevois* took part with the duke of *Savoy*, and sent him considerable supplies of troops, as well as arms and ammunition. Not contented with this, the magistrates (though by the treaty of *St. Julien* they might have refused it) gave him leave to quarter his troops along the banks of the *Rhone*, in the neighbourhood of their city; and the *Genevois* were so fond of serving under him, that many of them offered to act as volunteers in his army, till the government began to grow apprehensive that their city would be too much weakened. The truth is, the duke of *Savoy*, at this time, had more reason to dread the *Spaniards* than the Protestants, and therefore he made an alliance with the *Bernois*, who sent three thousand men to his assistance, while he in return renounced all his claim upon the county of *Vaud*. The *Genevois* favour the duke of *Savoy*.
- e THE *Genevois*, by the perpetual resort of *French* Protestants to their city, had now acquired several useful manufactures; but their historian hints, as if they had been greatly discouraged by their magistrates, which obliged some of the chief manufacturers to remove to *Yverdun*, where they carried on their trades, to the great prejudice of *Geneva*. The marquis of *Lans* was then governor of *Savoy*, and he endeavoured to debauch one *Chenalat*, a *Genevois* of great figure, who undertook to undermine a house near *St. Leger's* gate, so as to give admittance to the marquis's troops. This plot was discovered by the relations of *Chenalat*, who received five hundred pistoles in hand, with a promise of twelve thousand crowns more; upon which he was arrested, tried, and executed, though he denied to the last his having any other design than that of extorting money from the marquis. Next year the *Genevois* sent two of their professors of divinity, *John Diodati* and *Theodore Trochin*, to assist as their deputies at the synod of *Dort*; and upon their return to *Geneva*, each was presented by the states with a medal. In the year 1621, the *Genevois* were alarmed by the vast warlike preparations made by the duke of *Savoy*. *D'Alincourt*, the *French* governor of *Lyons*, sent an account of them to his court, who ordered him to give the most early intelligence, if any attempt should be made against *Geneva*; and in the mean while that city received additional fortifications from *Motet*, an engineer sent them by the prince of *Orange*, and a *French* gentleman of the name of *Ferrault*. Next year a national synod of the Protestant churches being held at *Paris*, and the *Genevois* being extremely willing to conform in all Treason of *Chenalat*.
Synod of *Dort*.
- f
- g

all respects to the *French* reformed, their pastors wrote a letter to the assembly, to acquaint them that they were willing to abolish all the unimportant points of practice that still subsisted between them and their *French* brethren; and *Trochin* their minister, by order of the council and consistory, informed the people from the pulpit of the reasons for this compliance, with which they appeared to be satisfied. a

Difference
with Savoy.

IN the year 1624, the duke of *Savoy* pretending there was a scarcity of corn in his own dominions, prohibited his subjects to transport any grain to *Geneva*. The *Genevois* considered this prohibition as an infringement of the treaty of *St. Julien*, and on their part prohibited the carrying out of iron, salt, and other commodities into *Savoy*. *Wake*, the *English* ambassador to the duke of *Savoy*, happening at that time to pass through *Geneva*, made up this difference, when it was likely to proceed to an open breach, by persuading the duke to take off his prohibition. b

Jealousy of the
Calvinists.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late conformity between the *Genevois* and the *French* Protestants in matters of religion, it is certain that the former still retained a strong aversion to the *Lutherans*. The marquis of *Bade*, a *German Lutheran* prince, being obliged, on account of his religion, to leave his own country, retired to *Geneva*, where he lived with a *Lutheran* minister in his family, who was, by the council, indulged in the exercise of his religion within his house. The other *Lutheran Germans* in *Geneva* hearing of this, resorted in such numbers to the marquis's house, that the *Genevois* taking the alarm, complained to their magistrates, and said they made no doubt of soon seeing the mass read in their city, after such indulgence being extended to the *Lutherans*. This ridiculous affair became at last so serious, that it was laid before the council of twenty-five, who ordered a syndic and the lieutenant to repair to the marquis, and entreat him not to suffer his house to be open to the citizens in time of worship. The marquis more mindful of his past, than his present, situation, and proud of his high quality, far from taking this message in good part, lifted his hand to strike the syndic, and insisted that, being a prince, and *Geneva* a city of the empire, he had as much authority as their magistrates had in that city. This boisterous behaviour being reported to the council, the permission that had been granted him was withdrawn, and the marquis in a rage left *Geneva*, and retired to *Tonon*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, where he met with that indulgence under a bigoted *Roman Catholic* prince, which had been denied him in a Protestant city. c

Refugees in
Geneva.

NEXT year another illustrious exile took refuge in *Geneva*; his name was *George Erasmus* of *Tzernembel*, an hereditary baron of the marches of *Sclavonia* and *Carniola*, who had been formerly counsellor to the emperors *Rodolph II.* and *Matthias I.* and one of the directors of *Bohemia*. This nobleman having embraced the party of the unfortunate elector palatine, in his attempt upon the crown of *Bohemia*, was, upon that prince's defeat, obliged to fly with his wife and daughter to *Geneva*, oppressed with age, infirmities, and indigence. He had left his son to collect together the shattered remains of his fortune; but soon after his arrival, he heard of his being drowned, and that all he had in the world had perished in the wreck. Upon this, the magistrates and church of *Geneva* gave him a monthly support, which, upon his death, they continued to his family, and buried him suitable to his quality in *St. Peter's* cloister. d

ABOUT the same time, the *Spaniards* having made themselves masters of *Portugal*, *Emilia* of *Nassau*, princess of *Orange*, sister to prince *Maurice*, and widow to *Don Emanuel*, son of *Anthony* king of *Portugal*, came to *Geneva* with her six daughters, who were married to private gentlemen in the county of *Vaud*. While she dwelt there, she made a figure no way corresponding with her birth and quality; and at last she retired to an estate which she purchased near *Nyons*. When she died she was buried in *St. Peter's* church at *Geneva*. About the same time the sieur d'*Aubigne*, who is famous for the history he published, his courage, his military talents, and above all for his zeal in the cause of the reformation, fell into the displeasure of the *French* king. His son had been perverted by the *Jesuits*, and was no friend to his father, who, hearing that a warrant was out to apprehend him, concealed all his ready money, amounting to about thirty thousand ducats, in the saddles of his horses, and fled to *Geneva*, where he was, on many accounts, a welcome guest. Being eminently skilled in military architecture, he superintended all the fortifications which were raised for the defence of the city while he lived in it; and being eighty years of age at the time of his death, he was buried in *St. Peter's* cloister, where his tomb is to be seen, with an excellent *Latin* inscription on it composed by himself. f

NOTHING material happened at *Geneva* till the invasion of *Germany*, by *Gustavus Adolphus* king of *Sweden*, who dispatched *Racbe*, one of his ministers, to engage the Protestant cantons of *Switzerland* in his interest, and to assure the *Genevois* of the great regard he had for their state and city. The progress and fate of that great prince have been mentioned in other parts of this work. His ambassador resided for some time at *Geneva*, where he was received with all the honours that were due to the greatness of his master, and his own merit. g

a mark. But though *Geneva*, at this time, was crouded with sufferers for the cause of religion, and though the principles of the reformation ought to have led its magistrates to detest all persecutions for the sake of religion; especially capital ones, yet a case of that kind happened in the year 1632 that made a great noise.

b *NICHOLAS ANTOINE*, or *Anthony*, a native of *Berry* in *Lorraine*, had, for about seven or eight years, inclined to Judaism; and had not only endeavoured to persuade his family, who seem to have been originally Jews, to return to that religion; but had applied himself to the Jews of the city of *Metz*, to be received into their number; and they referred him to those of *Venice*. In his journey thither, he had found means to make a convert of a young student of *Sedan*, whom he carried with him to *Italy*. Being arrived at *Venice*, the Jews of that city, either from prudential reasons, or, which is still more probable, because they saw *Antoine's* brain a little touched, gave him very little encouragement, and referred him to the Jews of *Padua*; and both of them were of opinion that he ought not to insist, as he did, upon being circumcised, as it might bring them under the lash of the civil government, and that the best thing he could do was to dissemble, because he might live amongst the Christians, and yet be a Jew in his heart. *Antoine* appeared satisfied with this advice, and returned to *Geneva*, where he applied to the study of divinity and philosophy, in which he distinguished himself to great advantage in the public disputations. In a short time he came to be chief regent of the college, and afterwards to be the minister of a church near the city. Thus far goes the narrative part of his process.

*History and
condemnation
of Antoine.*

c THE criminal part of it charged him with having taken an oath to live and teach according to the profession of the reformed churches, and yet to have lived and prayed after the Jewish manner, not daring to make an open profession of his belief. "That instead of preaching *Jesus Christ*, according to the oath he had taken, he had only insisted in his pulpit on the explication of the Old Testament, and falsly wrested and applied passages thereof pointing to our Saviour, and appropriated them to other persons, and above all in his last sermon; from whence it followed, by the just judgment of God, that he the said *Anthony* became deprived of his senses, and ran about the field like a distracted person, and came bare-legged into the city, uttering horrid blasphemies against our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*: that, after he had been under the hands of physicians, and carefully looked after d in the hospital of this city, coming again to his senses, and being out of his mad fits, he had persisted in his blasphemies against the Holy Trinity, and the person of our blessed God and Saviour, maintaining, as well by word of mouth as writing, that *Jesus Christ* was an idol, and that the New Testament was but a mere fable. He hath confessed, that in administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the exhortation to the people, he said only, Remember your Saviour: and that, in reciting the words of the Apostle's Creed, where our Saviour is mentioned, he pronounced not those words, but muttered them betwixt his teeth^a." He lastly was charged with obstinately persevering in his opinions and blasphemies, with having renounced his baptism, writing a treatise against the Holy Trinity, and the like crimes.

e WE shall not presume to form any conjectures on the nature of the evidence which proved those allegations; but admitting it to be ever so strong, the record of the process itself seems to leave no room to doubt that the criminal was insane. The sentence of the syndics and council of the city against him, says, "That he, forgetting the fear of God, hath been guilty of the crime of apostacy and high treason against God his creator and saviour, having fought against the Holy Trinity, denied our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, blasphemed his holy name, renounced his baptism, to embrace the Jewish religion; and hath been perjured in dogmatizing and teaching his damnable doctrine; a case and a crime deserving the greatest punishment. For these and other causes moving the said lords, sitting in the tribunal of their ancestors, according to ancient custom, having the fear of God and f the Holy Scriptures before their eyes, and having invoked his holy name, that they might thereby be able to make a right judgment, beginning, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, do, by this final sentence, which they have committed now to writing, condemn the said *Anthony* to be bound and led to the place of *Plein-Palais*, to be there fastened to a stake on a pile of wood, and strangled, according to the usual manner, and afterwards to have his body burnt and consumed to ashes, and thus to end his days for an example to others; declaring, moreover, his goods confiscated to the city, and charging the lord-lieutenant to put the said sentence into due and entire execution^b." This sentence was accordingly executed.

g CARDINAL *Richlieu* was then first minister of *France*; and he so far abandoned the politics of *Henry IV.* that he entered into a treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, to whom he offered to relinquish the protection of *Geneva*, and to put him in possession of it at the expence of

^a SPON. p. 176.

^b Id. ibid.

France, if the other would give up *Nice* by way of exchange ; but many reasons dissuaded the duke from an exchange, which must have given to the *French* the only sea-port he had, and a ready admittance, at any time, into his dominions. Thus the *Genevois* once more escaped being slaves under the house of *Savoy*.

Duke of Ro-
han's death.

ONE of the greatest honours that *Geneva* has to boast of is, that the great duke of *Ro-
han* before his death, chose it for the place of his retreat. This gave so much umbrage to the cardinal, that he persuaded his master to desire the duke to reside at *Venice*. The duke excused himself from obeying this order, because the passes were all shut up ; but to prove that he had no such intention as the cardinal suspected, he took the command of the duke de *Weimar*'s army, and fought the battle of *Rhinfeld* against the imperialists ; and there, though he got the victory, he lost his life, for he died soon after of the wounds he received, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. This great man, before his death, ordered his body to be interred at *Geneva*, where a magnificent marble tomb, with an elegant *Latin* inscription, was erected for him by his duchess, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*. The duke, during his residence at *Geneva*, had been a great benefactor to the city, and adorned *Plein-Palais* with a magnificent walk. His son *Tancred* was, a few years after, buried in the same tomb ; but the duke's daughter having obtained a decree of the parliament of *Paris*, declaring him illegitimate, the inscription relating to him was erased.

Genevois re-
new their al-
liance.

ALL this while the *Genevois* and the cantons of *Zurich* and *Bern* lived in the utmost harmony together ; and in the year 1638 they agreed, that they should, from time to time, formally renew their alliance. In the year 1642, it was the turn of the *Genevois* to entertain the *Swiss* deputies, who arrived in their city on that occasion, where they were received by all the citizens, under arms, and a profusion of public honours. The next remarkable incident in the history of *Geneva*, happened on the 19th of *January*, 1645, when a prodigious wind drove back the waters of the *Rhone* and the lake in such a manner, that people could pass on foot from the gate *Monoye* to the isle. This wind was so violent, that it did prodigious damage to the inhabitants, by carrying away house-tops, blowing down chimnies, and plucking trees up by the roots. This year the suburbs of *St. Gervais* were fortified by a bulwark, and adorned with an inscription, composed by *Jacobus Gotofredus*, which some have admired, notwithstanding its puerile antitheses. This *Gotofred* was, however, a man of learning ; and having been syndic five times, he made great collections of materials relating to *Geneva*, from which *Spon* composed great part of his history. He died in the year 1652. *Diodate*, who had been sent to the synod of *Dort*, died before him. He was famous for translating father *Paul*'s history of the council of *Trent*, and for having been chosen professor of *Hebrew* in *Geneva*, when he was but nineteen years of age : he was likewise professor of divinity there ; and was so much esteemed in the synod of *Dort*, that he was one of the six who drew up its canons ; he was seventy-three years of age at the time of his death. In the year 1651, the overflowing of the *Arve* was so great, that it swept away most of the bridges ; and in *December* there was an earthquake, but without any fatal consequences. In the year 1653, some of the subjects of *Bern*, in its *German* territory, rebelled against the magistrates of that city, under one *Leuberg*, and made such a progress, that they actually blocked it up, and reduced it to great danger. In this extremity the *Bernois* applied for assistance to the *Genevois*, who sent them three companies of one hundred men each, under the captains *Debons*, *Corne*, and *Dumont*. This assistance came so seasonably, that the insurgents were defeated, *Leuberg* was quartered, and many of the ring-leaders were hanged. The same year one *Gautier* was, at the suit of the republic of *Venice*, arrested and executed at *Geneva*, for having murdered a *Spanish* family, and pillaged the vessel that was carrying them to their own country.

Cromwell
writes to the
Genevois.

ALL this while the *Genevois* seem to have enjoyed a happy tranquility, notwithstanding the inhuman persecutions of the duke of *Savoy*'s Protestant subjects in the vallies of *Piedmont*. While those persecutions were raging, *Cromwell*, who was then protector of *Eng-
land*, to raise his character with his own party, wrote a *Latin* letter to the magistrates of *Geneva*, dated *June* 7, 1655, from his palace at *Westminster*, in which he told them, " That the extreme miseries to which the duke of *Savoy* had reduced the Protestants, in the vallies of *Piedmont*, had so far moved him with compassion, that he had ordered collections to be made throughout all *England*, that he might give proofs of the great charity of that nation towards the afflicted brethren. And forasmuch as these collections required some time, and the necessities of these poor people admitted no delay, he hath therefore judged it meet to send, in the mean while, the sum of two thousand pounds sterling out of his own treasury, which sum he ordered to be paid into the hands of the officers of *Geneva*, to distribute it to them who had most need, according to their prudence, supposing they would readily ac-

a cept this trouble in their neighbours behalf, as in whose miseries he believed they had a fellow-feeling, beseeching God to strengthen all those who profess the orthodox religion, that they may maintain their common cause, and assist one another against their enemies, in which service he shall be glad to be employed." *Cromwell* afterwards sent *Morland*, one of his ministers, to do all the service he could to those poor Protestants; and on that occasion he passed several months at *Geneva*, where the inhabitants conceived a high opinion of *Cromwell's* power and zeal for the Protestant religion.

Next year the cantons, who professed the *Roman Catholic* religion, had a war with those of *Zurich* and *Bern*, who insisted upon the inhabitants of certain independent, or as they are called, individual bailiwicks, enjoying the exercise of the Protestant religion. *Geneva* sent their allies another body of three hundred men, under the command of the captains *Debous*, *Girard*, and *Fabry*, who assisted at the siege of *Rapperswil*; and a peace being concluded, the *Genevois* auxiliaries returned home. Next year the *Genevois* began to fortify the mount of *St. Victor*, before the bastions of *Pin* and *St. Anthony*; but though at first the inhabitants of all ranks, females as well as males, worked incessantly upon the fortifications, yet it was found that they were either too extensive to be completed, or, if completed to be manned, upon which account the work was discontinued. It was about this time that the *French* king came to *Lyons*, and the *Genevois* laid hold of that opportunity to congratulate him upon his recovery from a late sickness, and to entreat him for the continuance of his favour and protection to their city. The sieurs *Voy sine* and *Pictet*, were chosen to execute this commission. They had a most obliging answer, and assurance of farther protection from his most Christian majesty, who had presented each of them, at the same time, with a gold chain and a medal, and they in return made him the usual presents of their city, which consisted of trouts taken in their lake, weighing forty or fifty pounds each. Next year the *Genevois*, who daily saw cogent reasons for being on their guard, again applied themselves to the fortifications of their city. They first carried on a work in the form of a half moon, in the same place where they had left off before; and, in digging, many urns and medals were found, which proved the antiquity of the city of *Geneva*. Perceiving there was a necessity for farther fortifications, that their city might gradually receive all the strength its situation could admit of, and being sensible, at the same time, that their own finances were very unequal to the expence of such works, they sent the famous sieur *Turretin*, their professor of divinity, into *Holland*, that he might procure money from their friends there; and the states were so generous, that public collections were made all over their dominions, by which one hundred thousand franks were raised, and *Turretin* carried them to *Geneva*. This sum enabled the *Genevois* to resume their works, and the *Dutch* money served to build the first bastion near the *Rhone*, which is called the *Dutch bastion*; and an inscription, engraved on a marble pillar, is erected, to commemorate the gratitude of the city, for the assistance it received from the states-general. *Ivoy*, an engineer, who afterwards was in the service of the prince of *Orange*, had attended *Turretin* into *Holland*, and had drawn the plan of four great bastions royal, with courtines, on the side of *Plein-Palais*, inclosing them from the *Rhone* to the bulwark of *St. Leger*; this plan takes up no less than seventeen hundred paces in compass, and was inclosed and finished in ten years.

The bishop of *Geneva*, though deprived of all jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, within that city, still resided at *Anecy*, and exercised his authority over all those places which formerly belonged to his bishopric, and were not immediately possessed by the *Genevois*, who considered all the lands that had belonged to the canons of *St. Peter* and the abbey of *St. Victor*, as their own property. By the treaty of *Lyons*, in the year 1601, when *Henry IV.* exchanged the marquisate of *Saluces* for the country of *Gex*, he reserved to himself all the ports of the *Rhone*, from *Geneva* as far as *Lyons*. By this reservation, the sovereignty of *Chansy* and *Avouilly*, situated on the *Rhone*, and belonging formerly to the abbey of *St. Victor*, became his, as did the village of *Moin*, which had belonged to the chapter of *St. Peter*; while the property of all the three remained with the *Genevois*.

The *Genevois* had foreseen that this reservation might some day or other bring them into a good deal of trouble, and laying their apprehensions before *Henry IV.* he shewed himself, as he did on all occasions, so much their friend, that he ordered matters to be expedited; by which he remitted this sovereignty, which was indeed but an empty title, to the *Genevois*, as he had no title to the property. It happened, either by design or accident, that those letters never had been registered in parliament; and, in the year 1661, the bishop of *Geneva*, taking advantage of the omission, applied to the *French* court for leave to settle curates in those villages, which he said lay within his diocese, though subject to the crown of *France*. His plea was so plausible, that before *John Lullin*, who had been appointed agent for *Geneva* to oppose him, could reach the *French* court, the bishop had obtained a decree in his favour; and *Bouchu*, the intendant of *Burgundy*, came to *Gex* in February 1662, to see the same carried into execution. When *Bouchu* arrived at *Gex*, he understood that

Geneva fortified.

A. D. 1661.

Bishop of Geneva disappointed.

that the *Genevois* were then actually soliciting the court of *France* to have the decree suspended; upon which he deferred the execution of his commission. In the mean while, *Lullin* was so active with the *French* ministry, that, after an attendance of two years, he carried his point. The bishop was disappointed, and the villages remained on their former footing.

Danger of Geneva from the duke of Savoy.

THIS favour done the *Genevois* in so important a matter, made them take all opportunities of doing honour to the *French*; and when the duke of *Crequi*, in the year 1664, passed through *Geneva*, on his return from his embassy at *Rome*, they omitted no mark of respect or magnificence, that could testify their regard for his most Christian majesty; and indeed it must be admitted, that *Geneva*, more than once, owed her freedom and independency to the protection of *France*. Every day produced new disputes and quarrels between the *Genevois* and the officers of the duke of *Savoy*, who were instructed for that purpose; and those differences gave him a pretence for saying, that as the treaty of *St. Julien* had been so often violated, it was not binding to either party. He stood, however, too much in fear of *France*, directly to violate that treaty, till such time as he could be in a condition to make himself master of *Geneva*. With this view, in the spring of 1667, the militia of *Savoy*, and a body of horse, called the *Savoy* regiment, consisting of five hundred gentlemen, had orders to be in readiness to take the field at an hour's warning; and a body of regulars, under the command of the marquis of *Pianezze*, were quartered at *Anecy*, *Remilly*, *Salanche*, *Cluse*, *Tonon*, *Evian*, and other places about *Geneva*. As all those towns were above four leagues (the distance prescribed by the treaty of *St. Julien*) distant from *Geneva*, the inhabitants had no right to complain, though they saw plainly by the dispositions that were making, that the duke was meditating a blow against their city.¹ They were confirmed in this, when they understood that the duke had furnished all the militia, who were before a naked defenceless people, with arms, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, and had ordered them to be exercised every week. To preserve a communication between those forces and *Geneva*, a stone bridge was erected over the *Arve* at *Tremblieres*, not above an hour's sail distant from that city. But the most formidable part of his preparations consisted in those he was making on the lake, where by the assistance of seamen and workmen sent from *Nice*, he built three flat-bottomed boats, in a kind of a dock which he had made at *Bellerive*, a delightful village, lying upon the lake, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, and which he gave orders for securing with a chain and palisades, besides a fort that was flanked with two bastions. The *Genevois* complained, that the erecting this fort was an infraction of the treaty of *St. Julien*, because it was within four leagues of their city. The *Savoyards*, who had on this occasion brought over some of the *Swiss* cantons to their side, pleaded that the building at *Bellerive* was not a fort, because it had no ditches round it, and that it was intended only as a storehouse for their salt; as to the bridge at *Tremblieres*, they pretended that it was built to avoid the water-carriage of that commodity through *Geneva*, which they found dangerous and inconvenient, and that they intended to transport their salt in waggon by land to *Bellerive*, from whence the flat-bottomed boats they had built there, were to convey it to the *Chablais*, *Valois*, *Fribourg*, and other cantons, which used to be furnished by the *Savoyards* with salt.

A. D. 1667.
Precautions of the Genevois in guarding their city.

THOSE plausible pretexts did not amuse the *Genevois*; they had undoubted intelligence that the duke had an intention to make another attempt upon their city, both by land and water, and that he must succeed, if they did not prepare against the worst; they likewise more than suspected, that his royal highness (for so the dukes of *Savoy* were now called) had correspondents in the city, and that he would attempt to surprise, rather than besiege them. The measures they took to disappoint him, shewed wonderful precaution and sagacity. Their garrison was strengthened by an addition of ten men to each company, and thirty draughted from the usual guard of citizens, who were relieved once in twenty-four hours by a like number. The grand rounds set forth every quarter of an hour, besides the usual watch, four beades and two fort majors; so that the centinels could not sleep upon their posts; the out-watches at the same time were reinforced, and some were placed in boats upon the lake. The gates were furnished with new portcullises, bars, and pallisades, and other engines, both of offence and defence. All the hedges and trees within musquet-shot of the city were cut down, especially those towards the gates of *Rive*, that none might approach it unperceived. A private watch was instituted at the same time, by the council of two hundred, who had it in charge to search all strangers. The centinels were every where doubled, and they who stood at the draw bridge were furnished with coats of mail to prevent their being stabbed. Chains were drawn across the lake, which were guarded by citizens, and no boat was suffered to pass without a signal from those appointed to search it, that there was no danger. Other guards were appointed, to pierce and examine all the hay-carts and heavy carriages that came into the city.

- a THE *Genevois*, on this alarming occasion, excused no citizen residing there, who was able to bear arms, from acting as a soldier. The arms of every house-keeper were diligently examined, and they were obliged to furnish themselves according to their abilities with musquets, swords, powder, bullets, and all kinds of provisions. No inhabitant was to appear without a sword by his side; and all merchants and tradesmen were to have their arms lying on their counters in their shops, that they might be ready at a moment's warning. All the ordinary horses of the city were mustered, and two hundred of the richest citizens were obliged to keep each of them an able horse extraordinary. Those horses were commanded by *Nodé Balthazar*; and a great number of *French*, whom the inhabitants could depend on, offered their service in defence of the city. To procure intelligence of the enemies designs, a secret committee of seven persons was instituted; their business was to send spies into the enemies country, that they might learn their motions, and to take cognizance of all affairs, but those that were of so great importance as to require being laid before the general council.
- b

- THE precautions of the *Genevois* did not even end there; they sent for aid to their allies of *Bern* and *Zurich*, who raised a considerable body of troops for their assistance; and to render them as little burdensome as possible to the *Genevois*, they were quartered in the cities and boroughs upon the lake, so as to be ready at an appointed signal. For the greater dispatch, the *Genevois* built a large galley, and the *Bernois* built two others, one of them carrying fourteen, and the other ten guns, and each capable of carrying two hundred men.
- c All this while, the fortifications of the city were receiving new works. The heads of the corporations of merchants, artists, and other professions, spared no expence for that purpose; and the professors of divinity, with their scholars, went round with four drums before them, and not only worked in their own persons, but hired workmen according to their abilities, some ten, and some twenty; nay, a rich *Dutch* merchant, who happened to be then at *Geneva*, brought along with him two hundred workmen, whom he paid.

- THE ardour of the *Genevois* at this time to come to action with the *Savoyards*, was wonderful, and many seemed to be sensibly mortified that they had no opportunity of shewing their courage by the duke declaring war. This was the more to be expected, as he had kept on foot upon the confines of *Savoy* a large body of troops ready for action, at an expence that was but ill suited with the state of his finances, for above nine months. But his royal highness was no stranger to the preparations that were making to receive him, and therefore chose to lose all his preparations rather than make an attempt, which he thought could end only in increasing and exasperating his enemies.
- d

- WHILE those warlike preparations were carrying on, the communication between *Geneva* and the duke of *Savoy's* dominions was still kept open; and a difference fell out, which was prosecuted in another manner than by arms. In *March*, this year, the curates of *Megny* and *Choulex*, two places belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, administered the sacrament to a sick person at *Coursinge*, a village belonging to that duke, all but the house where the sick man lay, which was under the jurisdiction of the *Genevois* lordship of *Jussy*. The matter in itself was inconsiderable, but it happened at so critical a time, that both parties had their reasons for rendering it important. The *Genevois* government ordered *Colladon*, their first syndic, to inquire into the matter; and taking some examinations on the spot, he ordered the two curates to appear before him by a certain day. This was at best but a capitious kind of proceeding; and the senate, as it is called, of *Chambery*, not only cited *Colladon* to appear before them, but published a declaration against him by beat of drum, and even ordered him to be apprehended and brought to trial. This extraordinary proceeding induced the *Genevois* council to send *Liffort*, another syndic, to make their complaints to the president *La Perouse*, who then commanded in *Savoy*, and to lay before him their evidences of that particular house being within their dominions; but the president would neither give them admittance, nor hear their reasons. The *Genevois* then carried the matter before the *Swiss* cantons, not so much because the latter had any jurisdiction in it, but that they might clear their own conduct; which the *Savoyard* ambassador to the same cantons, endeavoured to impeach and blacken. As the *Genevois* perhaps did not find that their conduct had been very defensible they deputed, towards the end of the year, *Andrew Pilet* and *John Dupan*, to attend his royal highness in person at *Turin*, and to make an end of the difference. The duke received the deputies very obligingly, but remitted the matter to the president and other commissioners, who used so many trifling delays, that the deputies spent three months at *Turin* to no purpose. At last the *French* king sent a letter by *Lionne*, one of his ministers, to the magistrates of *Geneva*, desiring the *Genevois*, for the sake of peace, to drop their pretensions upon the house; and this request being seconded by *Servient*, the *French* ambassador at *Turin*, they complied.
- e
- f
- g

WHILE this affair was in dependence, and even before the *Savoyard* forces had retired from the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, an affair happened, which was so little to the credit

Diffensions
in Geneva.

of the moderation of the parties concerned, that they expunged the transaction out of their records, as an atonement for their imprudence. All we know of it from *Spon* is, that during the absence of the syndics, the auditor, *John Sarrazin*, presided, December 7th, in their place, over both the council of two hundred, and that of twenty-five. The latter council repented this; and thus the government was split into two factions: that of the council of two hundred, which was backed by the citizens, as that of the council of twenty-five was by the garrison and soldiers, by whose assistance *Sarrazin* was arrested and thrown into prison. The council of two hundred complained, that he suffered for no other crime, but because he had presided in their assembly; and they convened the people in *St. Mary's* church, that they might rescue him by force; the lesser, on the other hand, drew out the garrison, and both parties were ready to come to blows, when the matter was compromised, though we know not how; the prisoner was discharged, and the city restored to quiet.

THE next remarkable incident that occurs in the history of *Geneva*, was a most dreadful fire, that happened in the night time of the 27th of *January*, 1670, amongst the houses on and near the bridge over the *Rhone*, and which threatened the destruction of the whole city. The houses being built of timber were consumed in two hours time, and one hundred and twenty persons perished in the flames. Many threw themselves into the *Rhone*; but at last the conflagration was stopped from spreading by the towers of *Monoye* and the isle, but not till it had done so much damage, that the channel of the *Rhone* between the isle and the city, though two hundred and sixty feet broad, was filled and dried up by the ruins of the houses. Liberal collections were made by the people of *Geneva*, who raised six thousand crowns; and likewise by their allies of *Bern*.

NEXT year the prince elector palatine paid a visit to *Geneva*, where he resided four months; during which time nothing was wanting that could contribute to his entertainment. Amongst other diversions, one ought not to be forgot. Their largest galley was fitted out and manned by the young *Genevois*; and the prince, with part of the council, received on board of it. After the company had diverted themselves with fishing upon that delightful lake, they landed at the castle of *Kosette*, where a splendid feast was served up; during which the prince was waited on by the young *Genevois* of the greatest distinction, as the lords of the council were by the prince's attendants. After dinner the prince and his company landed, and walked on the side of the lake under a general discharge of artillery, answered by drums and trumpets from thirty boats that attended the galley. During this excess of joy, the *Genevois* magistrates had, for the diversion of the prince, contrived the matter so, that when the smoke of the cannon blew away, all of a sudden a frigate appeared with an *Algerine* flag on her main top, and manned with fifty pretended *Moors*, and attacked the great gally. Upon this a sea-fight ensued, in which the *Algerines* were defeated, and were led prisoners in triumph to *Geneva* by the prince, who at night entered that city under another general discharge of all the cannons on its ramparts. Soon after he fell sick, and public prayers were put up for his recovery, through all the churches of *Geneva*. His health being re-established, he set out for *Grenoble*, the citizens and garrison being in arms, and lining the way for him as he proceeded, the council attending him in a body till he left their territory.

A new plot
against Ge-
neva.

IN *September* 1673, the chief syndic found at his house (on his return from church) a letter, which a person unknown had left in his absence; the contents whereof were, "That, upon a proviso of a proportionable reward, he would make such a considerable discovery, that the public safety depended on it; and if they desired to speak with this person next morning about it, the superior of the convent of the capuchins of *Gex* would inform them where he was; but if they neglected this advertisement, they might be certain of finding the city, in a short time, reduced to the greatest extremity." This letter being laid before the council, the president *Dunant* was sent by them next morning to *Gex*, where he had an interview with the writer, who, after some conversation had passed between them, appeared to be the contriver, as well as the discoverer of the design; which *Dunant* understood was for a new attempt on the city, and had been communicated to the duke of *Savoy*, who had affronted the discoverer, which was the reason why he was willing to reveal it to the *Genevois* government; but he insisted upon being rewarded for his discovery with a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, and to have a place assigned him where he could live in safety. *Dunant* acquainted him, that he had no power to treat with him upon such conditions, and that his best course would be to repair to *Geneva*, where he could treat with the magistrates themselves. The other then desired a letter of safe-conduct; but *Dunant* told him, that no such was ever granted by the magistrates of *Geneva*; but that he was authorized to engage the public faith, that he might

a come into the city on the same security that others had done before him. The man was contented with this very ambiguous security, and next day presented himself before the magistrates of *Geneva*, informing them, that his name was *John Baptiste Noroy*, of *Noroy*, in *Burgundy*; that he had found out an easy way by which he could surprise *Geneva*; that he had gone to *Piedmont*, where he had communicated the same to the duke of *Savoy* some months before; and that, after having a private conference with him at *Rivoles*, the duke told him, that he thought the undertaking was too hazardous; that he had a score of pensioners in *Geneva*; that some of them even sat in the council, and that the juncture was very improper for entering into a war. He thanked him, however, for his discovery, and gave him ten pieces of gold by way of reward. To confirm all he said, he b produced letters under the hand of the duke of *Savoy's* secretary, and other noblemen of that court.

Upon farther examination it appeared, that *Noroy's* scheme was to have introduced, without suspicion, four or five hundred men, all of them unarmed, into *Geneva*, where they were to be lodged in private houses, and have arms delivered them, and lie hid till the day of the execution of their enterprize, which was to be in sermon-time, about eight of the clock. All those people, who were hid, coming out with their arms, were to divide themselves into several parties, three of which, consisting of about eighty men a-piece, should speedily seize on all the doors of the three churches, and not only hinder the people from coming out, but in the fright would constrain them to get up upon the top of the c churches, and by this means there would be no place needing a guard, but only the steeple stairs; another company should scour the streets, and kill the citizens, who being not at church would come out of their houses to rally themselves; the rest were to set upon a certain gate of the city, which being not succoured by any citizens, might be easily won; which being done, there should be let in forces, who were to march all night, that they might be at the gates at the hour of this execution. Upon farther examination, he gave two reasons for making the discovery; the first was the slight put upon him by the small reward he had from the duke; and the second was, his having been refused the government of *Geneva* when it should be taken, and his being scoffed at for making the demand.

The plotter discovered.

b ALL those discoveries were made only to the council of twenty-five. *Noroy* was pressed by them to name the duke of *Savoy's* pensioners in *Geneva*. He declared, that he was totally ignorant both of their names and persons, and very sensibly added, that considering the manner in which the duke treated him, it could not be supposed, that he would be let into a secret of such importance. His answers and discoveries perplexed the council so greatly, that they sent him to prison, and laid the whole affair before the council of two hundred. Their opinions were greatly divided; some imagined, that *Noroy* was no better than a firebrand, to sow divisions amongst the citizens; some voted, that he should be put to the rack to force him to discover the traitors, and some that he should be put to death; while a few were of opinion, that the public faith being engaged for e his safety, he ought to be set at liberty. This opinion, though the most agreeable to justice, was opposed by others, who observed, that *Noroy* had made his discoveries through pique and disappointment, and that he deserved no favour; adding, that an incendiary like him ought to be confined, for fear of farther mischief; and that the promise which had been made to him, being general and ambiguous, he might be put to death, without any imputation lying upon the public faith. After long debates, it was carried to avoid both extremes; and *Noroy* was, by the mercy of the council, shut up in perpetual imprisonment.

In the year 1674, the princes *Philip* and *George*, brothers to *Charles*, landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, came to *Geneva*, where *George*, who was but eighteen years of age, died of the f small pox. As the inhabitants of *Geneva* had always expressed the greatest regard for the house of *Hesse*, they testified their concern by the magistrates ordering an intermission of all public business for eight days. The body of the deceased was deposited with great funeral pomp in *St. Peter's* chapel, the magistrates and ministers attending in mourning, where it lay for eight months, and it was then carried to *Hesse Cassel*. Next year, the lease granted to the farmers of the salt, who paid twenty thousand francs a year to the public, being expired, they were required to pay more money. The farmers refused to comply, and joined with the *Savoyards*, who pretended a right to impose a capitation duty upon every subject of *Geneva*, for the quantity of salt he was supposed to make use of. The *Genevois* resented this imposition, and sent a quantity of salt under a guard to *Jussy*, which g the *Savoyards* complained of both to the court of *France*, and the cantons of *Switzerland*, as an invasion of their privileges; and at the same time they mustered their militia, and laid up magazines of arms, ammunition, and provisions, for invading *Geneva*. The *Genevois*, on the other hand, stood upon their guard, and were justified in what they had done

Fresh differences with Savoy.

State of Eu-
rope in 1690.

A D. 1744.

done both by the court of *France* and the *Swiss* cantons; the *French* king particularly sent them a most obliging letter, promising their republic the continuance of his friendship and protection. The *Savoyards*, however, had so great interest at the court of *France*, that the *Genevois* were obliged to send *John Dupan* and *Amy de Chapeaurouge*, to solicit for them both in *Switzerland* and the *French* court, where they were opposed by *Leonardi*, the duchess's regent of *Savoy's* resident. His allegations were answered by the *Genevois* deputies, and the cantons seemed to be satisfied. Notwithstanding this, the late farmers, whose compact still subsisted with *Savoy* and *France*, pretended they had a right to oblige the subjects of *Geneva* to take salt from them. The intendant of *Burgundy* came to *Colonges*, with a design to make the villages of *Chancy*, *Avouilly*, and *Moric*, take the king's salt, and likewise all the houses dependent on *Geneva*, including the country of *Gex*; to wit, in the villages of *Malagny*, *Rassin*, and others. Not contented with this, he ordered guards into those villages, who took away the *Genevois* salt, and obliged the inhabitants to take that commodity at *Gex*. *Rosette* was then resident from *Geneva* at the court of *France*, and was ordered to make remonstrances on this proceeding to his most Christian majesty, who referred him to be examined by *Pomponne*, one of his ministers. He had several conferences with the *Genevois* resident and deputies, but without any effect; till *Stoupe*, a native of *Switzerland*, and ambassador from the States General, prevailed with the king to give leave to the villagers of *Chancy* and *Avouilly*, to take their salt from *Geneva*. After this *Rosette* died, and was succeeded by the sieur *Fabri*, who solicited his most Christian majesty for an extension of the salt privileges; but he obtained nothing but good words and a gold medal; the inhabitants, all but those we have already named, being obliged to take their salt from *Gex*, which belongs to *France*. In this manner the *Genevois* lived for some time under the protection of *France*; and the mother of protestantism in *Europe* has been defended by the first *Roman* catholic power. We are not, however, to imagine, that this kindness is shewn to *Geneva* on its own account, far less on that of her religion. The *French* are awed by two considerations from subverting the liberties of *Geneva*. The first is, lest such a subversion should draw upon them the resentment of the *Swiss* cantons; and the next, lest the king of *Sardinia* should become master of that republic, which, small as it is, would render him very powerful. For some years, no considerable incident, excepting a few bickerings between the citizens and magistrates, has happened in *Geneva*; but those are of too little consequence to deserve a particular relation. It is certain, however, that even within these few years, the *Genevois* narrowly escaped being sacrificed to the ambition of *France*, particularly during the late war, while his most Christian majesty was engaged in supporting the interests of his son-in-law the prince of *Parma*. The friendship of *Geneva* became of so much consequence, that provided his *Sardinian* majesty would join with *France* and her allies, his most Christian majesty offered to put the king of *Sardinia* in possession of *Geneva*. This design, by the vigilance of the *British* ministry, came to the knowledge of the *Genevois*, and they immediately demanded the stipulated succours from their allies the *Swiss* cantons, who accordingly held them in readiness. The proper signals were likewise concerted for giving the alarm in case of an attack. Those precautions at that time probably saved the liberty and independency of *Geneva* as a republic. The *Dutch* interested themselves in the affair, and reproached cardinal *Fleury*, then first minister of *France*, with the same. The cardinal indeed denied it; but there is little doubt that had it not been for the precautions of the citizens, the design must have succeeded. The *French*, without being disconcerted at the discovery, still piqued themselves with being the supports and the bulwarks of the *Genevois* liberty. At present, his *Sardinian* majesty is so far from affecting any superiority over the *Genevois*, that no longer ago than the year 1755, a treaty passed between them for a mutual exchange of several vassal lands, which were most convenient for both parties.

END of the HISTORY of GENEVA.

The HISTORY of MILAN.

S E C T. I.

Containing an Account and Description of Milan. Rise of the Visconti Family. History of Archbishop Otho; Matteo the Great; Galeazzo I. Azzo; Luchin; Archbishop John; Matteo II. Galeazzo II. Barnabo; John Galeazzo I. Duke of Milan; John Maria; and Philip the last of the Visconti Family.

a **H**AVING been very full in our history of *Florence*, which comprehends, by its various and extensive connections with the other *Italian* states, a great part of their history, we shall, in order to avoid needless repetitions, confine our history of them to those transactions that have been already mentioned, as closely as the thread and order of the narrative will admit of.

THE duchy of *Milan* is bounded on the west by *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Montferrat*; by *Switzerland* on the north; by the territories of *Venice*, the duchies of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, on the east; and by the territories of *Genoa* on the south. For all the purposes and conveniences of life it is the most desirable country in *Italy*. Its soil is exceeding fertile; its pastures the richest in *Italy*; its climate moderate and healthful, equally void of the extremes of heat and cold. The face of the country abounds in lakes and rivers, stocked with variety of all fresh-water fish. The chief lakes are three, viz. that called the *Lago Maggiore*, (anciently the *Lacus Verbanus*) *Lago di Lugano*, and the *Lago di Como*. Nothing can be more beautiful than the borders of the *Maggiore*, which are planted with vineyards upon rising grounds, and every where interspersed with fine summer-houses and villas, and the vineyards are ornamented by plantations of chestnut-trees. In this lake are two islands, called the *Borromean Islands*; *Isola Bella*, and *Isola Madre*. The former, the soil of which was all imported into it by water, at a vast charge, is so beautiful, that the whole looks like the work of enchantment, and contains a magnificent palace. The latter contains a palace likewise, which is remarkable for its fine paintings. The *Isola Bella* was, in the middle of the last century, a mere barren rock; and the buildings and improvements made upon both are owing to the counts of the *Borromeo* family. The *Lago di Lugano* is twenty *English* miles in length; and that of *Como*, from north to south, is thirty-six *Italian* miles. The chief rivers of the *Milanese* are the *Po*, the *Tesin*, the *Adda*, and the *Sessia*; and besides these four rivers, the country is intersected with canals, made and carried on, at a vast expence, for the benefit of communications and water-carriage. The duchy itself is divided into thirteen parts. 1. The *Milanese Proper*. 2. The *Paveese*. 3. The *Lodesan*. 4. The *Cremonese*. 5. The *Comasco*. 6. The county of *Anghiera*. 7. The vallies of *Sessia*. 8. The *Novarese*. 9. The *Vigevanasco*. 10. The *Lomelline*. 11. The *Alexandrin*. 12. The *Tortonese*. And, 13. The territory of *Bobbio*. No country in the world has undergone a greater variety of revolutions, or has been oftener the seat of war, than the *Milanese*, which is a melancholy proof of its vast importance. It is fitted by nature for carrying on all kinds of manufactures; so that the natives can live in great power and plenty, without any foreign commerce; while the commodities they produce, particularly cloth, silk, and linnen, stockings, gloves, handkerchiefs, steel, chrystal, agates, and jewels, make the balance of trade in their favour, with their neighbours. The *Milanese*, upon the whole, were it under a mild and prudent government, would be one of the richest spots in the world, though in breadth it does not extend to above one hundred *English* miles, and in length to one hundred and twenty. Its ancient extent, however, was much greater; and the wealth, splendor, and riches of its ancient princes and inhabitants, are visible, by the astonishing works they have left behind them, notwithstanding the perpetual ravages of the wars they were engaged in.

THE city of *Milan* from its largeness, populousness, and magnificence of its public structures, has acquired the epithet of *The Great*; and at present it is justly reckoned one of the finest cities in the world. It is ten miles in circumference, though great part of the ground within the walls is laid out in gardens; and in the beginning of the present century it was said to have contained three hundred thousand inhabitants; at present it is

*Description of
the Milanese.*

said to contain two hundred and fifty thousand. It stands upon the little river *Olana*,^a and has the advantage of two navigable canals, with the rivers *Adda* and *Tesin*, the first of which was the work of the celebrated *Florentine* painter and architect, *Leonardo de Vinci*. The citadel of *Milan* is a regular fortification, and one of the strongest in *Italy*. The narrowness of the streets, in some places, spoils the beauty of the city, and their paper windows gives their noble houses a mean appearance. Here are twenty-two gates, two hundred and thirty churches, of which ninety-six are parochial, ninety convents, one hundred religious fraternities, and one hundred and twenty schools. The nobility here appear with great splendor, and the manners of the inhabitants are more easy and free than in any other part of *Italy*. The cathedral of *Milan* is an astonishing *Gothic* pile of marble, five hundred feet in length, and two hundred in breadth: its roof is supported^b by one hundred and sixty white marble pillars, each three fathom round, and valued at ten thousand crowns a-piece; it is filled with a prodigious number of statues, some of which are prodigiously fine; and though its foundation was laid in 1386, since which it has been constantly building and ornamenting, yet it is now far from being finished. The treasury of this church is of an immense value; and the chrystal case, enclosing the body of *St. Charles Borromeo*, is looked upon to be invaluable. Next to the churches, all of which are very noble, the college founded by *St. Charles Borromeo*, and that founded by *Frederic Borromeo*, where sixteen professors teach *gratis*, deserve attention, as do many other seminaries of learning erected here. The palaces of the archbishop and the viceroy, and some others of the *Milanese* nobility, are very magnificent; and the revenue of the great hospital, which is^c said to contain four thousand patients and poor, and is a very noble structure, amounts to above twenty thousand pounds sterling a-year. In short, even the mention of all the buildings and curiosities in *Milan* that deserve public attention, would require more room than we can spare. We cannot, however, omit mentioning, that at a small town called *Moussa*, on the river *Lambro*, is preserved the famous iron crown with which the ancient kings of *Italy*, and afterwards the emperors of *Germany*, who had pretensions upon *Lombardy*, were crowned. It is so called from an iron ring on the inside, though the crown itself is of gold, and enriched with jewels. It is by much too small for the head of a grown person. Its height is about three fingers, and it has neither points, nor rays, nor ornaments of any^d kind.

THE *Milanese*, though subject to an arbitrary government, still preserve their senate; but they are under the controul of a governor, or vicar-general, which office is now in the house of *Modena*, which thereby is now become very considerable in *Italy*. This governor fills up all the great offices of power and profit. The military governments of the city and citadel of *Milan* are independent of each other, and every town or city of consequence in the duchy has a common council, out of which twelve acting magistrates are chosen; but these are subordinate to the imperial governor.

Pavia. THE *Pavese*, which is the second division of the *Milanese*, though great part of it now belongs to his *Sardinian* majesty, is called the *Milanese* garden, for its beauty and fertility. Its chief city is *Pavia*, anciently called *Ticinum*, from its situation on that river, and lies^e twenty miles to the southward of *Milan*. It was formerly the capital of the *Longobardic* kingdom, and is still remarkable for the broadness of its streets, the houses of which are far from being magnificent, for the beauty and richness of some of its churches, and for its university, which had *Charlemagne* for its founder, and for several other literary institutions. Here is a bishop's see, which was once the richest in *Italy*, but is now dependent on the pope; and upon the whole the city is gone to decay, its trade being ruined through the exactions of the government. The few objects within it worth the public attention belong to the clergy, or monks, and the church and convent of the *Carthusians* are inexpressibly noble, the court of the convent being one of the finest in the world, and surrounded by a portico supported by pillars, the whole a mile in circumference.^f

THE chief town of the *Lodetan* is *Lodi*, famous for the richness of its pastures, which produce the celebrated cheeses, erroneously called *Parmesan*. It lies on the *Adda*, and contains a castle, fifty-three convents, colleges, and chapels, with about twelve thousand inhabitants, who carry on a trade in a kind of porcelain. It is a bishopric, and the city is spacious and well built. The ancient *Lodi*, though once a flourishing city, is now a place of no note, having been destroyed, out of spite, by the *Milanese*, though it was afterwards repaired by the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*.

Cremona. CREMONA is the chief city of the *Cremonese*, and lies forty-five miles south-east of *Milan*. It stands on the north side of the *Po*, which joins, by a canal, with the *Oglio*. Though it is five miles in circumference, and in general well built, with spacious squares^g and broad streets, it is neither rich nor populous. It has a bridge of boats over the *Po*; and besides the cathedral, which is magnificent, it contains sixty-two convents, churches,

a and chapels, and five alms houses. The rest of the divisions of the *Milanese* require no particular description, though, upon the whole, the country is beautiful and rich by nature, with a peculiar salubrity of air, so that almost every foot of it is improvable. Notwithstanding its present ruinous condition, it can raise an army of thirty thousand fighting men, and its revenues are computed to be annually three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

ANCIENTLY the duchy of *Milan*, containing the north part of the *Old Liguria*, was called *Insubria*, from its inhabitants the *Insubres*, who were conquered by the *Romans*, as they were by the *Goths*, who in their turn were driven out by the *Lombards* of *Gaul* and *Germany*, about the year 572. *Didier*, the last king of the *Lombards*, was taken prisoner b by *Charles the Great*, who put an end to the *Longobardic* kingdom, and appointed the governors of *Milan*. Those governors being distant from the court of their masters, the successors of *Charlemagne*, soon affected to be independent, which brought upon that country a severe chastisement from the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*; for he levelled the walls of *Milan* to the ground, about the year 1152. The history of that emperor is foreign to our present purpose; but under him lived a nobleman, one *Galvian*^a, who was descended from *Otho*, a *Milanese*, who, together with *William* prince of *Montferrat*, served in the crusade, when *Godfrey* of *Bouloign* took *Jerusalem*, and who killed, in single combat, a *Saracen* general, whom he stripped of his helmet, which was adorned with a serpent swallowing a youth, and this, ever after, was the badge of that family. His grandson c *Galvian* having the courage to oppose the emperor, he was taken prisoner, and carried in chains to *Germany*, from whence he made his escape, and returning to *Milan*, he died in the service of his country. From him descended another *Otho*, who was born at *Innori*, a small village near the *Lago Maggiore*. His family, at the time of his birth, was but low, and all their possessions were confined to four inconsiderable villages in the neighbourhood, of which *Innori* was one: but according to *Paulus Jovius*, they formerly had large possessions near *Milan* itself; but their house had gone to decay, through the misfortunes of the times. *Otho* IV. was then emperor of *Germany*, and our *Otho* soon distinguished himself to great advantage, both by the strength and beauties of his mind and body. When he grew up, he went to *Rome*, where he was received into the family of cardinal *Ostavian Ubaldini*, an eminent prelate, who was employed in the greatest posts. The cardinal being sent ambassador to *France*, young *Otho* was so much in his favour, that he carried him with him as his private secretary, an employment which he discharged with vast address; so that the cardinal, who himself was aspiring to the popedom, considered *Otho* as destined for something that was very great. In the mean while a *Milanese* nobleman, one *Torreſs*, or *Torriano*, a person of vast ambition, putting himself at the head of the popular faction in the *Milanese*, had driven into exile *Leo Peregi*, the bishop of *Milan*, who died at *Lignano*; and *Torriano*, having put to death, or banished, all the *Milanese* nobility, established the government of the people there. *Ostavian*, who was himself of a noble *Tuscan* family, some years before had been prevented by *Torriano* from endeavouring to carry out of the treasury of *St. Ambrose's* church at *Milan*, a carbuncle, or jewel of vast beauty and value, which he pretended to reserve to adorn the papal tiara. This bred an inveterate enmity between them. *Ostavian*, by virtue of his legatine powers, nominated *Otho* to the archbishopric of *Milan*, and his nomination was confirmed by pope *Urban* IV. *Ostavian's* intention, by this nomination, was to humble the power of the people, which *Otho* effectually did. *Milan* was at that time divided between two factions, that of *Torriano*, and that of *Francisco Sepri*, who had put himself at the head of a great party, who detested *Torriano's* cruelty and haughtiness. *Otho* was designed by the pope to crush both. One *Stefanardo de Vicomercato*^b, who wrote the life of this *Otho* in verse, and who seems to have been his contemporary, gives us a very indifferent idea of *Otho's* virtues. Other writers f give us the highest opinion of *Torriano* and his modesty. Being at the head of the popular faction, he no sooner heard of *Otho's* nomination to the archbishopric, than he immediately seized upon the archiepiscopal palace and all his effects, and employed them in forming the canal from *Pavia* to *Milan*; but the party of the nobility having now obtained a head from the pope, in the person of *Otho*, began to form cabals, and write letters to their friends in *Milan* for reuniting their strength; and *Otho*, who had the temporal, but not the spiritual revenue, which the pope received for himself, having got together the face of an army, advanced towards the *Lago Maggiore*, and took possession of *Arona*, a strong post near that lake. Upon this *Torriano* marched all his troops out of their garrisons, and with his general *Palavicini*, he shut up *Otho* and his party both by land and g water, in *Arona*, so closely, that *Otho* was obliged to abandon the place, and to leave his party to make the best terms they could for themselves. After this *Torriano* demolished

Ancient history of Milan.

1152.

Archbishop Otho.

1212.

Rise of Torriano.

^a PAULUS JOVIUS apud Stephanum, p. 5.

^b Apud MURAT. tom. 9.

the castles of *Arona*, *Anghiari*, and *Brescia*, but soon after died. He was succeeded by his brother *Philip*, who procured himself to be named *podesta*, or pretor of *Milan*, for ten years; and taking advantage of the civil dissensions at *Como*, he took possession of that principality. Notwithstanding his successes, the party of the nobles, or patricians, under *Otho*, daily gained ground, and drove *Philip* to have recourse to all kinds of arts and alliances to confirm his authority, by matching his relations into the noble *Milanese* families, and to please them, by dismissing *Palavicini* from his command in the army. *Palavicini*, incensed at this affront, became the declared enemy of the *Torriano* party. About this time *Charles* of *Anjou*, brother to *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, was called into *Italy* by *Urban IV.* to make head against *Manfred*. In his march he was received by *Philip Torriano* with great distinction and hospitality, and furnished with cloathing, arms, and other necessities for his army, to induce him to declare against the nobles; and to ingratiate himself the more, he made *Embarra*, a *Frenchman*, governor of *Milan*. Soon after *Philip* died in great reputation for his courage, though he appears to have lost ground in the affections of his people.

History of Napi
Torriano.

PHILIP was succeeded by *Napi*, or *Napoleone*, one of his own family, but a sworn foe to the nobility, whom he proscribed and put to death on all occasions. *Succi*, the head of the *Vistari* family, was then prince of *Lodi*, and befriended the distressed *Milanese* nobles; for which he was besieged in his capital by *Napi*, who took it, and put him to death, with as many of his friends and family as fell into his hands, bestowing the sovereignty of *Lodi* upon the family of *Tisfraga*, the enemies of the *Vistari*. By this time *Palavicini*, the head of the *Milanese* exiles, was dead, and they repaired for protection to *William* marquis of *Montferrat*; upon which *Napi* passed the *Tesin*, and stormed *Vigevano*, to strike a terror into the marquis. Those vigorous proceedings roused *Clement IV.* who had succeeded *Urban IV.* and he both interdicted and excommunicated *Milan*, and all the *Milanese* of *Napi's* party, so that all the churches in that city were shut up; his holiness, at the same time, enjoined the inhabitants to return to their allegiance under archbishop *Otho*.

1265.

He loses his
popularity.

NAPI had now lost a great deal of his popularity by his unamiable cruel manners, and the inhabitants were not proof against the papal fulminations. *Otho*, on the other hand, was now the main prop of the nobility; the marquis of *Montferrat* not daring longer to patronize them; and being supported by the pope, he discovered a great and an enterprising genius; so that the very mention of his name was observed to strike terror into *Napi*. The exiles, at this time, had rendezvoused near *Vercelli*, to the government of which (it then belonging to the *Milanese*) he nominated his nephew *Paganini*, a young man, resembling himself in all his bad qualities, and his hatred of the nobility. It was easy for the nobility to perceive, that *Napi's* intention, by this nomination, was to drive them out of *Vercelli*; and while *Paganini* was on his march to his new government, they opposed him in a body, and put him to death. *Paganini's* body was carried to be buried at *Milan*, and the news of his death so greatly exasperated *Napi* and *Embarri*, that they are said to have put to death all the friends and relations of both sexes of the noblemen who fell into their hands, as victims, upon the tomb of *Paganini*, and to have sent them in waggon-loads to be buried with their ancestors. It was even with difficulty that *Musca*, *Napi's* son, prevailed on his father, by swearing that he would put himself to death, if his suit was not granted, to pardon a physician of the noble party. *Napi*, however, perceiving that his cruelty was every where detested, threw the whole blame of it upon *Embarra*, whom he expelled from his government, in which he had grown extremely unpopular by his vices. To keep well with *Charles* of *Anjou*, who was now on the throne of *Naples*, he sent his brother *Francesco*, with a most magnificent attendance, to congratulate him upon his successes. *Francesco* was most graciously received by *Charles*, who bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood, with a considerable commission in his army; and upon his return to *Milan*, he eclipsed *Napi* himself, in the splendor of his appearance and the manner of his living. At this time, the party of the nobles under *Otho* was reduced to the utmost distress. He himself, and his friends, having spent all their substance, wandered about from place to place, his holiness being unable, through the situation of his affairs, to give them assistance. *Otho*, however, who betrayed no marks of despondency, still found resources in his own courage and constancy, which so greatly re-animated the spirits of his party, that they chose for their general *Squarcini Burri*, a man of great eminence and courage, whose daughter was married to *Mathew Visconti*, afterwards called *Mathew the Great*. At the same time they renewed their confederacy with the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was son-in-law to the king of *Spain*. The marquis agreed to this confederacy, chiefly with a view of making himself master of the *Milanese*.

His cruelty.

Archbishop
Otho distressed,

NAPI had in his pay several bodies of *French* and *Germans*, which had followed the earl of *Flanders* into *Italy*, and, after the death of their leader, chose to serve in the fruitful

- a fruitful plains of the *Milanese*, rather than under *Charles* in *Naples*. To counterbalance their experience in military discipline, *Burri* was sent on a solemn embassy from the marquis, to persuade *Ferdinand* to assist the exiles with a body of troops. As *Ferdinand* had then great differences with *Charles*, *Burri* obtained the assistance he desired, which consisted in six hundred horse and a body of foot, who landed at *Genoa*, and from thence they marched to join the marquis of *Montferrat*. This reinforcement from so powerful a prince, re-established the hopes of *Otho* and the *Milanese* exiles; and they marched in a body against *Vigevano*, then possessed by *Napi*, and besieged it. The siege at first was carried on merely by the archers and cross-bow men, who drove the defendants from their walls; but being afterwards provided with wooden defences, *Burri* thought fit to abandon the siege, and to pass the *Tesin*, that he might carry the war nearer to the gates of *Milan*. Upon his retreat, he was attacked by a sally from the garrison, but with so little caution, that the *Spaniards* facing about, must have got possession of the town, had not the portcullice been suddenly let down. Many of the garrison, however, were put to the sword, and, after that, the exiles and *Spaniards* desisted from their attempts; but in their retreat they surprized a strong post that was held by the *Milanese* and the *Comese*. *Otho* and *Burri*, becoming masters of this post by the *Spanish* horse fording or swimming over the *Tesin*, treated their enemies with the utmost humanity, and gave them their liberty; but, with all, exhorted them to reinstate the nobles and their archbishop in their rights. This lenity rendered *Otho* and *Burri* wonderfully popular at *Milan* and *Como*, to the great mortification of the *Torriani*. Pursuing their advantage, they entered the territory of *Lomellino*, and from thence proceeded to that of *Sepri*, and at last they made themselves masters of all the open places in the neighbourhood of *Milan*.

- NAPI* all this time was not idle; he drew together his forces, and summoned his allies, the *Parmesans*, to his assistance, and at the same time a great body of *French* mercenaries were advancing to his assistance. The latter, however, whose rendezvous was at *Carrati*, were so little upon their guard, that they were surprized by *Otho* and *Burri*. Most of them being taken prisoners, were stript of their baggage and arms: but the victors, in their turn, falling into the like disorder, gave their captives an opportunity of recovering their arms; while *Napi*, all of a sudden, attacked them so vigorously, that they lost all the advantage they had obtained, and it was with difficulty that the *Spanish* horse escaped across the *Tesin*. *Napi* might have pursued his victory with great effect, but was contented, being afraid of ambuscades, with obliging his enemies to repass the *Tesin*, but with very little loss. *Napi*, however, we are told, exercised great severities against the party of the nobles who had joined *Otho*, and whose possessions lay within his jurisdiction, by demolishing their castles.

- CLEMENT* IV. was still pope, and to him *Otho* again applied for assistance; his suit was seconded by the cardinals, who thought that his holiness could not begin his reign more auspiciously than by restoring *Otho*, and the *Milanese* nobles, to their rights. Upon this, *Clement* wrote in very strong terms, threatening the *Torriani* with his indignation if they did not instantly admit the archbishop, and his friends, into *Milan*; and, upon their continuing obstinate, he shut up their churches, and laid them under excommunication. By this time *Napi* began to be hated by the *Milanese*, who exclaimed against his rebellion to the pope. This induced *Napi* to appoint an embassy for mitigating the pope's anger; but his holiness not only refused the ambassadors access to his person, but commanded them instantly to depart out of the papal territories; upon which they repaired to the court of *Naples*, to prevail with that king to become their intercessor with his holiness. *Charles* readily accepted of this office, and appointed ambassadors of his own to repair to the pontiff, who was prevailed on to admit those of the *Torriani* into his presence, on pretence that they had been always zealous votaries to the holy see, and enemies to emperors. In the audience which succeeded, both the *Neapolitan* and the *Milanese* ambassadors represented *Otho* as being a mere freebooter, at the head of a party of robbers, and launched out into such invectives against him, as greatly disgusted the cardinals, who were most of them friends to *Otho*. The latter was, at that time, at the court of *Rome*; and being present at this audience, he was permitted to reply to the charge against him, which he did by recriminating upon the cruelty, craft, and ambition of the *Torriani*. Both parties being heard, his holiness declared, that he would send a legate into *Lombardy* to adjust all differences between them; in which case he promised to relieve *Milan* from its excommunication. *Otho* attended the legate to *Milan*, where *Napi* behaved with so much address and dissimulation, that the city was relieved from its ecclesiastical censures; but without his suffering the archbishop to intermeddle in any affairs, either of church or state, every day producing some new evasion of the pontifical decree. In the mean while, pope *Clement* died, and a vacancy of the pontifical dignity succeeding for some months, *Napi* applied to the emperor *Rodolph*, whom he invited into *Italy*, and to be crowned at *Milan*.

Diffimulation
of pope
Gregory X.

This invitation was accepted of with great readiness; and *Rodolph* constituted *Napi* his a governor and vicar-general in *Lombardy*, sending to him at the same time a fine body of *German* horse, the command of which was given to *Cassoni*, *Napi*'s nephew. This happened about the time when *Gregory X.* was raised to the pontificate. The reader in another part of this work will find the circumstances of this elevation. *Otho*, perceiving the juggling of *Napi*, threw himself at the feet of the new pope; and *Gregory* not only promised to confirm all that his predecessors had done in his favour, but intending to visit his native country of *Piacenza*, he took *Otho* with him, and paid a visit to *Milan*, in his journey. He was received there by *Napi* with so much respect and pomp, that, in order to compromise matters between him and *Otho*, he raised *Raimond*, nephew to the former, to be patriarch of *Aquilcia*. There seems on this occasion to have been great b management on the part of the pope (A), he knew the consequence of having *Napi* in his interest, and of breaking the connections between him and the emperor; and it has been said (B), that he gave his consent that *Otho* should be assassinated privately at *Piacenza*, in the pope's own house. This design being discovered to *Otho* by a waiter at a tavern, he fled out of *Piacenza* by night, and retired to *Lyons*, where the council being finished, he returned to *Italy*. It is, however, pretty improbable, that his holiness was accessary to the design of assassinating *Otho*; because the latter, upon his return from *Lyons*, again put himself under his protection. But it is generally agreed, that *Gregory* shewed no relentment at the decree for putting *Otho* to death, in case he should return to *Milan*; and that he ever afterwards considered him as a troublesome creditor, teasing him c for the performance of his own and his predecessor's engagements. Outwardly, however, his holiness paid so much respect to *Otho*, that the nobles of his party, which was every day gaining ground in *Milan*, flocked to the papal court upon its return to *Italy*; but, to the inexpressible astonishment of *Otho* and his friends, when the pope was preparing to enter *Milan*, he received an order to stop at *Biello*, a town near *Vercelli*, lest his return to *Milan* should disturb the public tranquillity in that city. *Otho* was obliged to comply with this bitter command, and concealed his resentment, but without losing his courage. *Gregory* was received in *Milan* with a vast profusion of honours; and his horse was led by the reins by *Napi* and *Francesco*, under a magnificent canopy, supported by twelve young *Milanese* noblemen. Before he departed from that city, he made a long apology d to *Otho*'s friends, that the state of affairs in Christendom did not admit of his doing *Otho* justice, because of the power of the *Torriani*, which was equal to that of the greatest kings. In short, he advised them to be patient under their misfortunes, but without giving them any other hopes of redress, than that he would find a more proper opportunity to settle their affairs. The truth is, *Otho* and his party were considered at this time to be *Gibelins*; and the *Guelphs* looking upon the *Torriani* as their leaders, had actually submitted to be their slaves. The same humour prevailed in other parts of *Italy*; which was now filled with noble exiles. At the head of the *Guelph* party were the pope, *Charles* king of *Naples*, and the *Torriani*. All the comfort *Otho* could obtain during his long and painful exile, was an order from his holiness, to be reinstated in part of his revenues, as archbishop. But, as *Jovius* observes, he had such an invincible fortitude of mind, that his hopes increased at the time when other exiles despaired. While he remained at *Biello*, pope *Gregory*, who had sided with *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*, as it suited his interest, died at *Arezzo* in 1276. e

1276.
Otho recovers
his credit,

His death united the party of the *Milanese* exiled nobles, who flocked to *Otho*, and chose for their leader *Godfrey* count of *Langusco*, a noble *Pavian*, and an inveterate enemy of the *Torriani* family. The latter was, at this time, in the summit of their power, being equally courted by the pope, the king of *Naples*, and the new emperor of *Germany*; and by their situation they actually held the balance of all *Italy*. *Langusco* was rich and powerful, and took into his pay many *German* and other mercenaries, at the head of f whom he advanced towards the *Lago Maggiore*; all the towns through which he marched, opened their gates to receive him, through the interest of the *Visconti* family, which was seated in that country. Amongst other places, the important towns of *Arona* and *Angbiari* submitted to the exiles; and *Otho* himself, at the head of a considerable detachment, made an irruption into the county of *Sepri*, now belonging to the city of *Milan*, lying between the *Tessin* and the *Olon*, all which country he entirely reduced. By the thread of the history, the unpopularity of *Napi*, at this time, sufficiently appears, and that his real power was confined within the walls of *Milan*, as he had lost so considerable a territory without almost striking a stroke. He summoned all his allies to his assistance, and drew

(A) *Muratori* observes, in his notes upon *Vicomercato*, apud *Murat.* tom. ix. p. 81. that the *Torriani* were at that time under no necessity of privately assassinating *Otho*, because they had publicly rendered it

lawful to kill him, if he should attempt to return to *Milan*.

(B) *Ibid.* *ibid.*

a to the field the military chariot of *Milan*, in token that he was determined to conquer or to die. He added to the fortifications of the city, and he gave the command of it to his brother *Francesco*, who banished some suspected citizens, confined others, and obliged the rest to give hostages. He himself took the command of the main body; and sent his son *Cassoni* (C), with a body of *German* horse, to check the advance of the enemies. He then marched towards *Anghieri*, and encamped on the banks of the *Guasara*, which empties itself into the *Lago Maggiore*; while *Godfrey*, *Otho's* general, encamped on the opposite shore. *Napi's* army marched in two divisions; the first was commanded by *Cassoni*, who expecting his father was at hand to support him, attempted to pass the river; but was opposed by *Godfrey*, who, in making a noble defence, was carried down the stream, and made prisoner. By this time *Napi* came up with his division, and then the rout of the exiles became general. *Theobald Visconti*, the father of *Matthew*, who was afterwards called *the Great*, with thirty-four nobles, were taken prisoners: and it is said that *Napi* shed tears of joy, on seeing the noble actions of his son in the engagement. *Napi's* victory being complete, he sent to consult his brother *Francesco* how he should dispose of his prisoners; and he advised him to cut off the heads of every one of them. This barbarous resolution was opposed by *Cassoni*, who was for milder measures; but the *Germans* having lost their general *Lauser* in a single combat with *Godfrey*, demanded his blood in revenge; upon which *Godfrey*, *Theobald*, and the thirty-four nobles (D), had their heads struck off, and they were sent from the field of battle piled up in a common waggon.

but is again defeated,

c THIS defeat greatly affected *Otho*, who was *Theobald's* uncle, and served only to increase the barbarities perpetrated by both parties on each other. When *Otho*, who was at some distance, received the news of it, he seemed to preserve his usual firmness of mind; and though he shed some tears to the memory of his nephew, he told his friends, that he did not doubt the *Torriani*, in revenge of their barbarity, would soon experience a fatal reverse of fortune. In a few weeks after, the people of *Como*, provoked by the repeated cruelties of their podesta *Accursio Cutica*, one of *Napi's* creatures, took arms, and imprisoned *Accursio*, whom they threatened to put to death, unless *Napi* would set at liberty one of their countrymen, *Simon* of *Locarna*, whom he had made prisoner some years before, and had confined him, like a wild beast, within a den. *Napi*, having a regard for *Accursio*, gave orders to set *Locarna* at liberty; as not thinking he could long survive the severities of his imprisonment. He obliged him, however, to swear, never, from thenceforth, to carry arms against the house of *Torriano*; but, as *Francesco* had foreseen, he no sooner found himself at liberty, than he declared, that he did not think himself obliged by an oath that had been extorted from him by cruelty; and from that hour he devoted his life to revenge against the *Torriani*. *Locarna*, being a man of great interest, brought vast numbers to join *Otho* against the *Torriani*, and he was followed by all the people of *Como*. *Otho* was still at *Vercelli*, where he held his head-quarters, and provided horses and arms for those who joined him. Understanding that the *Torriani* had been so elevated by their late victories, as to be very remiss in guarding the important fortrefs of *Sepri*, and taking advantage of a dark night, he passed the *Tesin*, and made himself master of the place. This success gave great lustre to his arms, and in a few days he again extended his quarters to the neighbourhood of *Milan*. *Napi* immediately ordered a chosen body of veterans, commanded by himself, and the *German* mercenaries, under his son, to take the field, and the rest of his troops and auxiliaries to follow him. He was inexpressibly mortified to understand, that an enemy, whom he had so often subdued, and whose cause he lately thought to be irrecoverable, should again give him disturbance; and he bent the whole of his resentment against *Otho*, who upon his approach called in all his parties, and entrenched his army under the walls of *Sepri*, which he kept behind his back, with a strong garrison, to retire to in case of necessity. *Otho* was too strong to be attacked in his trenches; but *Napi*, in order to draw him out of them, sent for his battering machines, which he applied to the walls of *Sepri* itself. The garrison making a gallant resistance, *Otho* called a council of war, where it was unanimously resolved to take advantage of the consternation of *Napi's* troops, and to charge them before they could recover themselves. This was executed with so much vigour, that his army was entirely defeated; nor could either *Napi* or his son, who was at the head of the *German* cavalry, rally them, so greatly discouraged they were with the resistance they met with before the town. *Otho*, it is said, did all he could to stop the carnage, and it was owing to him that the loss of the *Milanese* was so small as it was. *Napi* and *Cassoni*, upon reviewing their army, found it still so strong, that they determined immediately to renew the fight

and in great distress;

from which he recovers.

but is again overpowered.

(C) *Muratori*, *ubi supra*, thinks that his real name was *Casson*; perhaps it was *Gaston*.

(D) *Paulus Jovius*, in his lives of the twelve *Visconti* princes of *Milan*, *ed. Steph.* 1548, p. 37, makes

them but twenty-two; but *Viccomercato*, whose authority is preferable, makes them thirty-four; nor was *Langusco* one of them, as *Jovius* says he was, he dying in the battle.

while

while *Otho's* troops were in a state of security from their late victory. Early in the morning, therefore, *Napi* renewed the battle with so much success, that his *German* horse took *Otho's* cavalry unprovided; and having put them to flight, the infantry were easily defeated; and thus, says *Jovius*, it is difficult to say whether, within the space of a few hours, they acquired most glory, or suffered most disgrace. As to *Otho* himself, after exposing himself to the greatest dangers, he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and retired to *Como*.

He retreats.

THE inhabitants of that place fearing the resentment of *Napi*, whom they had deserted, refused to receive him within their gates, but furnished him with all kinds of necessaries, and with skilful guides, who enabled him to make his retreat towards *Lago di Lugano*; so that he reached a strong camp at *Zornigo*, a small village, with a wood on his rear. Here he remained for some days in safety, and sent expresses to all his friends, to inform them of his situation; but being obliged to decamp for want of provision, he moved to *Canobi*, a plentiful town, on the borders of the *Lago Maggiore*. At first the inhabitants refused to receive him; but *Otho* represented his case so pathetically, that they not only received him within their walls, but devoted themselves to his service. It was no sooner known that *Otho* was safe at *Canobi*, than the *Milanese* exiles again flocked to his standard; and *Napi's* soldiers being contented with stripping their prisoners, great numbers of them, tho' naked and half starved, repaired to *Canobi*: amongst others, he was joined by *Locarna*, who followed him by the track of his carriages. *Otho's* spirit seemed to grow with his difficulties and distresses; and though he had been five times vanquished in battle, he prepared to make another attempt. The reader is to observe, that he was at this time sixty-five years of age, and he was almost destitute of money, and that the fate of war had deprived him of most of his friends and followers. His constitution, however, was healthful: he had enured it to be in all kinds of fatigues: he looked upon defeats and disappointments to be so many incentives to fresh attempts; and the wonderful vigour of his mind raised him friends, even amidst the *Alps* and *Appennines*, where many noble families, who lived in a kind of an independency, furnished him with horses, arms, cloaths, money, and all kinds of carriages: he was even joined by numbers of volunteers, who were fond of serving under so extraordinary an old man, particularly from *Vercelli* and *Novara*. The marquis of *Montferrat* himself, notwithstanding his former defeats in the same cause, having reduced *Alessandria* and *Tortona*, entered with him into a fresh alliance. This prince somewhat resembled *Otho* in his character of perseverance, and retained in his pay the remains of the veteran *Spaniards*, who had been sent him by his father-in-law. Experience had taught him, that there was a necessity for a naval force to drive the *Torriani* out of *Milan*. The care of providing and commanding that was committed to *Locarna*, who acquitted himself perfectly well in both capacities, while the marquis marched towards the *Lago Maggiore*, at the same time that *Anghieri* (E) was attacked by the fleet under *Locarna*, on board of which *Otho* was. This place was soon reduced; but the garrison fled to the citadel, which, after a short resistance, surrendered likewise. The marquis of *Montferrat* had, by this time, reached the *Lago Maggiore*, and both sea and land forces laid siege to *Arona*, which they plied so hard with their machines and engines, playing from batteries on the land, and the decks and masts of the ships, that the garrison capitulated to surrender, if the place was not relieved in three days. This capitulation was scarcely signed, when news was brought that *Cassoni* was advancing at the head of the *German* horse, and the *Milanese* veterans. Upon this, the marquis drew up his army to the best advantage, and was joined by all the hands that could be spared from the ships. *Cassoni*, seeing the advantageous posture of his enemies, and that their best troops were posted in the front, drew up his men so as to flank *Otho's* army with the worst of his troops, but supported by one wing of his *German* horse; so that by making a circuit, they broke into the rear of *Otho's* army, with terrible shouts, and even fell into *Otho's* camp, putting all before them to the sword. This obliged the marquis to alter the disposition of his battle; but it was now too late, for *Cassoni* charged him so vigorously with the front line of his cavalry, that his army was completely broken, though with no great loss, because the ships received his fugitives. The marquis's tent was taken on this occasion, but he himself retired in pretty good order, with his cavalry, to *Pavia*; as *Otho* and *Locarna* did, with the remains of their infantry, to *Como* and *Novara*. Upon the whole, it appears, both from *Sigonius* and *Stephanardus*, that the marquis behaved very poorly in this battle, and that, in fact, he fled without striking a blow.

He is joined by the Comese and other states.

THE *Comese*, who had revolted from the *Torriani*, had put themselves under the protection of *Locarna*, but without declaring in favour of the *Milanese* exiles. On the arrival of *Locarna* at *Como*, great debates ensued whether the *Comese* should not immediately declare

(E) *Stephanardus* makes no mention of the taking of *Anghieri* on this occasion.

a for *Otho*, and call in his army to protect them against the resentment of the *Torriani*. This consideration was enforced by motives of compassion and generosity; and notwithstanding the opposition given to it by the faction of the *Viti*, it prevailed through the address and eloquence of *Locarna*. The *Comeſe*, all of a sudden, declared in favour of *Otho*, and the exiled nobles; but their two head magistrates obstinately opposed the resolution. *Otho*, on the other hand, was favoured by the bishop, who was of the *Advocati* family. Both parties at last came to blows; but that which was headed by *Locarna* drove their antagonists, after a brisk conflict in the streets, into the castle, and from thence out of the city, both their magistrates being taken prisoners. After this, the people levelled to the ground the houses and towers of the *Viti*; and *Otho*, who remained still at *Novara*, was invited

b to *Como* by letters from the magistrates, who were now all of them in his interest.

FROM that day *Otho's* cause prospered, and that of the *Torriani* went backward. *Otho* was received at *Como* by the bishop, who paid him the greatest honours, and lent him money out of his pocket for repairing his equipages, and recruiting his forces. *Locarna* was seconded by *Luſſeria Ruſca*, the head of the *Comeſe Gibelins*; and *Otho's* troops now wore the imperial eagle in their standard. He had learned, by repeated experience, that the court of *Rome* sought to make him subservient to its own ambitious designs; and that he was far safer in trusting to the emperor, who he knew was sufficiently able to protect, but not to displace, him. The *Comeſe*, who were then very powerful, having declared for him, their example was followed by most of the populous towns lying on the borders of

c the *Lago Maggiore*, and in the neighbourhood; so that he saw himself soon once more at the head of a considerable army. He was joined by *Ricardo Langusco*, brother to *Godfrey*, count of *Langusco*, who had, as we have observed, been killed in the same service. *Ricardo*, who was highly exasperated against the *Torriani* for his brother's death, and had brought with him some chosen troops, was declared general of the army. *Otho* did not fail to harangue the *Comeſe* in the most animating and grateful terms; and was answered by the bishop of *Como*, who undertook in the name of the inhabitants, to stand by his rights to the utmost. *Otho* then took leave of the *Comeſe*, and marched to *Icini*, then a noble and populous town, but now not to be met with in maps. Here the inhabitants joined *Otho* with great spirit. The news of his progress gave so little alarm to *Napi*, that he told

d some of his guests at an entertainment, that his executioners would now have abundance of work in hanging up the rebel *Comeſe*, as so many thieves. He then gave orders for the march of his army, having, as usual, sent out his son *Caffoni* with the *German* horse, who seized upon *Canturi*, lying within five miles of *Como*. After various marches and counter-marches, while *Otho* was at *Leuco*, a priest, mounted on a swift horse, came up to him from *Decimo*, or *Decio*, so called from being ten miles from *Milan*, to inform him, that his enemies under *Napi*, and the heads of his party, were at *Decio*, where they behaved in the most riotous, disorderly manner, and observing no kind of discipline, but plundering the inhabitants, turning them out of their houses, and seizing all they had. The priest added, that *Caffoni* and the *German* horse were still at *Canturi*; and that it was his opinion, by

e marching in the night-time, the army under *Napi* might be surprised and destroyed. *Otho* looked upon this information as a good omen, *Decio* having been the place where he received his education and holy orders. Being informed by his scouts that *Caffoni* was still at *Canturi*, and thereby freed from all dread of those formidable enemies, to whom he had already given three defeats in the open field, he lost not a moment in giving orders for the march of his troops. Affecting now to act only in an ecclesiastical capacity, he appeared in his sacerdotal habits, preceded by a silver cross, and committed the whole care of the expedition to *Ricardo*. The march succeeded perfectly well, and the scouts reported that a profound silence reigned all about, and within, *Decio*. They marched without lights, and arriving about the dawn of day, they broke into the town with such fury, that *Napi* had

f scarcely time to put on his armour; and all that *Pontio*, who had the chief command under him, could do, was to rally a few half-armed troops; but he was attacked by *Ricardo*, who put him to the sword, with most of his party, while *Locarna* and *Ruſca* attacked the other division under *Napi* himself. Here the engagement was pretty smart, but entirely to *Otho's* advantage. Several of the heads of the *Torriani* were killed, and it was with great difficulty that *Otho* could save *Napi*, who was taken prisoner, from *Locarna's* vengeance. Many young noblemen were, at the same time, made captives, most of them the descendants, allies, or relations of the *Torriani* family; and all the honour of this glorious day resulted to the *Comeſe* (F).

He defeated
Napi and the
Torriani at
Decio.

(F) Such is the account given us by *Paulus Jovius*, who was himself a *Comeſe*, of this battle, or rather surprisal, which makes so eminent a figure in the *Milanese* history: but *Muratori*, tom. ix. p. 92. in his notes upon

Vicomercato, observes that the match was very unequal, and that the *Othonians* (as they are called) were far superior to their enemies in number. *Vicomercato* likewise hints, that *Pontio* was not killed, but taken prisoner.

Moderation of
Otho.

FEW victories obtained in the heat of a civil war, and after such provocation, on the part of the vanquished, have been more moderately prosecuted than this was. This, undoubtedly, was owing to the wisdom and policy of *Otho* himself, who sought all opportunities to prevent bloodshed. *Locarna* and *Rusca* had the charge of *Napi*, and the most illustrious prisoners, whom they carried to the castle of *Baradello*, near *Como*. *Locarna*, seeing his principal foe in his power, abated his resentment, but shut him up in a cage, where being deprived of every thing that could put an end to his life, his hair and nails grew to a most enormous length. It is said, that he submitted quietly to his fate, but that he interceded for a favourable treatment of his son and nephew, whom his authority had carried with him to the field; in which they were accordingly indulged.

Cassoni oblig-
ed to abandon
Milan.

THE news of *Napi*'s defeat and imprisonment arriving at *Milan*, *Oldred*, who had been left governor of the city, summoned a council of the magistracy, and ordered the people to take arms. His authority was very little regarded. Nothing was now to be heard of amongst the citizens, but the praises of *Otho* and the exiles, for the moderate use they had made of their victory, and the greatness of the defeat, which had cut off, or imprisoned, all the heads of the *Torriani* party, and rendered it impossible for them ever to recover their power. In short, *Oldred* found such a disposition in the citizens, that he was obliged to shut himself up in the castle for safety. *Cassoni* was still at *Canturi*, where he had an imperfect account of his father's defeat; and not knowing the particulars, he returned with his army to *Milan*, where he was in hopes of finding his father, or some of his friends. Being informed of the truth, and refused admittance into the city, he broke open the gates, forced his entrance, and marched, at the head of his troops, to the market-place; but not before his rear had been attacked by some of the townsmen. *Cassoni*, not discouraged, erected his family-standard in the market-place; but none repaired to it, or joined him, when he invited the inhabitants to assert their ancient liberties: finding, therefore, all his efforts fruitless, he retreated to *Lodi*, and being denied admittance there, he went to *Cremona*, and from thence to *Parma*.

1277.
Into which
Otho is re-
ceived.

THE same day on which *Cassoni* fled out of *Milan*, *Otho* was invited into it with all the demonstrations of zeal and loyalty on the part of the inhabitants. He still retained his moderation (G); and after his entry into *Milan*, which was very pompous, he made a speech to the citizens so full of wisdom and clemency towards his enemies, that he entirely removed their apprehensions, and they committed the government of the city to his hands. He appointed count *Ricardo* to the government of *Milan*, and made *Locarna* his general, or (as he is called) the master of his horse, as being the two persons to whom he principally owed his success. He then founded some religious houses, and instituted certain festivities to commemorate the anniversary of his victory, some remains of which the *Milaneſe* are still said to retain. It is somewhat remarkable, that, on the morning of *Otho*'s victory at *Decio*, *Bnacosa Burri*, the wife of his nephew *Matthew*, afterwards called *Matthew the Great*, was brought to bed of a son, who, from a cock crowing at the time of his birth, was called *Galeazzo*.

He reduces the
remains.

OTHO being now settled in peace and prosperity, applied himself to reduce the remains of the *Torriani* faction, who had taken refuge in mount *Orfano*, so called from its standing alone in the middle of a vast plain. As the place was found by *Otho* to be impregnable, he was forced to block it up, by which he obliged it to surrender by famine in six months. *Otho* offered his protection to the garrison; but they chose to leave the *Milaneſe*, rather than trust to his clemency. Their departure left him at liberty to apply himself to his civil and ecclesiastical functions, in both which capacities he excelled all princes of his age; he rewarded all his friends in the most generous manner, and left nothing unattempted that could reclaim his enemies.

Of the Torri-
ani.

WHILE he was intent upon those duties, a fresh war broke out against him. The *Vistari* having, by his means, been restored to the government of *Lodi*, their opponents called in *Cassoni*, *Godfrey*, and *Raimond* of *Aquileia*, to their assistance; and being joined by auxiliaries from *Cremona* and *Parma*, they invaded the *Milaneſe*. *Cassoni* having taken and plundered several towns upon the banks of the *Adda*, passed the *Lambro*; and the danger seemed so threatening to the *Milaneſe* government, that they unadvisedly drew out their chariot of war, and marched to *Santo Donato*. Some authors pretend, that, in the mean while, *Otho* put himself at the head of a flying party, and advanced to *Cassano*, a town on the *Adda*, to restrain the incursions of *Cassoni*; but perceiving him to be stronger than he imagined, he was obliged to fly to a neighbouring village, where he was saved by hiding himself in the steeple. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that the army of the *Milaneſe*, who

(G) We have in *Paulus Jovius* a portrait in profile, which he assures us to be from an original of *Otho*, painted, in the castle of *Anghieri*, with a description of the battle. In this portrait he is represented in his archiepiscopal robes, with a cross in his right-hand, and in his left a sword of an enormous size, but of curious workmanship.

a attended the chariot of war, were defeated by *Cassoni*, and about twenty of their nobility were made prisoners. *Cassoni*, elated by this victory, carried his incursions to the very gates of *Milan*. *Otho* shewed his usual constancy on this dangerous occasion, and, without betraying the least symptom of fear, he made all proper dispositions for the defence of the city. Those precautions defeated *Cassoni's* sanguine expectations, that the friends of his family would declare themselves in his favour within the city; so that he was obliged to repass the *Adda*, and to lay siege to *Bergamo*. His retreat gave *Otho* a breathing time, and he invited the marquis of *Montferrat* again to join him with his troops, so as to put the success of the war on a short issue. The marquis acceded to his proposal, but upon pretty high terms; for *Otho* was obliged to pay him down a large sum in ready money, to give him a considerable subsidy for five years, and to declare him general of all his troops against the *Torriani*. This bargain being concluded, the two prefects, or podestas, of *Milan*, who happened that year to be *Antonio Langusco* of *Pavia*, and *Lufteria Rusca* of *Como*, raised an army, and drew out the chariot of war. On this occasion, *Otho*, that he might oblige as many of his friends as he could, reduced the service of the prefects from twelve to six months. Nothing happened for some time but a few skirmishes, and plunderings of open villages. At last, the marquis of *Montferrat* resolved to pass the *Adda*, and to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country.

Success of *Cassoni*.

Otho joined by the marquis of *Montferrat*.

ARCHBISHOP *Otho* was then in the field, and was opposed by *Raimond Torriano*, whom we have already mentioned, patriarch of *Aquileia*. Two churchmen being at the head of different parties, it was proposed by the *Bergamese*, as well as their opponents, who were studious of peace; that they should confer together on that head. This proposal produced a peace, which was by no means agreeable to the marquis of *Montferrat*; for the *Milanese*, of both factions, having then an opportunity of intercourse, ran into each others arms, so that the two camps seemed to be but as one, till the marquis, by his authority, broke off their intimacy. This, however, did not interrupt the negotiations for peace, which at last was concluded on the following terms, viz. That the castles of *Bepriano* and *Vapriano* should be delivered into the hands of *Conrade*, an eminent lawyer, who appeared there as mediator, and the college of merchants, as being indifferent parties; that the *Torriani* should recover their estates, castles, and houses, but that their places of strength should be put into the hands of citizens, who had never espoused either side; and that the prisoners of both should be dismissed without ransom.

As this peace was concluded chiefly by the intervention of the marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Conrade*, *Lufterio* of *Langusco*, and *Locarna*, refused to agree to the last article, pretending that their prisoners in the castle of *Baradello* were their own property by the right of war, and that none could dispose of them without their consent. Notwithstanding this, the marquis set at liberty all the prisoners of the *Torriani* faction who were in his custody. *Otho*, on the other hand, lay under inexpressible difficulties; he knew not how to disoblige the friends and relations of his family, who by the peace were obliged to give up all the lucrative grants they had obtained of the estates of the *Torriani*; and at their instigation he absolutely refused to ratify the terms. Thus the *Torriani* were restored neither to their country nor their estates; nor were their friends in the castle of *Baradello* delivered. This failure of good faith seems to have been the greatest stain that *Otho* ever incurred in his person or government, and opened the mouth of calumny against him, insomuch that his enemies made a handle of it for gaining over great numbers of the neighbouring princes and states to their party.

Otho's failure in good faith.

ABOUT this time *Napi* died of filth and nastiness; being consumed by vermin in the castle of *Baradello*, where he had lain for nineteen months and twenty-three days. Some say, that he was dragged out by the heels, and buried in a ditch, like a beast of burden; while others affirm that he had a decent burial. Other prisoners of his family and party soon after followed him in the same manner. Those barbarities encreased the public detestation against *Otho*; so that *Raimond*, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, prevailed with the *Venetians*, and the neighbouring states, to furnish him with two thousand horse, and as many foot, who were joined by the *German* veterans, the *Cremonese*, the *Parmesans*, and the *Lodese*, under *Cassoni*, not to mention a great number of the *Milanese* themselves, who were discontented with *Otho's* government, on account of the injustice done to the *Torriani*, by which their country continued to suffer. Their defection, which was voluntary and plausible, alarmed *Otho*, who immediately raised an army, summoned his allies to his assistance, and laid out vast sums of money in warlike preparations. Having called upon the marquis of *Montferrat* to join him with his troops, he declined it by several frivolous excuses; that he might augment *Otho's* difficulties. It is probable that he had never lost sight of his views on the *Milanese*. According to *Jovius*, he had carried his wife to pay a visit to *Otho* at *Milan*, where she was entertained with so much splendor, and received so many noble presents, that she was incessantly urging him to aspire to the sovereignty of that magnificent city.

Death of *Napi*.

The

Cassoni de-
feated and
slain.

Practices of
the marquis of
Montferrat

are disap-
pointed.

The marquis easily inclined to her suggestions, and had even gone to *Spain*, where he brought that king into his views, and returned with three hundred men at arms, with a body of light horse and infantry. This proceeding, together with his various shufflings and excuses, gave *Otho* some suspicion of his design; and he employed his nephew *Matthew*, who had now acquired a great character in the management of business, to sound him, and to give him a large sum of money to induce him to take the field. *Matthew's* arguments had so much weight, that the marquis, prevailed on partly by the gold, and partly by a sense of shame, drew out his troops, and joined *Otho* and the rest of his allies at *Vapri*. The whole formed one of the most numerous and best appointed armies that had been seen in *Italy* for some years, consisting of thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse, of whom above two thousand were men at arms. This formidable army, and the expedition with which it had been brought to the field, daunted *Cassoni*. He had depended on the backwardness of the *Milanese*, whom he imagined could not be brought to declare against his family. Seeing *Otho's* army advance, he perceived that he must either repass the river, which he could not do without exposing himself to great danger of defeat, fight *Otho* upon very unequal terms, or suffer himself to be shut up in *Vapri*. He disdained the thought of either retreating or acting on the defensive, and resolved at once to fight his enemy. Before he executed this desperate resolution, he made a short speech to his *German* cavalry, and putting himself at their head, he attacked the *Spanish* auxiliaries with so much fury, that he killed their standard bearer; but being at last surrounded by numbers, he was himself killed, and his army completely defeated, most of them being either drowned in passing the *Adda*, or falling in the field. This battle confirmed *Otho* in his government, and was fought four years after that of *Decio*. *Cassoni* was nobly buried at *Vapri*, where his tomb is still to be seen.

THE *Lodese* having been very active in favour of *Cassoni*, their territory was invaded by the marquis of *Montferrat*, and ravaged with so much cruelty, that they were obliged to purchase their peace from *Otho*. He then attacked the *Cremonese*; but this produced a confederacy against him amongst the *Piacentines*, the *Parmesans*, the *Mantuan*s, and the *Reggians*, who supported the *Cremonese*. The war was thereby protracted for some time; but at last peace was concluded for a hundred years, by which the prisoners on both sides were to be released, and the *Torriani* fugitives were to be suffered to have refuge in the cities and territories of their friends. The marquis, through those successes, and his *Spanish* alliance, made at this time so great a figure in the affairs of *Lombardy*, that he no longer doubted of becoming master of *Milan*, as *Otho* was now grown very old. To pave the way of his ambition, he practised with the *Comese*, who chose him for their governor, or potesta, for ten years; but with an express reservation as to the prisoners in *Baradello*, whom he was to leave in the power of the people of *Como*; and, by his oath, he was, at the request of the people and the *Ruscan* party, faithfully to make war with all their enemies as occasion should require. Having obtained this great acquisition of power, he returned to *Milan* with a large retinue, where he renewed his intrigues, and employed all kinds of practices to depreciate *Otho* in the eyes of his subjects. His manners, however, were ill-suited for such an undertaking, for he was as arrogant in his behaviour as he was insatiable in his avarice, which had involved the *Milanese* in prodigious expences. This rendered him unpopular amongst them, and the more as he claimed all the glory of the late battle of *Vapri*, and took such steps as left it no longer doubtful that he was aspiring to the sovereignty of *Milan*.

THE first step he took in direct opposition to *Otho*, was his espousing the interest of the *Soracini*, a family which was extremely obnoxious to the *Visconti*, and had always opposed *Otho* and his friends. He next procured *Poggio*, one of his favourites, to be made potesta of *Milan*, where two factions started up; one in the interest of *Otho*, and the other in that of the marquis. The latter, to strengthen his party, had by the force of gold procured the deliverance of *Guido Torriano* out of the castle of *Baradello*. The *Comese* reproached their friends at *Milan* with this escape, which gave infinite disquiet to *Otho*. He now plainly saw that the marquis was striking at the foundation of his authority; but he wisely resolved to dissemble, and he entertained the marquis with as much affability and complaisance as ever. By this prudent behaviour he made great discoveries of his rival's intentions, and was enabled to guard against all his secret machinations, and to weaken his party. It is probable that *Otho*, on this occasion, employed other means to divert the marquis from his dangerous designs; for he was most critically called back to *Vercelli*, on account of a civil war breaking out in his own marquisate. Upon his retreat, *Otho* immediately summoned a meeting of his friends, and giving his nephew *Matthew* his orders, he directly mounted on horseback, and advanced in armour to the potesta's palace, from whence he drove *Poggio* out of the city. A new potesta was nominated in his room, the *Soracini* were driven into exile, and their palace, which they had built out of the ruins of

a the *Torriani*, was levelled with the ground; others of the *Montferrat* faction, who were less obnoxious, were banished ten miles from *Milan*; and thus *Otho's* government and credit were entirely re-established in that city.

THAT he might prove himself to be in all respects a complete politician, he endeavoured to get permanency to his power, by applying, as the *Torriani* had done before, to *Rodolph*, emperor of *Germany*, for his protection, and inviting him to receive the crown of *Italy* at *Milan*. *Rodolph* was a wise and a wary prince; and tho' he had before inclined to favour the *Torriani*, accepted of *Otho's* offer; and, without going to *Italy*, he took him into his alliance, and not only in the most ample form promised to assist and protect him, but sent him some troops of *German* horse to serve him as his life-guard; a present which was at that time of the utmost consequence to the princes of *Italy*. The marquis of *Montferrat*, over-awed by this great alliance, laid aside, for that time, his ambitious projects against *Milan*, and continued a war against the people of *Tortona* and *Alessandria*.

Otho's alliance with the emperor.

IN the mean while, a breach happened between the *Milanese* and *Comefe*, which unexpectedly revived all the hopes of the *Torriani*. The vast services performed by the *Comefe* to the *Milanese*, encouraged the former to presume a little too much upon their own importance; and having made some demands concerning limits, which they pretended belonged to them of right, and which the *Milanese* disallowed of, they immediately took arms; and invading *Lucca*, they possessed themselves of that, and several other towns belonging to the *Milanese*. Upon this, the latter declared war, and raised a considerable army to do themselves justice, the command of which was given to *Matthew*, who attacked and defeated the *Comefe*, killed great numbers of them, and carried a large booty in prisoners and plunder to *Milan*. The *Comefe* complained most bitterly of this treatment, which they said was more barbarous than the most enraged enemies could have inflicted. Their resentment was aggravated by the consideration that they had some time before chosen *Matthew* for their potesta and general of their army, and had loaded him with many extraordinary honours. The remembrance of all this, with that of the great things the *Comefe* had done for *Milan*, worked them up to such a pitch of indignation, that all of a sudden they entered into a conspiracy against the *Visconti* family; and not only set at liberty *Musca* and *Herecci*, the two heads of the *Torriani* family, whom they had detained in prison ever since the battle of *Decio*, but raised them to be their potestas, and furnished them with arms and money.

Quarrel between the Milanese and the Comefe.

THE marquis of *Montferrat* was not wanting to support the *Comefe* in this war, and all parties in the confederacy breathed nothing but fury and destruction to *Otho* and *Matthew*. The power and reputation of the marquis rendered him a most formidable enemy; and the keenest of the two young *Torriani*, in resentment of an almost eight years imprisonment, was incredible. The rendezvous of the *Torriani* was at *Parma*. The event of this war proved unfortunate to *Matthew*, to whom the archbishop had resigned all his power, both civil and military. The *Torriani* and the *Comefe* expelled him out of *Milan*; and *Otho* dying soon after, the *Torriani* became again possessed of *Milan*, and *Matthew* was obliged to take refuge at the imperial court, where he was in high favour under the emperor *Rodolph*, who made him his vicar-general over *Milan*, *Como*, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Alessandria*, and *Tortona*. As to *Otho* himself, he did not live to see *Matthew's* calamities, but died at the age of eighty-seven, in *August* 1245.

Conduct of the marquis of Montferrat.

OTHO was a singular instance how far perseverance and intrepidity can conquer repeated misfortunes. Though he never had been bred either a soldier or a politician, yet he excelled both in the field and the cabinet; and died without feeling any other disease than the decay of nature, amidst his friends and kinsmen.

and character of Otho.

MATTHEW was born in a village near the *Lago Maggiore*, on the very day that the emperor *Frederick* is said to have been put to death by his natural son *Manfred*. His father *Theobald* died when he was young, and he became the favourite and companion of his uncle *Otho*, amidst all his difficulties and distresses. In strength of body and firmness of mind, as well as in constancy under every kind of fortune, he exactly resembled *Otho*; but in clemency and civil virtues he exceeded him. During the course of his life, he at one time or other subdued all his enemies; but never was known to take a severe revenge upon any. He was expelled out of *Milan*, through the practices of the *Torriani*, by *Alberti Scotti* of *Placentia*, and other *Italian* princes, who had debauched his mercenaries. *Guido Torriano* became master of *Milan*. He was, as we have seen, received by the emperor *Rodolph*; but upon his death, which happened soon after his expulsion, he was, with a few friends who attended him, reduced to vast difficulties; nor did he receive any assistance from the emperor *Albert*, who succeeded him. Upon the arrival of the emperor *Henry* the VIIth in *Italy*, the bishop of *Constance* repaired to *Milan*, and demanded of the inhabitants that the emperor should be crowned in their city with the crown of *Lombardy*. This demand met with some difficulty; and while he was at *Asti*, *Matthew* and the arch-

Succeeded by Matthew the Great.

The emperor
crowned king
of Lombardy.

bishop of *Milan* having joined together against the *Torriani*, repaired to him, and swore 2
fealty. The castle of *Vigevano* was then held by *Guido Torriano*^c; but it was surprised by
the emperor, which forced *Guido* to make an humble application to him at *Novara*, to
make an apology for what had passed; and after that, the emperor crossed the *Tesin*, and
sent before-hand his harbinger to prepare for his reception in *Milan*. His approach was
extremely disagreeable to *Torriano*; and his majesty having reason to suspect he would be
opposed, proceeded with great caution; but having entered the city, he found ten thou-
sand men drawn up under arms, which *Torriano* said was to oppose *Matthew* and the arch-
bishop. The emperor, however, proceeded with such caution and moderation, that he
procured a reconciliation between all the three parties, and obliged them to embrace each
other. Next day he harangued the people from his tribunal, and published this recon- b
ciliation. After that, there was some dispute between the inhabitants of *Milan* and of
those of *Mouza*, concerning the place of his coronation. But at last their own crown was
carried from *Mouza*, where it commonly was kept, to *Milan*, and the ceremony was per-
formed there in the church of *St. Ambrose*.

HENRY being now king of *Lombardy*, a consultation was held about granting him a
subsidy, and *Matthew* voted for giving him forty thousand florins, and the empress ten
thousand. *Torriano*, to make his court with the emperor, proposed to grant him a hun-
dred thousand; which won the hearts of the *Germans*, but lost those of the *Milanese*.
After his coronation he made no fewer than one hundred and sixty new knights. *Matthew*
Visconti was, at this time, at the head of the *Gibelin* interest in *Milan*; but *Torriano* knew so c
well how to make his court to the emperor, that he was under a cloud at court. Before
his imperial majesty left *Milan*, he made a demand of the remainder of the subsidy which
had been voted to him, amounting to fifty thousand florins. This produced great commo-
tions in *Milan*; and *Torriano* having, under frivolous pretences, refused to attend him to
Rome, gave some suspicion of his loyalty. This was confirmed by the great number of
soldiers entertained by *Torriano*, and the emperor demanded a hundred hostages for the
good behaviour of the inhabitants during his absence. This proposal met with great dif-
ficulties on all hands. Of those hostages, *Galeazzo*, *Matthew's* eldest son, was one; and
Francesino, the son of *Guido Torriano*, was the other. Though their fathers were of oppo- d
site factions, yet both of them hated the *Germans*, and both of them had a private con-
ference, in which they mutually agreed not to attend the emperor. This agreement was
concealed by *Galeazzo*, but betrayed by *Francesino*. When the day of the emperor's de-
parture came, the hostages refused to attend him, unless their expences were defrayed;
upon which the emperor sent *Nicholas*, his chief minister, to demand of the senate, that
they should be paid by the public. The senate refused to agree to this proposal; upon
which they were locked up by *Nicholas*, who, upon making his report to the emperor,
advised him to put them all to death. *Henry* rejected this cruel proposition, and the sena-
tors were set at liberty. He took new precautions, however, against any surprize; but
indeed the *Milanese*, at this time, were ripe for any desperate attempt against the *Germans*;
and, understanding that there had been a compromise between the *Visconti* and the *Torriani*, e
they put themselves under arms. *Matthew* and his son were by the emperor ordered to be
arrested. *Matthew* was too wise to expose himself and his friends to danger, and therefore
presented himself without armour to the emperor. *Torriano*, on the other hand, fled to
his own palace, which he had fortified, and the storm broke upon him and his friends.
Their houses were besieged and rifled, and many of them were put to death. In the
mean while, *Galeazzo* was by his father ordered to surrender himself to the emperor;
but he had declared for the *Germans* against the *Torriani*, and put himself at the head of a
great body of his friends. His appearance, in all probability, saved the *Germans* and the
emperor from being cut in pieces, the main body of the imperialists lying without the city.
The *Germans* by his assistance prevailing, would have put to death all the *Guelphs*, and the f
followers of *Torriano*, had it not been for the moderation and wisdom of young *Galeazzo*,
who diverted their rage, by giving up the houses of the *Guelphs* to plunder. This be-
haviour of the *Visconti* saved *Milan* from destruction, and they did all they could to put a
stop to the licentiousness and avarice of the *Germans*. This rendered them obnoxious to
the latter; and they prevailed upon the emperor to banish the father to *Asti*, and the son
to *Trevise*. Thus the *Germans* were for some time entirely masters of the city; from which
the *Torriani* were now expelled. *Matthew*, however, and his son, found friends about the
emperor, and both of them were recalled with great honour.

Matthew ar-
rived,

but recalled.

The emperor is
crowned at
Rome.

g
According to *Paul Jovius*, while the emperor was at *Asti*, *Matthew*, in the disguise
of a countryman, made his way to his person, and falling at his feet, implored his pro-
tection, which his venerable appearance, being then above sixty years of age, soon pro-

a cured, notwithstanding the opposition of all his enemies present. It is, however, not very clear that he did not betray *Torriano* in the attack which was made upon the *Germans*; but it seems pretty certain that he had entered into no concert with the emperor, who was at first extremely jealous of him, and planted spies upon his conduct. As to *Guido*, being old and infirm, it was with difficulty he escaped out of *Milan*, and his family lost all its possessions there. *Henry* then gave to *Matthew* the supreme command of *Milan* under himself; and after taking all necessary precautions for its safety, he set out for *Rome* to be crowned. *Matthew*, from that time, devoted himself to the imperial interests; and being supported by three sons, men of the most consummate abilities in the arts both of war and peace, he entirely broke the *Torriani* faction, and acquired so many splendid victories, that b the voice of all *Italy* bestowed upon him the epithet of *The Great*. But the envy which attended his glorious actions raised him a vast number of enemies, he being now master of almost all *Lombardy*. *Robert*, king of *Naples*, having taken part with the pope, declared himself the protector of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, and *Matthew*, as being their head, was ex-communicated. In the mean while, the emperor *Henry* died by poison, as was said; but *Matthew* not discouraged by that, nor the other cross events which happened to him, still continued to make head against the *Guelphs*, whom he defeated in three battles. The first was fought at *Aldino*, the second on the banks of the *Arbe*, and the third at *Monte Catino*, where the brother of the king of *Naples* was killed, and *Luchin*, *Matthew's* son and general, gave signal proofs of his warlike genius. *Marc*, another of *Matthew's* sons, headed c the *Spinolas* and the *Dorias*, and the other *Genoese* exiles, and shut up *Robert* himself in *Genoa*. Upon this, *Bertrand Vasco*, the pope's legate, renewed the sentence of excommunication against *Matthew*, and, in order to exasperate the people against him, laid the city of *Milan* itself under an interdict. This had its effect; for the inhabitants being shut out of their churches, and deprived of all sacred rites, immediately nominated twelve ambassadors to *Bertrand*, to avert the pope's indignation. Most of those ambassadors were enemies to *Matthew*, some of them of his own family, and others under the greatest obligations to his friendship, particularly *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, a man of great interest in *Milan*, but of a restless unquiet disposition. *Matthew*, on the other hand, was powerful in his family, his dependencies, troops, and riches; but being now very old, he applied d himself chiefly to aggrandize his numerous progeny, which still increased the number of those who envied and hated him. The report of the deputies who had been sent to *Bertrand*, who were now returned to *Milan*, was, that he was at the head of a great army; but that they could not prevail upon him to withdraw his censures, unless the inhabitants expelled *Matthew*, and returned to their old form of popular government. This report threw the populace into such a ferment, that *Matthew* was obliged to apply for assistance to his son *Galeazzo*, who at that time commanded in *Placentia*, and who, assembling his army, marched directly to *Milan*. *Galeazzo* was at that time in high reputation all over *Italy* for his valour, and very popular at *Milan* on account of his splendor and liberality. He was no sooner arrived in the city, than his father's enemies were confounded; and the e twelve deputies at first shut themselves up in their houses, and at length took advantage of a dark night to escape out of the city. They were no sooner gone, than *Galeazzo*, who was endued with great natural eloquence, called an assembly of the citizens, where he so effectually laid open the designs of the *Guelph* faction, that he brought all the citizens over to his own party, and resettled the tranquillity of the government.

MATTHEW was now seventy-two years of age, and being again restored to his country and government, he was too wise to think of continuing in power, which he formally resigned to his son *Galeazzo*, by putting into his hands the imperial standard: he then repaired to the altar, attended by all the clergy who durst follow him, where he made a solemn profession of his religion, and took an oath that he never had done any thing that could f merit the censures he lay under, through the enmity of a proud and vindictive churchman. Next day he repaired to *Moufa*, and there he repeated the same professions. Soon after he was seized with a fever, and ordered himself to be transported in a litter to *Crescentini*, where he was attended by his four sons. His dying advice was full of piety and wisdom; and he had the happiness of expiring in their embraces. Such was the devotion, or superstition of the age, that the place of his interment was kept long secret, lest, dying excommunicated, his body should be torn from the grave by the implacable churchmen.

He was succeeded in the government of *Milan* by his eldest son *Galeazzo*, who had spent all his life in arms, or in combating the intrigues of his own, or his father's enemies. He had for some time been potesta of *Novara*, from whence he had been driven by the *Guelphs*; but assembling an army, with incredible expedition, he drove his enemies to *Mortara*, which g he besieged, took, and razed to the ground, though esteemed one of the strongest fortifications then in *Italy*. This raised his reputation in arms beyond even that of his father, whom in his exile from *Milan* he most faithfully attended through all his fortunes, till all

Matthew ex-communicated.

His death.

Succeeded by Galeazzo.

prospect of relieving him being at an end, he entered into the *French* service, in which he highly distinguished himself in her wars with the *English*. Returning to *Italy*, he gave proofs of his courage, when *Azzo*, duke of *Ferrara*, was at war with the pope. In one battle he had three horses killed under him; and though he was wounded, he mounted one of his enemies horses, and, snatching his standard, he broke through the ranks, and rejoined his own troops. This, and many other acts of valour, endeared him to *Azzo*, who was then one of the most considerable princes in *Italy*, and he gave him his sister *Beatrice* in marriage. This lady was handsome, but nine years older than *Galeazzo*, and had been left very rich by a former husband. The nuptials were magnificent beyond all expression, and such as had not for some ages been seen in *Italy*, and celebrated by the poet *Dante*, who lived at the time. The great services performed by *Galeazzo* to *Azzo* raised him to the government of *Treviso*; and his deportment, in every respect, was so noble and majestic, that it recommended him to the particular notice of the emperor *Henry VII.* upon the arrival of that prince in *Italy*. His father's fortune, at that time, taking a favourable turn, he commanded the *Milanese* troops, and was highly instrumental in reducing the greatest part of *Lombardy* to the *Visconti* family; for he drove out of *Placentia*, *Alberti Scotti*, his father's ancient enemy, and made himself master of that city. He afterwards defeated *Cavalabore* of *Cremona* at the battle of *Bardi*, and besieging that city both by sea and land, he took it partly by force and partly by famine. His other brothers, at the same time, made a great figure in *Italy*. *Luchin* defeated and killed *Bauchio*, general to the king of *Naples*, near the *Tanaro*; and the renown of the *Visconti* family was now so great as to unite against them the pope, the king of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*. It was on this occasion that the *Swissers* were invited by the *Guelphs* into *Italy*; and *Henry* duke of *Austria*, with *Philip* of *Valois*, afterwards king of *France*, were tempted with a promise of sharing the spoils of *Milan*, if they would enter into the same cause. This formidable conspiracy was frustrated by the address and courage of the *Visconti* family. *Matthew* gave a large subsidy to the *Germans*, by which they were prevented from entering into *Italy*. *Philip* was a young prince, full of fire and courage, and passed the *Alps* at the head of a very noble army, in which most of the nobility of *France* served. As his presumption far exceeded his conduct, it exposed him to the superior abilities of *Galeazzo* and his brother *Marc*, who was joined with him in the command of the *Longobardic* army, and who, by the dispositions they made, might, without danger to themselves, have destroyed the whole *French* army. *Marc* was for making the best of their advantage; but *Galeazzo*, more considerate, was averse to making so powerful a nation as the *French* were, the irreconcilable enemies of *Milan*. He therefore prevailed with his brother to propose a conference with *Philip*; which being agreed to, *Galeazzo* addressing himself to *Philip* and the other *French* generals, represented to them the folly of exposing themselves in a foreign quarrel; and drawing out his army, he shewed them, by its position, that the destruction of the *French* was inevitable if they should come to blows. He, at the same time, produced the badges of knighthood with which he had been honoured by the *French* king, and expatiated upon the violence that must be done to his own inclinations, if he should be forced to come to extremities with his ancient friends and allies.

His successes.

He baffles the French.

THIS artful speech had all the effect that *Galeazzo* could desire. The *Milanese* army was superior to that of *France* in infantry, and contained five thousand excellent cavalry. This appearance struck the *French* princes and noblemen with astonishment, which was heightened by the graceful presence of *Marc*, whom *Galeazzo* had left at the head of the army. In short, the *French* chose to make peace, and returned, with no great credit to their conduct, to *France*.

Revolt of Milan.

AT the time of *Matthew's* death, a body of *German* mercenaries, the successors of those who had been sent to the archbishop *Otho* by the emperor, still served in the *Milanese*, but without much reputation, on account of their infidelity and rapaciousness. With them, the agents of the pope and the king of *Naples* entered into a conspiracy for expelling the *Visconti* family out of *Milan*, and restoring the popular government. They were backed by *Leodrisio*, *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, and large sums were divided amongst the *Germans*, who were commanded by one *Roger* and *Anchini*. Those practices had such an effect, that all *Milan* revolted against *Galeazzo*, who, with his brother *Marc*, fled to *Lodi*. Upon their departure a popular form of government took place; but it was scarcely established when the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in the city fell at variance; and their dissensions communicating themselves to the neighbouring country, the *Guelphs* seized *Mouza*. This division plainly evinced that the new constituted form of government would be of short duration. The heads of the republic, who were mostly *Gibelins*, sent *Leodrisio* with an army to besiege *Mouza*, which was defended by *Tignaca*. Instead of waiting to be besieged, *Tignaca* threw down the walls of the place, and attacked *Leodrisio*, by whom he was defeated, and made prisoner.

- a In the mean while, the cardinal legate had appointed one of the *Torriano* family to succeed *Galeazzo* in his government, in the capacity of a potesta. This was by no means agreeable to the *Milanese Gibelins*; and, upon further inquiry, it was discovered that they had been made tools to the papal ambition; nor did the legate any longer continue the pay of the *German* mercenaries, who hated the very mention of a *Guelf*. In a general assembly of the *Germans*, *Henry Grunstein*, one of their chief officers, proposed to recal *Galeazzo* to the government; and deputies of the greatest quality in the city were sent to invite him back, without any other conditions than that he should forget what was past; and so great was *Grunstein's* opinion of *Galeazzo's* honour, that he offered to become a hostage for the performance of all he should promise. While the deputies were treating with *Galeazzo*, *Marc* returned by night, and *Lecdrifio* applied to him in the most submissive terms to be reconciled to *Galeazzo*. Next day *Galeazzo* entered *Milan*, with the same freedom and ease as he would have returned from a hunting match, or a party of pleasure. Upon his arrival the potesta *Torriano*, *Garbagnati*, and *Gribelli*, fled to the legate.

The Visconti restored.

- b Soon after, the papal, the *Neapolitan*, and the *Florentine* forces being joined by the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who likewise was of the *Torriano* family, and all his friends, marched to the *Adda*, in order to attack *Milan*. Their army upon the whole consisted of forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and was commanded by *Gasto* the legate's nephew, and under him by *Raymond Cardona*, a *Spaniard*, *Henry of Flanders*, and *Simon Torriano*, all of them leaders of great reputation. The van attempted to pass the *Adda*, near *Trezzo*, with *Garbagnati* and *Cribelli* at its head; but they were opposed by *Marc*, who killed *Garbagnati* and *Cribelli*; but their party being supported by all the strength of the *Florentines*, made good their passage, and *Marc* being satisfied with having killed the two most inveterate enemies of his family, retired to *Milan*.

Their danger.

- c *GALEAZZO* was in no condition to withstand this invasion by himself. His two brothers *Marc* and *Luchin*, however, bravely attacked the confederates, who were double their number, and would have totally defeated them, had not *Luchin* been wounded, and obliged to retire from the field. After that the confederates extended their quarters to *Como*, and even laid siege to *Milan*. *Galeazzo*, who knew they were unable to take the city, applied for assistance to *Lewis V. of Bavaria*, who sent him fifteen hundred horse, under the command of *Bertaldi*, one of his best generals, who threw himself into *Milan*, and did great execution upon the confederates, by the frequent sallies he made. Perceiving that the war was like to be spun out to a great length, the confederates bribed a *Swiss* regiment that served under *Bertoldi* to assassinate *Galeazzo*; and the plot was upon the point of taking effect, when it was discovered by *John Visconti*, the younger, brother of *Galeazzo*, who, though in orders, took arms and defeated the conspirators. This discovery, together with the death of *Gasto*, discouraged the other generals of the confederacy so much, that they retired to *Moussa*, which had been betrayed to them by *Landi*, and from which *Azzo*, *Galeazzo's* eldest son, had been driven. Here they remained for some time in hopes of receiving supplies from the legate; and for that purpose they threw a bridge over the *Adda*. *Galeazzo* knew the consequence of cutting off this communication, and resolved either to effect that, or force his enemies to a battle. The latter chose to fight; and, drawing their garrison out of *Moussa*, they marched to *Vapri*, where the bridge was built, and put their army in order of battle. *Henry of Flanders* commanded the right wing, as *Simon* and *Passarini* did the left, which was chiefly composed of *Florentines*. The center, which consisted of *French* and *Neapolitans*, was commanded by *Raymond*, and the whole was so artfully disposed, that the heavy and light armed were of mutual assistance to each other. The *Milanese* were commanded by *Galeazzo* and *Marc*, and the enemy evacuated *Vapri*, where they left all their baggage. *Galeazzo* ordered it to be set on fire, and, under the cover of the smoke, he charged the confederates amidst their consternation at the loss of their baggage. *Marc* led on the attack, and totally defeated the division under *Henry of Flanders*. *Galeazzo*, in the mean while, was victorious over the left wing; and the center being chiefly busied in endeavouring to extinguish the flames, the defeat became general. *Raymond* was taken, as were the principal officers amongst the *Florentines*; *Simon Torriano* was killed, and very few of the confederates escaped being either drowned in the *Adda*, put to the sword, or made prisoners. The standards of king *Robert*, the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Torriani*, fell into the hands of the *Milanese*; and it was with the greatest difficulty that *Henry of Flanders*, next morning, after wandering all night, reached *Moussa*, to which the remains of the confederate army escaped.

They recover.

and defeat their enemies.

- g This place was defended by *Vergusio Landi*; and fearing he should receive no quarter, because he was the means of expelling *Azzo*, he prepared to defend it to the last extremity; but *Galeazzo* besieged it with so much vigour, that *Landi* was at last obliged to agree to give it up, if he should not be relieved in a certain time by the legate. Mean while *Henry of Flanders* left *Moussa* in despair, and *Passarini Torriano* advancing to relieve the place, surprised

Siege of Moussa.

Negotiation
for a peace.

prised and defeated a body of *Savoyards*, but was himself intercepted and defeated by *Marc Visconti*; upon which *Mouza* was surrendered according to articles.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages *Galeazzo* had gained, he found that he must, in the end, submit to the confederacy that had been formed against him; and resolved, if possible, to make a peace, but in such a manner as that he should not seem to beg it. *Raymond Cordona* was still his prisoner, and being looked on by all parties to be a man of great honour, as well as address, *Galeazzo* privately set him at liberty, but suffered *Landriano* and *Conti*, the two noblemen who had the charge of him, to be prosecuted and banished, as if they had been accessory to his escape. *Raymond* performed his engagements with *Galeazzo* with the utmost punctuality. He first repaired to *Piacenza*, where he had an interview with the legate, and then to *Avignon*, where the pope resided; and in the presence of *Landriano* and *Conti*, the two innocent exiles, he pressed his holiness so warmly in favour of peace, that he could no longer resist his arguments, but would do nothing without consulting his ally the king of *Naples*. The latter strenuously opposed all pacific motions, unless *Galeazzo* could be brought not only to abandon the cause of the emperor, but to become a party in the war against him; both which terms *Galeazzo* rejected with great indignation. The peace, however, was concluded, and the war of *Italy* was contracted to the quarrel between *Castruccio* and the *Florentines*, who employed *Raymond* as their general. As *Galeazzo*, in the late treaty, had reserved a liberty to assist the emperor's allies, *Galeazzo* sent his son *Azzo* with eight hundred chosen horse to *Castruccio's* assistance, and *Raymond* was again defeated and taken prisoner, chiefly by the valour of the *Milanese* auxiliaries. It must not, however, be forgot, that *Galeazzo* had by this time restored *Landriano* and *Conti* to their estates and honours, but without explaining the particulars of his own management.

1327.
Galeazzo ac-
cused and im-
prisoned,

GALEAZZO, by the late victory obtained by *Castruccio* and *Azzo*, seemed now to be at the summit of his good fortune, when he was on the precipice of danger. His brother *Marc*, who had performed so many signal services to him, thought they were all requited, and entered into a conspiracy with *Leodrisio* to ruin him. The *Florentines* had now given up the government of their city to *Charles*, prince of *Tarentum*, which obliged *Galeazzo* to form a party of the *Gibelins* all over *Italy*, for inviting the emperor *Lewis V.* of *Bavaria* to come to their assistance, which invitation was accordingly accepted of; and *Lewis* passing the *Alps*, came to *Verona*, the prince of which joined in the conspiracy with *Marc* and *Leodrisio*. While the emperor was at *Verona*, the conspirators applied to him, and accused *Galeazzo* of having betrayed his cause. The emperor was so poor, that at that time he took little notice of the charge; because of the magnificent presents made him by *Galeazzo* when he came to *Como*. It was not long before *Galeazzo* discovered the conspiracy, and that *Rusco*, the lord of *Como*, had entered into it. The charge against him was his having negotiated a peace with the pope and the king of *Naples*, by means of *Raymond*, the most dangerous enemy to the *Gibelin* interest of any in *Italy*. When *Galeazzo* heard of this accusation, all he said was, "While my brother accuses me, he does not consider that he is wounding himself." These words being carried to *Marc*, his answer was, "I will stand to all the consequences; but, by heaven! *Galeazzo* has no brother, because he engrosses all power to himself." The emperor took little or no concern in this dispute, farther than to endeavour to reconcile all parties, and proceed to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy* by the bishop of *Arezzo*, and most nobly entertained by *Galeazzo*. He was, however, staggered by the vast offers of men and money made him by *Scaliger*, whose ambition led him to aspire to the principality of *Milan*, on pretence that *Galeazzo* had been guilty of treason. At last, *Lewis* agreed to the proposal of *Scaliger*, who, under pretence of doing honour to the emperor, had brought with him to *Milan* one thousand horse, and a large body of foot, all of them choice troops. To make the resolution more practicable, *Lewis* required the troops in *Galeazzo's* pay to take an oath of fidelity to himself, which they did, and to attend him to *Rome*. A high court of justice being summoned, *Galeazzo*, his brothers, and his son *Azzo*, were required to appear before the emperor. Their chief accuser was *Marc*, who complained in the most bitter terms against *Galeazzo's* tyranny; and offered, in the name of the people of *Milan*, to supply him with money to the extent of his wishes, if he would pronounce sentence against *Galeazzo*.

with circum-
stances of
cruelty,

It happened unfortunately at this time for the latter, that his finances were quite exhausted in supplying the emperor's continual wants, which he had done for three months. This inability of his made all the *Germans* his enemies; so that the defence he made to his charge was little attended to. After he had finished, the captain of the imperial guards decoyed him, his son *Azzo*, with his brother *Luchin* and *John*, into a separate room, under pretence of having a private audience with the emperor, where they were put under a strict guard, and given to understand that they were to expect death, if, in three days time, the citadel of *Mouza* was not delivered up to his imperial majesty; which demand was accordingly complied with, though *Galeazzo's* wife had retired thither, as believing it to be the only

a only place where she could be safe. A few days after, all the illustrious prisoners were carried to *Musca*, where they were imprisoned in a dungeon, which *Galeazzo* had just finished for confining malefactors. Their keeper was one *Rizacci*, who acted as deputy for the bishop of *Arezzo*, appointed governor of the castle, who behaved towards them with the utmost brutality and cruelty.

It is amazing that this revolution was effected without the least commotion; and none but those concerned knew what had happened. The whole was owing to the poverty and insatiable avarice of the emperor, and to the vast promises made him by *Marc*, and *Galeazzo*'s other enemies. Next day, after the princes were imprisoned, *Lewis* appointed four and twenty governors, chosen out of the different wards of the city, to be a regency for *Milan*, but gave the command of the whole to *William Montfort*; he then marched towards the *Bresciano*, where at *Orzi* he summoned a meeting of all his vassals, and produced to them the proofs of *Galeazzo*'s pretended correspondence with the pope, which contained evident marks of forgery. The *Gibelin* princes were struck with the fate of so great a prince as *Galeazzo* was, and each made his fate his own. Neither he nor his son, nor his brothers, however, received any immediate relief, and the emperor proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crowned emperor. The fate of the *Milanese* princes determined the *Pisans* to refuse him admittance into their city; and had it not been for *Castruccio*, all the *Gibelin* interest in *Italy* would have declared against him. The services performed on this occasion by *Castruccio*, who was now the emperor's general, and first minister, gave him an opportunity of interposing in favour of his friend *Galeazzo*, and was backed by the other *Gibelin* states, and by *Marc*, who now began to feel remorse for what he had done. The emperor for some time continued inexorable; but the *Florentines* obtaining possession of *Pistoia*, *Castruccio* threatened to abandon the imperial interest, unless the *Visconti* were set at liberty; and he actually retired to *Lucca*. Upon this the emperor found it dangerous to continue their imprisonment longer; and gave orders for their being set at liberty, after remaining in captivity for nine months. No condition was annexed to their deliverance: but the captives were given to understand, that they should pay their respects to the emperor upon his return from *Rome*. Thus ended an affair that reflects infinite dishonour upon *Lewis*, who, according to all accounts, never had convicted *Galeazzo*, or his relations, of the least crime to deserve the punishment they met with. His artful conduct, and the reputation he had for cunning, were the foundations of the charge against him; and perhaps the greater difficulty there was in discovering proofs of his guilt, the emperor concluded him to be the more criminal. *Galeazzo* had no sooner recovered his health, from his long imprisonment, and resettled his family-affairs, than he resolved to pay a debt of gratitude to *Castruccio*, who was then intent upon retaking *Pistoia* from the *Florentines*. We have already mentioned that famous siege. *Galeazzo* brought to the assistance of his friend a large body both of horse and foot; and while he himself was besieged in his works, being obliged to go to *Lucca*, he left the conduct of the siege to *Galeazzo*. Upon his return, he found the works so far advanced, that he divided the command with him, by committing his care of the operations against the city, while he himself acted against the *Florentines*. The town at last was taken; but the excessive heat of the weather, and the fatigue of the siege, had thrown *Galeazzo* into a lingering distemper, so that he was obliged to be removed in a litter to *Pescia*, where in three days he died, at the age of fifty-one. He was a prince of great resolution and address, and was ever fruitful in finding expedients for making the government of *Milan* independent in his family, by balancing the papal and imperial powers, so as that neither of them should too much preponderate in *Italy*. He was buried at *Lucca*, and was attended to his grave by his friend *Castruccio*, who survived him but a few days.

Distresses of Visconti.

who are debased.

Death of Galeazzo.

GALEAZZO was succeeded in the government of *Milan* by his son *Aelio*, or, as he is commonly called, *Azzo*; who united in his own person the patience, perseverance, and civil virtues of his father, and resembled his grandfather, *Matthew the Great*, in prudence and foresight. When he came to the government, the *Visconti* family made but a second figure in the affairs of *Italy*, by being obliged to follow the fate of the imperialists, and losing the assistance of the famous *Castruccio*. *Azzo* entered into life under great disadvantages, being born and educated in exile. He had been left governor of *Piacenza*, under his father, when the latter marched to the assistance of *Matthew the Great*; but that city was surprised by the cardinal legate's troops; and we are told, that *Azzo* himself must have been taken prisoner, had he not escaped by his mother's scattering some bags of gold about the doors of her house, which gained him time for getting away. *Azzo* thus escaping, he put himself at the head of an army composed of *Milanese*, *Ferrarese*, and *Man-tuans*, and reduced and fortified the town of *San Demino*. He then commanded the auxiliaries which his father sent to the assistance of *Castruccio*, and performed many celebrated

Succeeded by Azzo.

^a Jovius. p. 110.

^b Ibid p. 80.

His manage-
ment with the
emperor,

services under that great captain, who owed to him some of his chief successes. When *Flo-*
rence was besieged, or rather insulted, by *Castruccio, Azzo*, in return for the bravadoes of
the *Florentines*, when they besieged *Milan*¹, celebrated horse-races under the walls of the
city, and returned to *Milan* covered with glory. The death of his father and *Castruccio*,
before his family had recovered its lustre, gave him great concern; but upon the retrac-
tion of his uncle *Marc*, he wisely made that a handle for recommending himself and his
family-interests to the protection of the emperor. He went to *Pisa*, where his imperial
majesty then was, attended by his uncle *John*; and being seconded by his other uncle
Marc, he obtained of the emperor the investiture of *Milan*, upon the promise of a vast sum
of money, which *Lewis* then stood greatly in need of, his affairs being in disorder all over
Italy. Amongst the difficulties he laboured under, was the danger of his own troops re-
volting; eight hundred of whom had already left his service. The emperor employed
Azzo to bring them to their duty; and the reader will find in the history of *Florence* the
sequel of this affair. It appears, however, that *Marc Visconti* was a man of much greater
abilities and consequence than he is represented to be by the *Milanese* historian, and did
both the emperor and his family very important services upon this occasion; not only by
appeasing the mutineers, but by procuring several additional privileges and immunities to
the *Milanese*. The emperor, at this time, had made *Peter de Corvaria*, who took the name
of *Nicholas V.* pope; and had not only deposed, but condemned to death the true pope,
John XXII. This mock pope, by the emperor's recommendation, created *John Visconti*,
Azzo's youngest uncle, a cardinal; but *Visconti*, though he did not absolutely refuse the
honour, for fear of disobliging the emperor, declined to wear either the hat, or any of the
outward badges of that office; which recommended him so much to the true pope, that
he was first made bishop of *Novara*, and then archbishop of *Milan*.

refuses the em-
peror admit-
tance into
Milan.

AZZO having thus, with great prudence, put his family-affairs on a proper footing, re-
turned towards *Milan*; where he and his uncle, the archbishop, were denied admittance
by *William Montfort*, who still continued the imperial governor of that city, though they
were welcomed, with great acclamations of joy, through all the *Milanese*. *Azzo*, however,
by the help of a little money, soon got over this difficulty; and *Montfort* resigning his
command, returned to *Germany*. When *Azzo* re-entered *Milan*, he was attended by *Con-*
rade Porcari, the imperial procurator, who had been sent by *Lewis* to receive the money that
had been promised, and which *Azzo* immediately borrowed out of the chests of the city.
This *Porcari*, having received the fourth part of the sum that had been promised, instead
of returning to *Pisa*, went off with it to *Germany*. His infidelity was a great disappoint-
ment to the emperor, as well as to the troops who were to receive the money; and he was
obliged to impose immense taxations upon the *Pisans*. He likewise sold to *Raymond*, and
his other *Florentine* prisoners, their liberties; and not only seized upon the jewels of *Cas-*
truccio's widow, but stripped his sons of the government of *Lucca*, which he sold to *Fran-*
cesco Interminelli for money.

Miserable con-
dition of the
emperor.

THOSE acts of rapaciousness, injustice, and ingratitude, but above all his miserable po-
verty, and the contempt in which he was held by his troops, rendered the person and dig-
nity of the emperor very despicable all over *Italy*. *Azzo* was no stranger to this; and when
his imperial majesty, in his return to *Italy*, took *Milan* in his way, he was refused admit-
tance, both there and at *Mouza*. He attempted, however, to force his way into the last
mentioned city; but by the swelling of the *Lambro* he was disappointed in his design, and
thus he wandered about, a laughing-stock, through all *Lombardy*, till he came to *Paria*,
where he was obliged to put up with all the indignities that had been offered him, upon
Azzo paying the residue of the money he had promised him. During all the rest of his
journey through *Italy*, he met with the most gross affronts, equally from *Gibelins* as *Guelphs*.
In the mean while, *Marc Visconti*, who had been sent by *Lewis* to his *German* troops as a
hostage for the payment of their arrears, became their general, and recovered *Lucca* for the
sons of *Castruccio*, and drove *Francisco Interminelli*, the imperial governor, out of that city.
After that he marched against *Pisa*, from whence he drove *Tarlatti* of *Arezzo*. *Marc*, after
this, repaired to *Florence*, and having gloriously finished his campaign, he left *Tuscany*; but
full of wrath against his nephew *Azzo*, for not having sent him money for redeeming him-
self out of the hands of the *Germans*.

MARC's reputation, at this time, was very high in *Italy*, where he was considered as the
head of the *German* army there. He had, before he left *Florence*, entered into connexions
with that people, and the heads of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, for extirpating the *Gibelin* party,
and making himself lord of *Milan*; for which he was qualified by his courage, his liberality,
his majestic appearance, and many other noble affections. The vast sum of money he had
spent in *Florence* had, probably, given *Azzo*, and his uncles, some intimation of his de-
signs; so that, when he returned to *Milan*, being narrowly watched, it was found that he

¹ Jovius, p. 92.

a was tampering with his friends, and the dependents of his family, to form a party. His nephew and his relations dissembled for the present; and their forbearance encouraged *Marc* to bring his complaints before the public, of his having been suffered so long to remain a hostage and prisoner amongst barbarians. His resentment is said to have been kindled into a kind of madness by a love-affair. He had, it seems, carried off a noble lady from her husband; and finding that she wanted to impose upon him, he had, in the first transports of his rage, drowned her in a wet ditch; but, being still distractedly in love, her death drove him almost to madness. All those concurring circumstances are said to have convinced *Azzo*, and his uncles, that they were upon the eve of a civil war, unless *Marc* b ner, by some of his nephew's body-guards, and strangled, without any noise or disturbance, and his dead body cast out of the window, as if he had thrown himself from thence in one of his fits of despair. His body had an honourable interment, in the burial-place of his ancestors; and the *Florentines* and other *Italians*, who had attended him to *Milan*, were civilly dismissed.

Death of Marc Visconti.

Soon after this, viz. in 1331, *John*, king of *Bohemia*, entered *Italy*, as the imperial vicar; but without being attached strongly either to the *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*. He reduced *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, and afterwards became master of *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Modena*, and several other places. While he was on the other side of the *Adda*, *Azzo* waited upon him with some magnificent presents, and it was not long before he had reason to apprehend, c that *Italy* was on the eve of a mighty revolution. The pope and *John*, from being inveterate enemies to each other, became now intimate friends; and it was publicly talked, that *Philip*, the *French* king, was a party in the league; and that their real plan was, to divide amongst themselves all *Italy*. This apprehension produced an universal league amongst the *Italian* states, *Guelphs* as well as *Gibelins*, at the head of which was *Azzo*; and each party was bound to furnish a certain proportion of strength for the defence of the whole. *Scaliger* of *Verona*, *Passarini* of *Mantua*, *Obizi* of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, were the other parties. According to the partition of power they laid down, *Azzo* was to have possession of *Cremona* and *Pavia*, *Scaliger* of *Parma*, *Passarini* of *Reggio*, *Obizi* of *Modena*, and the *Florentines* of *Lucca*. At this time, the *Germans* were besieging *Ferrara*, d but were defeated by the allies; *Aliprandi Pinallo* being at the head of *Azzo's* troops. The consequence of this victory was, that *Pavia* fell into the hands of *Azzo*; he likewise recovered *Piacenza* from *Francesco Scotti*, and obliged *Rusca*, lord of *Como*, to resign his dominion over that city, in exchange for *Bellizzone*.

A. D. 1331.
The king of Bohemia enters Italy.

AZZO, tho' yet a young man, was so severely subject to the gout, that being rendered for some time incapable of managing his own affairs, his old enemy *Leodrisio* renewed his intrigues against him, and found means to debauch the *German* mercenaries from his service, and to engage in his practices *Rusca* and *Scaliger*; the latter of whom furnished him with money for paying the mercenaries.

THE reader can be no stranger to the practices of *Leodrisio* against the *Visconti* family; e and he pursued them, on this occasion, more vigorously than ever. Having added a great body of *Milanese* exiles to the mercenaries he had debauched from *Azzo*, he passed the *Adda*, notwithstanding all the opposition made to him by *Aliprandi Pinalla*, *Azzo's* general. This irruption being made in winter, filled all the *Milanese* with consternation. The snow lay then deep on the ground, and the inhabitants found it impracticable to secure their effects or cattle in places of safety for subsistence, so that most of them fell into the enemies hands. *Azzo* was not wanting to himself on this occasion. Notwithstanding his lameness, he acted with astonishing vigour and activity; he reinforced his garrisons, and chose his posts with the utmost judgment and propriety. In this he was assisted by the spies, which f he entertained about *Leodrisio's* person while he was at *Verona*, and who informed him of all the particulars of his marches, and the routs he was to hold; by which he was enabled to make head against his enemies, till his reinforcements came up from *Ferrara*, *Placentia*, and other places. As he was incapable to take the field in person, he gave the command of his army to his uncle *Luchin*, a prince who at this time had acquired great reputation in war. *Leodrisio* was, with his army, at *Nervi*, within twelve miles of *Milan*, when he was met by *Luchin*, at the head of the flower of his nephew's troops and auxiliaries. Both sides being equally ardent to fight, the signal of battle was given, and *Leodrisio's* division was entirely defeated. The *Germans* and *Swiss* threw themselves into a hollow square, and soon stopped the pursuit of *Luchin's* troops, which being incautious and irregular, the most forward of his cavalry were checked, a great number of his men cut in pieces, and at last g the fortune of the day seemed to go against him. *Luchin* did all that a brave general could do, to stop the rout; but his horse being killed, he was beaten to the ground by the battle-axes, and heavy maces of the *Germans*, and made prisoner. The *Germans* and *Swiss* then attacked the *Placentines* with so much fury, that they killed *Diodati Malvicino*, and *Lancil-*

Activity of Azzo;

his victory.

Loss of the enemy.

AZZO wars with Scaliger.

His death.

Succeeded by Luchin.

A conspiracy against him defeated.

lot *Anguisola*, their leaders, and put their troops to flight. But while *Leodrisio* thus thought himself secure of victory, *Hector Panici* unexpectedly arrived with a fresh body of horse, sent to *Azzo's* assistance by the duke of *Savoy*. The fortune of the day was now again changed, and the *Savoyards* charged *Leodrisio's* men with so much vigour and judgment, while they were intent only upon the spoil, that they gave them an entire defeat, and *Leodrisio* himself was taken prisoner in his flight, and shut up in the castle of *St. Columbo*; where he remained prisoner during the remainder of *Azzo's* life, and that of his uncle.

THIS unexpected, and indeed wonderful victory, struck the *Milanese* with a kind of an enthusiastic transport; and *Paul Jovius* himself makes no kind of scruple to say, that when *Azzo's* army was defeated, the good *St. Ambrose*, the tutelar saint of *Milan*, was seen in the air by many, encouraging the *Savoyards* and the *Milanese* to renew the battle. Notwithstanding this ridiculous story, *Luchin* obtained a most complete victory. His men, after defeating their enemies, found him bound to a tree, and under a guard of *Germans*, whom they defeated: His victory, however, was dearly bought: above nine thousand men, on both sides, were killed on the field of battle; and *Luchin* was inexpressibly affected by the loss of his brother-in-law *Flisco*, who was amongst the slain. But the *Leodrisians* suffered far more from the consequences of the battle, than they did during the heat of it; being entirely strangers in the *Milanese*, they were knocked on the head by the country-people, or perished of their wounds, or through hunger and cold; so that few or none of them repassed the *Adda*. Upon the place of battle, which was fought between the villages of *Parabici* and *Nervi*, *Luchin* and his brother *John* built a church, in commemoration of the victory, and dedicated the same to *St. Ambrose*. This church was, in the days of *Paul Jovius*, visited by the magistrates and people of *Milan*, with great devotion and solemnity, on the anniversary of the battle, which was the 21st of *February*. A representation of the action was painted on the walls of the church, where the *Savoyards* were easily discernible by their white crosses, the arms of *Savoy*. *Luchin* is likewise there represented in the armour he wore, which is of a very singular kind, on the day of the battle.

AFTER this decisive advantage, *Azzo* turned his arms entirely against *Scaliger*, whom he considered as the source of all his difficulties; and after giving him repeated defeats, he stripped him of *Brescia*. After this, he turned his thoughts towards the improving and fortifying his capital, which he did by raising the walls to a great height, and adorning them with marble dragons or vipers, the ensigns of his family. He likewise introduced into the city the streams of two small rivulets, which greatly contributed to its wholesomeness and cleanliness. He also built many sacred edifices, which are to this day the admiration of *Italy* and all *Europe*, and endowed them with great magnificence and riches, particularly with regard to church-plate and habits. He died in the month of *August*, when he was no more than thirty-eight years of age, so worn out with the gout, that he could not, without extreme torture, bear the weight even of his bed-cloaths. He married *Catharine*, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*, a lady of the strictest virtue and chastity; but by her he left no issue. He was a prince of great perfections, handsome in his person, liberal, and affable. Many of his statues and pictures yet remain; some of them in a taste uncommon to that age.

AZZO was succeeded by his uncle *Luchin*, to the universal satisfaction of all the *Milanese*. *Luchin*, though a great captain, was both prudent and religious; and his first care was to procure from *Benedict XII.* an absolution from the ecclesiastical censures that the *Milanese* then lay under. He likewise recovered the immense treasures that, during the late distraction at *Milan*, had been carried from *Mouza* to *Avignon*. His life having been a continued series of warlike achievements, he had received so many wounds in actions, that, when he came to the government of *Milan*, he was unable to head his armies in person. Notwithstanding the many noble services he had performed for his country, he no sooner took upon him the government of it, than conspiracies were formed against him by his most intimate friends and relations: amongst those, one *Francesco Pusterla*, a nobleman of great family and fortune, and the two brothers *Martin* and *Pinalla Aliprandi*. The two last had been general officers under *Azzo*, and thinking themselves neglected by *Luchin*, they had cast their eyes upon *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, two young noblemen of the *Visconti* family, of graceful persons, and warlike dispositions, but immeasurably ambitious, and aspiring to be masters of *Milan*. *Martin* and *Pinalla* having entered into schemes for carrying into execution their conspiracy, met with so many difficulties, that, before they could bring them to bear, they were betrayed by *Ramengo Cassati*, whom they had endeavoured to bring into their schemes. Upon this discovery, *Martin* and *Pinalla* were imprisoned, and put to the torture, and at last died of pain and hunger. The other conspirators were executed on gibbets. *Pusterla*, who was the most criminal of them all, endeavoured to escape to *Tuscany*, but was retaken, and publicly executed in the great square, with the cruel mortification of seeing two youths, his sons, executed for the same crime, before his face.

a face. Soon after his wife *Margaret*, who not only was accessary to the conspiracy, but had been very active in carrying it on, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; a favour she obtained by her being of the *Visconti* family, and nearly related to *Luchin*. Upon farther enquiry it was found, that the two young noblemen, *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, had been privy to the conspiracy, and had embarked deeply in measures for rendering it successful. *Luchin* would have put them to death; but his brother, the archbishop, represented to him the consequence of such a proceeding, and how obnoxious the family must become if they embroiled themselves farther in the blood of their kinsmen; the public being by no means satisfied with the justice of *Marc's* death. Those considerations prevailed with *Luchin* to banish their kinsmen to *Holland*; or, in the terms of *Paul Jovius*, to the extremity
b of the ocean, amongst the *Belgians* and *Batavians*, to punish them for their disloyalty and perfidy.

AFTER this, *Luchin* grew reserved, distrustful, and morose. He seldom or never was seen to laugh. His look carried with it suspicion and jealousy, and the temper of his mind was farther rankled by the excruciating pains of the gout. The character and behaviour of his wife did not a little contribute to his disgust with the world. Her name was *Fusca*, and she was of the family of the *Fiesques* of *Genoa*, one of the noblest in *Italy*, and which had furnished two popes to the holy see. In her person she was graceful, witty, and gallant, beyond any of the *Lombard* ladies; but she was lascivious, gay, dissolute, and expensive beyond any woman in *Italy*. *Luchin* was in his person by no means amiable; but
c young *Galeazzo* was looked upon to be the handsomest man of his age, though so loose in his amours, that he had an intrigue with *Luchin's* wife, who made him the nominal father of a spurious but promising issue, viz. *Luchin*, *Orsino*, and two twins, *Borsio* and *Forestini*. The world must have concluded *Luchin* to be the happiest man alive, in his family, had not the abandoned behaviour of his wife given too much reason for the public to suspect that his children were illegitimate. *Luchin* was able to refuse her nothing, and being laid up with the gout, she prevailed upon him to fit out a squadron of yachts, or pleasure-boats most magnificently equipped, and furnished for all the purposes of luxury, with which she proposed to pay a visit to *Venice* in the carnival time, or some such festal occasion. Her companions, who attended her in this expedition, were ladies of the same character with
d herself, though not quite publicly so abandoned; for the reader is to observe, that the noblemen and gentlemen of *Milan* were at this time so much employed in the field, that they had little leisure to attend to the morals or conduct of their wives. *Luchin* was then confined to his bed by his gout, wounds, and other infirmities, so that his lady had her full swing of pleasure. This happened after her lover *Galeazzo* had been banished. The voyage was performed with the utmost magnificence and splendour; but the excesses of the company broke through all the bounds of modesty. *Fusca* prostituted herself to two *Venetian* noblemen, in the most shameless manner, as did the rest of her companions; and their secrets were so ill kept, that, upon their return, the whole came to *Luchin's* ears. It was easy for *Fusca*, from the manner of his behaviour, to perceive that he was not only in-
e formed of all the particulars, but that he was meditating a severe revenge; in which she was resolved to anticipate him. She therefore administered to him a slow poison, which deprived him of the remainder of his strength, so that his death was imputed to his gout and other ailments. He lived sixty-two years, of which he governed nine, and had a most magnificent burial, in the church of *St. Godard*, near his nephew *Azzo*. Notwithstanding the severity of his government, he was most sincerely mourned by the *Milanese* of all ranks and degrees. He was a most excellent justiciary. He was successful in banishing faction. He protected the weak against the powerful. He took great care to have his capital and his country well supplied with all kind of provisions; and it was a maxim with him, always to carry the wars he waged into his enemy's country; by which he preserved his own in
f peace and plenty. He added to *Milan* the principality of *Parma*, which he bought from *Obizi Atestini*, who had wrested it from the *Gonzagæ* and the *Scaligers*, for sixty thousand crowns. He obliged the *Pisans* to pay him an honorary tribute of two horses; one of them equipped for the field, and the other a palfrey, for the use of a lady; and likewise two foreign falcons or hawks. Before his death he was preparing for an expedition against *Genoa*, and had raised a numerous army for that purpose. In his private life he was modest, and left no monument of magnificence behind him, excepting a palace at *Pavia*; but he was contented, after his accession, to live in the house that had been inhabited by his nephew *Azzo*. He built, however, a strong citadel at *Bergamo*, on the place where a chapel stood before. He was fond of living in the country, and chose for the place of his retire-
g ment a spot remarkable for the salubrity of its air, but for little else, about seven miles from *Como*. His favourite son was *Brutio*, whom he had by a concubine, and whom he intended to have made the general of his expedition against the *Genoese*.

Luchin's wife unfaithful to him.

His death and character.

Punishment of
his wife.

BEFORE we take leave of his memory, it is proper to inform the reader, that his infamous wife was so much struck with remorse for what she had done, that she retired to a life of mortification and austerity, and confessed the whole of her wicked life. The consequence was, that *Borsio* finished his life in prison, as *Fprestini* did in exile, while the third brother *Morello* took service under the enemies of his country. As to *Brutio*, upon his father's death, he invaded the government of *Lodi*; but he proved so intolerable a tyrant, that the inhabitants drove him out, and he died in exile and poverty, in an obscure village.

Luchin succeeded by John
the archbishop,

JOHN, the archbishop and prince of *Milan*, is represented as being a finished pattern of all civil and personal virtues. His accession to the government was considered by the *Milanese* as a public benefit. In prudence and piety, justice and moderation, he resembled the first *Otho*; in constancy and magnanimity, his father *Matthæw*; in generosity, openness of manners, affability, address, and person, his brother *Galeazzo*; and his nephew *Azzo*, in his winning deportment, and insinuating conversation; while he possessed all the virtues of *Luchin*, without his severity.

A. D. 1353.
who acquires
Genoa,

UPON his accession to the government, his first care was to recall from banishment his two nephews, the sons of his brother *Stephen*. They had, during their exile, served with great reputation in the wars of the *Low Countries*, and sometimes in the *English* armies. They appeared, upon their return to *Milan*, dressed in the habits worn in those countries, in which they are yet seen depicted in some of the *Milanese* churches, as paying their devotions in thanksgiving for their return. To render their family more stable, soon after their return they married into two powerful families; *Galeazzo* married *Bianca*, the daughter of *Amadeo* of *Savoy*; as *Barnabo* did *Beatrix*, the daughter of *Scaliger* of *Verona*, a lady of so lofty a deportment, that she generally went by the name of the queen. The first warlike adventure, after their return, was to resume the expedition against *Genoa*; which they prosecuted with so much spirit, that they obliged the *Genoese* to submit to the authority of the archbishop. *Paul Jovius*, on this occasion, calls the *Genoese* general *Murtha*. It is certain, that *Murtha* was obliged to resign his authority, whatever it was; and the *Genoese* were forced to accept of *Pallavicini*, who acted as deputy for the archbishop of *Milan*. *Murtha* had been very instrumental in bringing about this revolution; but upon his death, which happened soon after, they made one *Valente*, or *Valens*, their general, in opposition to *Pallavicini*. The reader, in the history of *Geneva*, will see the state of the *Genoese* affairs at that time, which was as fluctuating as the tempers of the inhabitants. The archbishop, who had done every thing to sooth them, exasperated at their inconstancy, raised an army, and again proclaimed war against them. Upon this, and some untowardly events, which happened at sea, *Valente* was obliged to resign his command, and the *Genoese*, once more, received *Pallavicini* as their governor under the archbishop. This new submission entirely changed the face of affairs in *Genoa*. *Pallavicini* carried with him to *Genoa* a strong reinforcement of troops, which not only served to garrison the city, but to man their fleet. He made them a present likewise of thirty gallies, armed, manned, and victualled at his own expence. *Pagano Doria* was appointed admiral of the whole, and they sailed under the flag of the *Visconti* family; the archbishop, at the same time, taking care to provide for the expences of the expedition. The voyage was successful beyond expectation. *Doria* scoured the coast of *Catalonia*, entered the *Venetian* gulph, and defeated or plundered the enemy's ships wherever he came. At last he attacked their general *Nicholas Pisano*, whom he defeated, and returned in triumph to *Genoa*, carrying with him thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four smaller vessels, with above five thousand prisoners.

and Bologna.

THIS seasonable relief filled the minds of the *Genoese* with such transports of affection and gratitude, that, by a public decree, they continued their government in the persons of *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, if they should survive their uncle the archbishop; and thus the *Visconti* family became sovereigns of all *Liguria*. About the same time *Pepoli*, a noble *Bolognese*, having seized the government of *Bologna*, was pressed so hard by the papal arms, that he was obliged to have recourse for assistance to the archbishop of *Milan*, who readily gave it him. The archbishop, however, does not seem to have acted quite disinterestedly on this occasion. He obliged *Pepoli* to resign to him the government of *Bologna*, in lieu of *Crepocori* and *Nouantola*. This acquisition of so considerable a city as *Bologna*, rendered the *Visconti* family formidable all over *Italy*, and at last excited a confederacy against the archbishop, between the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*. The particulars and progress of this confederacy have been touched upon in other parts of this work. It is sufficient here to say, that the confederates prevailed with the pope to excommunicate the archbishop, and to put his dominions under an interdict. This gave the archbishop very little trouble, and he appointed *Oligiano* to be his governor of *Bologna*, who acted with so much courage and success, that he easily baffled all the attempts of the pope against that city. At last an expedient was fallen upon. The pope's legate *Grisanto*, who afterwards became himself pope, under

a under the title of *Urban V.* paid a visit to *Milan*, and entered into a negotiation, by which the archbishop was to pay every year sixty pounds of gold by way of tribute for *Bologna*; others say that he was to pay twelve thousand florins a year for twelve years, and a hundred thousand florins for the expences of the year.

THE archbishop of *Milan* became then so great as to draw upon himself the jealousy of the emperor, notwithstanding his being the professed head of the *Gibelin* faction in *Italy*. The *Florentines* and he never had been in good correspondence together; and he now put himself at the head of the *Ubalдини*, the *Uberti*, and the *Pazzi*; all of them *Florentine* exiles, assisted by the governors or tyrants of *Arezzo* and *Cortona*. The whole confederacy was commanded by *Oligiano*, who was reputed to be a relation of the *Visconti* family; but was in fact the archbishop's natural son, and born at the village of *Oligio*, from which he took his name. *Oligiano* drawing together his army, marched from *Bologna* towards *Sambucco*, a village belonging to *Pistoia*, which he took. He then appeared before *Scarperia*, within twelve miles of *Florence*. His army was composed of about ten thousand horse and six thousand foot, besides a vast number of irregulars, who proceeded with great devastation. It does not appear, however, that *Oligiano's* progress was so great as the *Milanese* historians have given out; for the archbishop very readily entered into a proposal for an accommodation; and a truce was accordingly agreed to at the little town of *Serazana*, belonging to the *Genoese*. The manager for the archbishop was *William Pallavicini*, and *Charles Strozzi* for the *Florentines*. It is said, that in this congress the deputies from above sixty cities and princes appeared, and the archbishop proceeded with so much moderation and justice, that he satisfied all their demands; so that none had reason to complain. He found means even to elude with a joke the pontifical thunders. For when his holiness perceived that the peace must be concluded without his intervention, he cited the archbishop to appear before him at *Avignon*, under pain of excommunication. *Visconti* received the summons with great appearances of respect; and professing himself to be the humble son of the church, he said that he would appear before his holiness as soon as he could be attended with a proper equipage answerable to his pontifical dignity. He then gave orders for magazines to be erected all over *Lombardy*, and for assembling troops on the frontiers of his dominions. Not contented with this, he bought up all the provisions, and hired all the inns that lay on the road to *Avignon*; so that his holiness soon saw himself deprived of the most beneficial part of his revenue by the recourse of churchmen, and other strangers, being stopt up to his court. Upon this, sending for the *Milanese* agents, he asked what their master's meaning was by making such immense preparations, to make up a difference that might be otherwise accommodated? The agents answered, as they had been instructed, that their master was under a necessity to make such preparations, that he might do the more honour to his holiness, by appearing before him at the head of seven thousand horse, and as many foot. The pontiff understood the meaning of this answer; and replied with a smile, that the archbishop had no occasion to put himself to so much trouble and expence, and that he willingly dispensed with his appearance. Upon this answer, the archbishop ordered all the magazines, and the vast provisions he had amassed, to be gratuitously divided amongst the most reputable inhabitants of the country, or those whose circumstances were but indifferent; and thus all the religious houses and the poor were amply provided for some months. This conduct, at once generous, charitable, and wise, rendered the archbishop extremely popular in *Lombardy*, and procured him a number of real friends, to the great terror of his enemies.

A confederacy against him.

His management with the pope.

TOWARDS the end of his life, however, the perpetual stream of success that had attended his government, excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes so greatly, that a new confederacy was formed against him by the families of *Este*, *Gonzaga*, and *Scaliger*, which had each of them been in alliance with him. They accordingly attacked him with a numerous army, and besieged him in his camp, near *Modena*, where, being bravely repulsed, they fell into the *Cremonese*, which they filled with devastations. Notwithstanding this, the archbishop had taken his measures so well, and had fortified his camp so strongly, that he threatened to make himself master of *Reggio* and *Modena*; by which he must have extended his dominions from *Bologna* to *Placentia*, all upon his own territory. But he was in the mean time seized with a slow fever, which, after various attacks, put an end to his life, in the month of *September*, when he was sixty-three years of age. He was buried near his predecessor the archbishop *Otho*; and it must be acknowledged that his reign, which lasted but seven years, was an almost uninterrupted course of felicity. We have one thing to add to his character, which was uncommon to that age, which is, that though he appears to have been far from a libertine, yet he laughed at the ridiculous pretences, and detested the tyranny of the papal power.

Fresh confederacies against him.

His death,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great abilities of archbishop *John*, he made a very unequal distribution of his dominions at the time of his death. By his brother *Stephen* he had three nephews. The eldest was *Matthew*, commonly called *Matthew the Second*. The next

and success.

Death of
Matthew II.

was *Galeazzo*; and the youngest, *Barnabo*. The two last we have several times mentioned; but the former was a prince entirely given to his pleasures, and made little or no figure in life. By the last will of archbishop *John*, all his territories were to be divided amongst those three brothers. *Milan* and *Genoa* were to be governed by two of them, and the rest of the dominions was to fall by lot to the third. *Matthew* obtained for his portion, *Bologna*, *Lodi*, *Placentia*, *Parma*, and *Bobbio*, together with many other rich towns and provinces. *Oligiano* at that time was in possession of *Bologna*; and the *Bolognese* understanding that archbishop *John* was past recovery, ran to arms, in order to assert their independency; but *Oligiano* took his measures so well, that they were defeated and capitally punished. He then repaired and fortified the citadel of *Bologna*, which had been begun by archbishop *John*; and finding himself, as he thought, secure against all opposition, he seized the reins of government in his own right, and expelled *Matthew's* potesta out of the city. *Matthew* himself was so much immeried in sensuality and luxury, that he made no attempts to recover his right, but spent his days in hawking, and his nights with women, in the most infamous course of debauchery, if we are to believe some historians of his family; and this course of debauchery threw him into a consumption, which put an end to his life in the second year of his government.

Account of Ga-
leazzo II.

and his bro-
ther *Barnabo*,

It seems however pretty certain, that *Valentina* his mother was firmly persuaded that he was taken off by poison at *Sarona*, one of his country-seats, half-way between *Milan* and *Como*; for which she never ceased to curse the two brothers to her dying day. It is said, that in conversation *Matthew* dropt some words reflecting upon archbishop *John* for the division he had made of his dominions, and hinted that there could be no enjoyment of power with a partner. His words were construed so much to his disadvantage, that the two brothers poisoned him in a dish which he was very fond of. He left two daughters, but no son. His wife was *Liliola Gonzaga*, daughter of the duke of *Mantua*. His daughters were *Catharine* and *Ursina*. The former was married to *Balthazar Pusterla*, a nobleman of great rank and riches, and the latter to *Ugoline Gonzaga*, a famous warrior. This *Matthew II.* lies buried at *Milan* without a stone or inscription.

GALEAZZO II. was, as we have seen, remarkable for the beauty of his person, which he adorned with the utmost art and elegance of that time. When young, he had paid a visit to the *Holy Land*, where he had obtained the honour of knighthood; and while he served in *Germany*, he killed in single combat, a nobleman, whose device he afterwards always made use of, consisting of two torches of fire, and two buckets of water hanging by a ragged branch, which device continued in his family even in the time of the *Sforzas*. When the emperor *Charles IV.* came to *Milan* to be crowned, he was constituted the imperial vicar over all *Lombardy*, in conjunction with his brother *Barnabo*; and during the ceremony of the inauguration the emperor bestowed the honour of knighthood on the sons of both, though then very young. The one was *John Galeazzo*, afterwards the first duke of *Milan*, and one of the greatest princes of his time; and the other was *Marc*, the son of *Barnabo*, who made no great figure. The ceremony of the coronation being over, the emperor having received vast sums at *Milan*, in return for the new honours he had bestowed on the two brothers, returned to *Germany*. It is surprising that those two brothers, tho' men of great ambition and intrigue, had not the smallest difference with each other during the whole course of their lives; but upon the death of their brother *Matthew* they made an exact division of the whole heritage. *Bologna* fell to the share of *Barnabo*, which was still held by *Oligiano* under the protection of the pope, and gave rise to a bloody war. The *Visconti* family was so formidable at this time, that the *Italian* princes laying aside all their domestic quarrels, united against them, as did *Conrad Landi*, and *Marcoald*, two *German* generals, who had been left in *Italy* by the emperor, and who entered into the pay of the confederates. At this juncture all *Italy* was full of foreign mercenaries; and the two *Germans* had no difficulty of bringing an army into the field, with which they invaded *Lombardy*, and carried their ravages to the gates of *Milan*. *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo* were obliged for some time to put up with those insults; but at last, drawing together their troops, they gave the *Germans* battle at *Casa*, and defeated them. *Marcoald* was taken, and *Landi* escaped, after a bloody engagement, in which six thousand horse, and four thousand foot, were either killed or made prisoners.

also besiege
Bologna.

BARNABO then led his victorious troops against *Bologna*, where he found a much greater resistance than he expected. The *Florentines*, the *Pisans*, the *Ferrarese*, the *Mantuan*s, and the *Veronese*, alarmed at the event of the late battle, ranged themselves under the banners of the pope's legate *Egido*, in defence of *Bologna*; and the marquis of *Montferrat*, to give *Galeazzo's* troops a diversion, invaded the *Milanese* with great fury. He took *Alba* by surprise, and made himself master of *Pavia*, from whence he expelled the *Guelphs*. We have in the history of *Florence* given an account of the arrival of the *English* in *Italy*. Besides those who served under *Hawkwood*, a large body was employed by *Galeazzo's*

a *Galeazzo*, and by their means he recovered *Alba* and *Pavia*, and took a monk, one *Buffelario*, who had incited the *Pavians* to revolt, prisoner. This fellow made a desperate resistance, and had become master of the city, which was with some difficulty recovered. *Galeazzo* had then leisure to march to the assistance of his brother, who had been defeated in several battles by the troops under the legate; so that *Oligiano* perceiving *Bologna* to be no longer tenable, gave it up to the legate, in exchange for *Fermo*. All this while *Barnabo* continued to carry on the war with great vigour, equally against the legate as against *Oligiano*; which induced the confederate states to send, by way of diversion, an army into the *Milanese*, in hopes of drawing *Barnabo* out of the *Bolognese*, and obliging him to pass the *Po*.

b But *Ugoline* having passed that river, and taken *Novara*, was encountered in his turn by a war of diversion. *Galeazzo* fell into the *Mantuan*, and having taken *Seralio*, a fortification on the banks of the *Po*, all the *Mantuan* lay open to his invasion, which so terrified the inhabitants of that city, of which *Ugoline* was prince, that while he thought himself in the high career of victory, he was obliged to fly to the relief of his own subjects, and to conclude a new treaty with *Galeazzo* and his brother.

This accommodation was far from diverting *Barnabo* from his design of recovering *Bologna*, which he considered as having been taken from him by treachery. While the fate of this war was depending, *Galeazzo*, whose spirit aspired beyond almost any prince of his time, resolved to raise his family by two royal matches. The first was by marrying his son with the daughter of the king of *France*, which match accordingly took place; and the next was, by marrying his daughter *Violante* to prince *Lionel*, duke of *Clarence*, the second son of *Edward III.* of *England*. This match had been proposed about the year 1366; and *Humphry Bohun*, earl of *Northampton*, was appointed, on the part of *Edward*, to negotiate the marriage. The affair continued in dependence for almost two years; but at last it was concluded chiefly by the intervention of Sir *John Hawkwood*, whom we have so often taken notice of in the course of this history, and who was afterwards married to a natural daughter of *Barnabo*. *Galeazzo* gave two hundred thousand crowns of gold, and the cities of *Mondovi* and *Alba*, in dowry, with his daughter. The marriage was concluded at *Windsor* on the 25th of *April* 1368, and *Galeazzo* advanced ten thousand florins as part of his expences for the treaty. The *English* historians pretend that *Edward* agreed to this match upon positive assurance given him, that the *Italian* states, particularly the two princes of *Milan*, the republic of *Florence*, and that of *Venice*, would unite in choosing prince *Lionel* emperor. There is nothing improbable in this, when we consider the dispositions of the *Italian* states, and the vast aversion they had to the *German* emperors; and the little danger they had to apprehend from *Edward*, whose power and reputation was, at this time, beyond that of any prince in *Europe*. The marriage was celebrated on the 29th of *May* in the great church of *Milan*. The magnificence and splendor of the nuptials were inexpressible. Above two hundred *English* noblemen and gentlemen attended on the bridegroom, and at every course most magnificent presents were sent to the attendants of the *English* prince, and such as few crowned heads in *Europe*, at that time, could have equalled. Amongst other presents, were no fewer than seventy beautiful horses, with rich trappings of silver and silk, massy pieces of plate, curious falcons and dogs, javelins, swords, coats of mail, breast-plates, helmets splendidly adorned and finely worked, scarfs embroidered with pearl, military belts, and a profusion of wearing apparel of all kinds, adorned with jewels of immense value. As to the entertainment itself, it was so extravagant, that when the dishes were carried off the table, they were more than sufficient for ten thousand men. We must not forget that *Francis Petrarch*, the famous poet of *Italy*, was one of the guests on this occasion. We have thought proper to mention those particulars, to give our readers some idea of the immense riches and magnificence of the *Milanese* court at that time.

Marriage between the princess of Milan and the duke of Clarence.

f THE *English* prince did not long survive his nuptials. The change of climate, and manner of living, threw him into a fever; and, after he had put his worldly affairs in order, he died at the city of *Alba*, not without great suspicion of poison, on the 17th of *October*. This suspicion was increased by many circumstances, particularly the total alteration which his elevation to the imperial dignity must have introduced into the affairs of *Italy*, as he could have had no other dominion there but the kingdom of *Naples*. The lord *Edward Spencer* was convinced that the duke had foul play for his life: and his suspicion fell at first upon the *Visconti* family; but they cleared themselves to his satisfaction, and the princess was a second time married to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was assassinated by a boor upon the mountains of *Parma*.

Death of the latter.

g *GALEAZZO* had now a son grown up with the most promising appearances of genius and capacity; and the rest of his life was one continued course of prosperity. After he had happily finished all his wars, the particulars of which the reader will see in other parts of

Character, magnificence, and

of this work, he retired to taste the fruits of leisure with a few studious companions, amongst whom was *Francis Petrarch*. By his persuasion he built a noble library, and founded the famous university of *Pavia*, under the patronage of the emperor *Charles*. Though he was naturally mild and averse to punish, yet when it became necessary, he was inexorable. An instance of this was the case of *Picardoni Vassalli*. This person, who was of a mean original, had attended him during his exile; and when he was restored to *Italy*, he, in recompence for his fidelity, had made him his chief financier, and entrusted him with his treasures. *Vassalli* was not proof against corruption, and oppressed the people so cruelly, that all the subjects of the *Milanese* joined in impeaching him. *Galeazzo* gave him up to justice; and, after a regular trial, being found guilty, he was hanged on a gibbet. *Galeazzo* refused to suffer any of his ill-gotten wealth to come into the treasury; and observed, that his crime was aggravated by the criminal's ingratitude and insensibility of the low station from which he had been raised. He discovered another instance of justice, in the punishment he inflicted upon the podesta of *Vico*, whom he ordered to execute the law immediately upon certain banditti and murderers, who had been condemned to death. The podesta, by the interposition of the friends of the malefactors, delayed their punishment till *Galeazzo* returned to *Pavia*. While he was there, the friends of the condemned applied to him for their pardon, which he readily granted, as thinking they had been for some time dead. Finding his mistake, he ordered the podesta's head to be struck off, before the prison-door, for disobeying his orders.

death of
Galeazzo.

In his buildings *Galeazzo* was excessively magnificent, and affected both to imitate and to rival the *Roman* magnificence in architecture, as may be seen by the citadel which he raised at *Milan*, and the vast porticoes and squares which he erected for public spectacles. His bridge over the *Tesin* was looked upon to be a master-piece; and even *Petrarch* himself, who was very sparing of his compliments to great men, admired the palace he built on the north side of *Pavia*, so greatly, that he said, "*Galeazzo* in his former works had outdone the greatest potentates in *Europe*; but in that palace, that he had outdone himself." The whole was filled with noble pictures, and enclosed by a wall fifty miles in circumference. The great number of families that were turned out of their possessions, to make this immense work, created next to a rebellion against *Galeazzo*, who, it seems, was not very generous in indemnifying the possessors for what they had lost; and one *Bartholo Sista*, being turned out of his paternal estate, was so exasperated at *Galeazzo*, that he wounded him in the belly with a knife, which must have killed him, had it not met with part of his armour. The ruins of this park, and some parts of the magnificent buildings, remained in the time of the emperor *Charles V.* the battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis I.* was taken prisoner, having been fought within its walls. *Paul Jovius* has given us the *Latin* inscription which was upon one of its sides. At last, upon retaking *Asti*, and raising the siege of *Vercelli*, the worldly happiness of *Galeazzo* seemed to be complete; and he died in the year 1378, in the fifty-ninth year of his life, and the twenty-second of his reign.

History of
Barnabo.

WE are now to attend the fortunes of his brother *Barnabo*, so called from his grandfather by his mother's side, who being of the family of *Doria*, famous for their exploits at sea, was thought to inherit somewhat of the boisterous unsteady temper of that element. *Barnabo* was in his person brave, and endowed with singular firmness, both of mind and body. He spent his time in action, and scarcely ever had a minute of respite from war; for no sooner did he finish one quarrel than another instantly broke out. He was, however, so liberal, that he was served with cheerfulness by his soldiers. His obstinacy in endeavouring to retake *Bologna* from *Oligiano* produced a formidable conspiracy against him, at the head of which was the pope. The real design of the confederates was to have exterminated the *Visconti* family. For this purpose they had hired *English*, *Spaniards*, *French*, and all kinds of foreign auxiliaries; and at last the emperor *Charles IV.* was called into *Italy*. In this contest *Barnabo* was twice defeated; once near *Bologna*, and again at *Guaftalla*; but he repaired his losses with wonderful address. He had a naval engagement upon the *Po*, in which he had so much the superiority, that he not only defeated his enemies, but built a strong fortress at *Borgo*, which he defended against the emperor; and laid great part of the *Mantuan* under water, by piercing the mounds and dykes of the *Po*. At last, all parties being weary of war, the duke of *Bavaria* undertook to mediate a peace, which ended in *Barnabo* being obliged to abandon his enterprize upon *Bologna*, and the emperor renewing his ancient engagements with the *Visconti*, after which he returned home with a large sum of money paid him by *Barnabo*.

Expences of the
Visconti family.

THOUGH the latter was thus obliged to give up *Bologna*, which he had so long and so earnestly struggled for; yet it was some indemnification to him that he acquired *Reggio*, by paying *Feltrino Gonzaga* a sum of money for the purchase. *Paul Jovius* says, that during the nine years in which the contest about *Bologna* lasted, the two brothers of the *Visconti*

a *conti* family expended upon it no less than three hundred millions of gold; but this sum seems to be incredible, as *America* was not then discovered, unless we suppose the species of the money to have been very insignificant, which we scarcely can do, as the lowest gold coin we know at that time, amounted to above half-a-crown *English*. The same author remarks, that this vast expence was the more extraordinary, as both brothers were extravagantly fond of building. We are told, that *Barnabo* erected a bridge over the *Adda*, built of three stories, one above another. The lower was for chariots and heavy carriages, the middle for horses, and the uppermost for infantry and foot-passengers. He likewise erected a bridge of so amazing a construction, that it was carried over houses and lands, and the buildings left intire. According to *Paul Jovius*, some part of this surprising work was visible in his time. He built the castle of *Brescia*, and that of *Mouza*; but perhaps the noblest works he erected were the prisons of *Milan*, where civil debtors were confined in noble, but secure apartments, and provided with all the necessaries of life. Those particulars were not the whole of his expence. He married one of his daughters, *Viris*, to *Leopold* duke of *Austria*; another, *Thadea*, to *Stephen*; and a third, *Magdalen*, to *Frederick*, dukes of *Bavaria*. Another of his daughters he married to *Frederick* king of *Cyprus*. Another, *Agnes*, to *Francesco Gonzaga*. Another, *Catherine*, to his nephew *John Galeazzo*. Two others, *Antonia* and *Anglefia*, to *Conrade* and *Frederick* of *Wirttemberg*, dukes of *Suabia*: and he gave *Lucia* to *Edmund*, king *Edward* the III^d's son.

Their marriages.

c THOSE daughters were all legitimate; but he had a numerous progeny that was illegitimate. He gave his daughter *Doninia* in marriage to Sir *John Hawkwood*, and *Lucia* to *Landi*, a *German* nobleman; and each of them had in apparel and fortune a million of crowns of gold. In all other relations of life, he was equally splendid and magnificent. He had five sons that were legitimate, *Mark*, *Lodovick*, *Rodolph*, *Charles*, and *Mastino*: all those were provided for separately and independently, with appointments befitting sovereign princes. Of natural sons he had *Ambrose*, *Ustorgius*, *Palamede*, *Lancelot*, and *Sacramore*, who all took the name of *Visconti*; and upon the death of *Philip*, the last male branch of the family, they were acknowledged as legitimate. Of those, *Ambrose* made a great figure in war; and by the assistance of the *English*, whom he headed upon the death of *Hawkwood*, he made war upon the pope, the queen of *Naples*, the *Florentines*, and the *Genese*, with various success. At last, while he was keenly engaged in war in the *Bergamese*, he fell into an ambush of mountaineers, in prosecuting some advantages he had obtained, and was cut off, to the great affliction of his father, who, in revenge, put all who had a hand in his death to the sword.

d THIS division of government proved fatal to his family. He and his brother had till then lived in the strictest friendship with each other. But after his children grew up, their desires were enlarged; and, by the instigation of their mother, the queen as she was called, they began to consider their uncle *Galeazzo* to be an obstacle in the way of their preferment. In those ambitious notions they were flattered by the queen so far, that they formed schemes for possessing themselves of the undivided succession; and the queen dying in the mean time, *Barnabo* gave himself entirely up to the madness and ambition of his sons. The vast expences of his government had, in some degree, rendered this necessary for his affairs; but he little knew the character of his nephew *John Galeazzo*, son to his brother *Galeazzo* II.

Division of their territories.

e THIS prince, one of the most artful of any in his time, had hitherto affected only the title of count of *Virtue*. He affected a solitary unambitious life, and even to have a turn for devotion; but in the mean time he had filled his uncle's court with spies, who informed him of the most minute particulars relating to the government; and discovered at length, that nothing but dissimulation could prevent his being deprived of life or fortune, or of both. To take away all suspicion of his designs, he reduced his table and manner of living to a narrow compass, and entertained none about his person whom he could not thoroughly trust, both in point of courage and honour. To give the greater colour to his caution, he pretended that he took all those measures to guard himself against certain ambitious courtiers, who wanted to take advantage of the inclination he had for devotion, and that it was necessary for him to keep for some time upon the defensive, at least till he should pay a religious vow; after which he intimated, that he was determined to retire from the world.

Art of John Galeazzo.

f JOHN GALEAZZO acted his part so well, that even his cautious uncle had no suspicion of his secret sentiments. He seemed to be afraid, even to a degree of religious timidity, of appearing abroad; and when he did, it was only with a caution and diffidence that rendered him next to ridiculous and contemptible. Those arts concealed his designs so well, that he several times applied to his uncle for his interest to procure him a quiet retreat, as soon as his religious vows were performed. One of those was to pay a

visit to the church of the Blessed Virgin upon *Monte Varezio*. This was to be done so secretly, that all kinds of eye-witnesses were to be excluded. It was with difficulty that *Barnabo* himself, and two of his sons, were permitted to wait upon him at the gate of *Vercelli*, to pay him their compliments. But no sooner were they arrived there, than, upon a concerted signal, all three were suddenly made prisoners; and the private orders that had been given to the troops, who were advancing from all quarters, were immediately put into execution. The gate and castle of *Jove*, as had been before agreed on, served to confine the illustrious prisoners; the principal passes of the city were immediately seized; and to secure the troops in the interest of *John Galeazzo*, they no sooner were admitted into the city, than the houses of the chief friends of *Barnabo* were given up to be plundered. This and many other incidents encreased the public disorders; nor did any unanimity appear, but in the execrations that were poured out on all sides against *Barnabo*. The booty in plate, money, hangings, and all kinds of rich furniture, was immense. The ministers of the late government were dragged from dunghills, where they had concealed themselves, and put to various deaths; and at last the citadel itself fell into the hands of *Galeazzo*, who found in it a vast sum in ready money.

Tyranny of
Barnabo,

FEW revolutions were ever known to be so sudden, so unexpected, so effectual, and so bloodless, as this was. It cannot be accounted for, otherwise than by reflecting on the acts of tyranny, into which *Barnabo's* dotage for his family drove him. He had for some years lived a scourge to his people, and every day had produced fresh instances of his rapacity and cruelty. At last his avarice exceeded all credibility; he instituted a chamber of enquiry, for punishing all who had been, for five years before, guilty of killing boars, or of eating them at another's table. They who could not redeem themselves by money were hanged, and above one hundred wretches perished in that manner; while others, who had any thing to lose, were stripped of all their substance, and obliged to labour at the fortifications, and other public works. Amongst the other ingenious arts of oppression, he obliged his subjects to maintain a great many hunting-dogs, and each district was taxed at a certain number. The overseers of his dogs were, at the same time, the instruments of his rapacity. When the dogs were poor and slender, their owners were always obliged to pay a fine; when they were fat, a penalty was incurred, for their being suffered to live without exercise. Perhaps a great part of *Barnabo's* cruelty and oppressions was owing to his family; but some cruelties he was guilty of, admitted of no alleviation.

who is deposed,
made prisoner,
and poisoned.

BARNABO, however, in his extreme misery, being carried prisoner from *Milan* to *Tritici*, a castle of his own building, found one person faithful to him, and that was his mistress *Doninia Porra*, who, when he was abandoned by all the world, shut herself up a voluntary prisoner in his chamber, and watched over him to the last day of his life, which lasted seven months after his degradation. It is reported, that he was poisoned in a dish of lentils, of which he was fond, and died in the arms of his beloved *Doninia*, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his government. His body was buried at *Milan*, and his tomb was adorned with an equestrian statue of white marble, representing him to the life, but without any inscription; though that of his wife, who died before him, had a most magnificent one.

THE reader, after what is said, can be at no loss to form a character of *Barnabo*, who certainly out-did all the princes of his age in magnificence and liberality. He was a man of undaunted spirit, and proof against both reverses of fortune. The vast treasures he expended, and the continual flow of his liberality, seems to countenance an opinion, that certain sources of treasure were shut up after the discovery of *America*, either by commerce taking a new turn, or by the old channels of it being discontinued. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Barnabo's* expences were so intolerable, that they drove him into rapaciousness, which seems to have been the cause of his own and his family's destruction.

Character of
John Galeazzo,
first duke
of Milan.

JOHN GALEAZZO, the first duke of *Milan*, gave early in life so many proofs of strong judgment and genius, that it was a common report that they were too pregnant to be lasting. If we are, however, to form our ideas by the writer of *Petrarch's* life, no great dependence is to be laid on such appearances. We are told, that that poet, while at *Galeazzo's* court, when this *John* was no more than seven years of age, was, by a kind of divine instinct, chosen by the boy to fill his father's seat, as being the wisest personage in the company. This accident might have been unobserved, had the thing happened to a person of less consequence than *Galeazzo* proved afterwards to be, or had it been delivered by any other than a fanciful *Italian* author, who magnifies every thing into miracles. It is certain, however, that *Galeazzo*, through the care of his father, had a most excellent education. He was early initiated in all kinds of arts and sciences that were proper to form his mind; and his own application and genius kept pace with the cares

a cares of his tutors. His education was digested into a regular system, under the best tutors that that age afforded; and every part of it gave strength and solidity to another. His father had seen a great deal of life, but was sensible that his genius had not been cultivated by study to the best advantage, which made him the more careful of his son's education. Being taken out of the hands of nurses, he was put into those of the most learned men, and the greatest philosophers of that age. The reader is to observe, that the liberal arts were at this time but in their twilight, and the troubles of Greece had driven into *Italy* the learned *Byzantines*, to whom literature owed its revival. The reader, in another part of this work, will see the occasion of those learned *Greeks* opening public schools in *Italy*. It is incredible, how eagerly the *Italians* embraced the calls of learning. We have already mentioned the case of *Florence*; but if that city had the honour of reviving the *Greek* erudition, it is certain that *Milan* gave it its encouragement; and it was there that one of the most noble academies, or rather universities in *Europe*, broke forth all at once. In the civil law *Baldus* was eminent, and the two *Raphaels*, *Fulgosius* and *Comensis*, together with *Signaroli Amadeo*. In philosophy, *Hugh* of *Sienna*, *Blasius* of *Pellicani*, a *Parmesan*, were eminent, the latter being an excellent astronomer, and well versed in optics. The three chief professors of physic were *Marsiglio* of *Santa Sophia*, *Sillanus Niger*, and *Antonio Vacca*. *Chryseolas* of *Bizantium*, whom we have already mentioned, was eminent in the knowledge of the *Greek* language; and from the great encouragement given him at the court of *Milan*, he opened schools in that city; but *Peter Philargi* of *Crete*, who was afterwards pope, under the title of *Alexander IV.* was, perhaps from the great eminence to which he afterwards arrived, considered as being at the head of the academy.

A.D. 1350.

Young *Galeazzo* was the principal object of attention of all those learned men. A regular academy was now founded at *Pavia*; noble salaries to the several professors were appointed, and apartments assigned them for the education of youth. A fine library was erected, composed of the best authors in languages, arts, and sciences, in which the students spent their time, while they were not attending the public lectures. It happened fortunately for young *Galeazzo*, that this early initiation in the study of the liberal arts, rendered them at last habitual to him. He went through his exercises in common with the meanest student; and being kept ignorant of all the luxuries and avocations of life, but those which his health absolutely required, he had no emulation but to excel in learning, and in those studies that could contribute to render him a great prince. His intervals of leisure from study were not spent in gaming, hunting, or any of those diversions that enervate the mind; and he abstained from the company even of those buffoons which formed the chiefest delight of the *Italian* courts in those days. All his recreations tended to health alone, without excess of any kind.

Plan of his education,

Such was the plan of *Galeazzo's* education; so that it must have been next to a miracle, if he had not turned out an extraordinary person. The reader, however, is not to imagine, that in this scheme of education, those exercises were omitted that become a prince. Riding and bodily exercises of all kinds succeeded the more sedentary studies; but none of them were considered as detached from the general plan of educating a prince and a warrior. In short, according to *Paul Jovius*, in forming him very little was left to chance, all fell in with the great idea of fitting a great prince for the cabinet, as well as the field. Even his conversation had that tendency; and his amusements, though they would have been severe studies to any other but himself, became habitual delights.

GALEAZZO's education was in every respect so common, that it comprehends matters that seemed to be remote from literature. Having in his father's life-time an independent fortune of his own, he accustomed himself to keep exact and regular accounts of all his receipts and disbursements, which he ordered regularly to be entered in a fair legible manner. He was equally careful in examining into the private characters of his officers, and had secret censors appointed, who rewarded or punished them according to their merits. His great maxim was, that one of the chief secrets in life was to connect military and civil knowledge, so as to make them depend on each other. He was so exact an economist, that he could, at one glance, examine all his public and private expences, and he never failed to know, even to a farthing, the real state of his finances. In like manner, he every day reviewed his growing as well as his actual expences, and he kept regular journals of all events that arose in his government. But though *Galeazzo* was exact, yet he was not little. He seemed to be an economist, only with a view of knowing how much he could spend; nor did he suffer the minutest incidents to pass unobserved. His generosity appeared to be unbounded to those who served him well, either in war or peace; and he was, in short, an eminent instance of the force of education and method, without restricting himself in the most liberal expences, that munificence itself could desire.

and economy.

SUCH is the character and description, that *Paul Jovius* has left us of this extraordinary prince; nor is it easy to perceive, that it has been in any degree exaggerated. If *Galeazzo* was not so great a conqueror as some of his contemporaries, that is to be attributed to his philosophy and constitution. He laid the foundation of his military knowledge amongst the *English*, while they served in the *Milanese*, under his father and his uncle *Barnabo*. When he was twenty-three years of age, he was by his father put under the name of *Count of Virtue*, in possession of *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Asti*, and *Alessandria*, by which his territories became exposed to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who always was the enemy of his father's family, a restless ambitious prince. As his father had some reasons not to appear openly against that marquis, *Galeazzo* and he had a war together, without the father seeming to concern himself in it; but he was betrayed by the *Guelph* faction; for the cause of the marquis of *Montferrat* was espoused by the *Savoyards*, though that prince, then the count *de Maurienne*, was uncle to *Galeazzo*; and the *Fiesques* of *Genoa* taking part with the marquis, invited to their assistance the pope's troops, who besieged *Galeazzo* in the castle of *Vercelli*, and reduced him to such straits, that he was unable to resist the united force of his enemies, and obliged to give it up. His difficulties were increased by the defection of *Sir John Hawkwood*, who took part with the *Florentines*, and joined with them and the pope; so that *Galeazzo* was conquered; and all his troops being cut in pieces or taken prisoners, it was with the utmost hazard that he escaped out of the hands of his enemies.

His misfortunes,

ALL those misfortunes happened during the life-time of his father; but his conduct was so unexceptionable, that he rather gained than lost reputation by them. When his father died, he intirely altered his conduct; and pretending that his ill successes in war discouraged him from attempting any thing farther in person, he resigned the command of his armies to his generals. To give the more countenance to this retirement from the labours of the field, which was, in fact, occasioned by the practices and visible ambition of his uncle *Barnabo* and his family, he pretended that he had his horoscope cast (a practice then very common in *Italy*) and that it had been foretold him, that he could make no kind of figure in a war, and that a private inoffensive life was his only sphere of action. He gave out at the same time, that he was resolved to retire from all kinds of public business; and it was in this interval, that he effected the wonderful revolution we have already taken notice of, and which rendered him the sole master of *Milan*. But all his affectation did not prevent his employing the ablest generals, and the best troops he could find in *Italy*, as the reader may see in the history of *Florence*; so that at last he made himself master of *Pavia*, the particulars of which we shall not here repeat; we shall therefore keep to generals.

and successes.

In a few years the course of *Galeazzo's* victories seemed to threaten the utter subjection of all *Italy* to his power. At last, the emperor *Ladislans* formally created him, by patent, duke of *Milan*; an honour to which none of his predecessors had till then attained, though virtually they were so before. According to *Paul Jovius*, the ceremony was performed by sending him a ducal cap and a scepter. This rendered him the most potent prince at that time in *Italy*. His troops were incomparably the best disciplined, armed, and paid, of any upon the continent; and his character, in point of prudence and politics, drew to his service all the generals of the greatest reputation in *Europe*; so that even sovereign princes served under his banners, or rather princes, who, though not sovereign in a literal sense, knew no superiors. He dispossessed the *Scaligers* of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and the family of *Carrara*, of *Pavia*, by taking the elder *Francesco* prisoner, and carrying him captive to *Mouza*. He likewise reduced *Treviso*, *Feltri*, *Bellano*, *Trent*, and all that mountainous district, under his power. The people of *Perugia* and *Assisi* revolted to him from the pope. The *Siennese* having been long fluctuating between the *Florentines*, the papal power, the imperialists, and the *Neapolitans*, submitted to him, as did the *Pisans*, and at last the *Lucqueses* themselves.

His quarrels with the Florentines.

THE *Florentines* were the most concerned of any people in *Italy*, to prevent the growth of this enormous power. They were then in high reputation, and the only state who was capable to make head against *Galeazzo*; but unable to do any thing of themselves, they were obliged to have recourse to their neighbours. They endeavoured to stir up a kind of a crusade against *Galeazzo*, and for that purpose sent their ambassadors all over *Europe*, to excite not only the *Italian*, but other states, to a sense of their danger, which they said was too threatening to be longer confined within the bounds of *Italy*. This rendered that country the seat of a most terrible war, in which the *French* and the imperialists were equally involved. The *Florentines* would willingly have kept fair with *Galeazzo*, and had actually celebrated festivities upon his receiving the ducal honours; but perceiving that he assisted their enemies the *Pisans*, both parties continued for some time in a state of neutrality, though each underhand supported the party that seemed to be the most favourable

a ble to it. According to the *Florentine* historians, *Galeazzo* had formed a dangerous conspiracy, by which he intended to effect a total revolution in *Florence*, by letting loose a gang of banditti, to make themselves masters of that city; but this conspiracy was timely discovered and prevented by the punishment of the conspirators. There is, however, sufficient grounds for believing the parties accused to have been innocent of the charge, and that the whole was the contrivance of one faction against another. *Galeazzo*, at that time, was carrying on a war in *Lombardy*, where he was defeated, and forced to raise the siege of *Mantua*; upon which he was obliged to recal his general, count *Alberigo*, from *Lombardy*; but by that general's address, all the disadvantages they had sustained were soon repaired; though, on the other hand, *Paul Savelli*, the head of the *Milanese* troops, b who had taken possession of *Pisa*, was intirely defeated; and had it not been for the vast address of *Galeazzo*, who prevented a sincere reconciliation between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans*, by condemning the conduct of his own troops, an intire union must have taken place between *Pisa* and *Florence*. In a short time *Galeazzo* recovered his affairs, so as to become more formidable than ever, and the league against him was once more renewed, with the addition of the *Venetians*. *Galeazzo* was too great a politician to be alarmed at this confederacy. He knew that the *Venetians* were insincere in their professions, and that they hated the *Florentines*. The prosperous condition of his affairs, however, now that he was in a fair way of making himself master of *Mantua*, prevailed upon him to listen to the terms of accommodation; and conferences were held at *Pavia* for c that purpose; but in the mean time, by a sudden mutiny at *Perugia*, he became master of that city, and threatened *Arezzo* itself. It was easy for *Galeazzo* to perceive, that, while he kept within the bounds of moderation, he could stop the progress of the *Venetians* in *Tuscany*; and to give a fairer pretext to his cause, he offered to conclude a ten years truce, as it was impossible to bring matters in a shorter time to a definitive treaty between him and the *Florentines*. The proposal was accepted, but with no very sincere intentions on either side. On the conclusion of this truce, the *Florentines* dismissed their army, and *Galeazzo* made a shew of doing the same; but his troops being intirely devoted to him, pretended that they served for pay, and that they could not starve; they therefore, by his connivance, took up their quarters in the *Siennese*, and instigated the d *Ubertini*, and the other lords of petty fiefs, to take up arms. This, and other incidents which happened about the same time, renewed the war in *Tuscany*; and *Galeazzo*, who was faithfully served by his allies as well as soldiers, became at last master of *Pisa* itself, by which he opened a door for the subjection of *Sienna*; so that in a short time he became, in fact, more powerful in *Tuscany* than ever, *Bologna* having now submitted to him. He becomes master of Pisa.

THIS great revolution was effected by the single expedient of the ten years truce, and is one of the most masterly pieces of policy that we have upon record, as *Galeazzo* brought it about without incurring the smallest blemish upon his character. In the beginning of the year 1400, he prevailed with *Uguccio*, then master of *Cortona*, to prohibit provisions e of any kind to be carried through his dominions to *Florence*; and at the same time he fostered a war between *Astorgi* of *Faenza* and the *Bolognese*, and prevailed upon *Guinigi* to refuse to enter into a league with the *Florentines*. Towards the end of this year, *Bentivoglio* made himself master of *Bologna*, which occasioned a new face of affairs in *Italy*. As the friendship of that city was equally of use to the *Florentines* as to *Galeazzo*, both parties endeavoured to conceal their disappointments, by courting the friendship of *Bentivoglio*. Both likewise sent him auxiliaries; but in 1401, *Galeazzo* joined with count *Alberigo* against *Bentivoglio*. This left *Bentivoglio* no dependence but upon the *Florentines*, who saw themselves in such imminent danger, that they were ill enough advised to invite the emperor to their assistance, upon the promise of a large sum of money, part to be f paid in hand, and part in a certain time after he had entered *Galeazzo's* dominions in an hostile manner. The vast golden bait prevailed upon the emperor, who was miserably poor, to make great dispositions for carrying the war into the *Milanese*. The balance of power in *Italy*, in all appearance, was on the point of being ruined at this time, and nothing but the profound policy and moderation of *Galeazzo* could have saved it. His vast policy.
A D. 1400.

His plan was to make himself master of *Lombardy*, so as to be able to cut off all hopes of invading it either from *France* or *Germany*. He had driven the *Scaligers* out of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and had confined *Francesco Carrara* of *Pavia* in the castle of *Mouza*. He still kept possession of the *Tridentine*, and all that mountainous district; so that when the emperor and his generals attacked him at *Alessandria*, they were entirely defeated by g *Vermi* the *Milanese* general; and the remainder of their broken army was obliged to retire to the *Tridentine*. Boundaries of his dominions.

THIS victory opened the way to *Galeazzo's* conquest of *Mantua* and *Casal*; and at last he defeated a vast army of *Florentines* and *Bolognese* near *Bologna*; and the papal and *Flo-*
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rentine general, *Bernard of Aquitain*, being made prisoner, *Bologna* itself submitted to the conqueror, after having been a bone of contention for fifty years between the *Milanese* and the see of *Rome*. But *Galeazzo* gave now an unusual proof of virtue and moderation. The *Florentines*, who were his principal enemies in *Italy*, were so far from being in a condition to expect support from the *Germans*, that they mutually accused one another before the *Venetians*; so that *Florence* itself was besieged, and must have fallen into the hands of *Galeazzo*, had he been in earnest about taking it. Some authors are of opinion, that *Galeazzo* intended to have made himself king of *Italy*; and they have given out, that he actually had prepared a crown for that purpose; but there seems to be little foundation for those assertions; for *Galeazzo* having secured the peace of his patrimonial dominions, and made himself master of all *Lombardy*, to the amazement of *Italy* and *Europe*, put bounds to his ambition, just at the time when *Florence* itself was on the point of submitting to his arms. This incredible reverse of fortune was at first disbelieved by the *Florentines*; but when they saw a stop put to the march of thirty-two thousand of the best troops in *Europe*, who were advancing against their city; and when they learned that *Galeazzo* had named ambassadors to treat for a general peace, in which the *Florentines* were to be principally considered, they began to give ear to the possibility of such an event; but still with great caution; for they treated at once with the *Venetians* and *Galeazzo*. The precaution, though wise, was useless; for *Galeazzo* was firmly resolved upon a sincere, and, if possible, a lasting peace; which accordingly, to the amazement of the public, was at last concluded. It is true, the time between opening this negotiation and that of his death, was too short for us to pronounce as to his motives. But the probability lies for his sincerity, as there is no indication that when the negotiation was begun, he had reason to believe he was so near his end, which happened but a few weeks after his taking *Bologna*.

His death.

GALEAZZO was certainly one of the wisest as well as the most moderate princes that then lived in *Italy*; but though we have, agreeable to the sense of all historians, given the highest encomiums upon his policy, his wisdom, courage, and magnanimity; yet we find no room for enlarging upon his virtue. That was a quality which seems to have been disused amongst the princes of this age. In other parts of his character we have been sufficiently copious. *Galeazzo* died in *September*, 1402, in the castle of *Meliano*, on the *Lambro*, of a pestilential fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. His last wife was *Catharine*, daughter of his uncle *Barnabo*, by whom he left a daughter and two sons, who, at the time of his death, were not arrived at man's estate. By his first wife *Isabella*, daughter to the *French* king, he had no issue; but that he might keep up his connexions with the court of *France*, he bestowed *Valentina*, his daughter by *Catharine*, upon *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*; by which her progeny, upon the failure of *Galeazzo's* sons without issue, became powerful competitors for the duchy of *Milan*. *Asti* was given in dowry to *Valentina*.

As to the person of *Galeazzo*, it was like the other princes of his family, noble and majestic. The greatest fault of his reign was his behaviour towards his uncle *Barnabo* and his family; nor indeed is it certain, that *Barnabo* was such a monster of cruelty as he is represented to have been. It undoubtedly was for the interest of *Galeazzo* to have him believed to be so; and we know of no advocate his memory, or those of his sons, met with to do justice to their character. It is on all hands allowed, that *Galeazzo* actually outwitted his uncle; and, notwithstanding the many apologies that have been offered in his favour, it is certain, that soon after his death the *Milanese* fell into the most violent distractions; nor could the government there be kept up without an army of twenty thousand horse, and as many foot, even in time of peace. He is charged with some unnatural vices; but no proof of his guilt is upon record. He was, like his ancestors, magnificent in his public buildings.

Succeeded by his two sons.

JOHN MARIA, the eldest son of *Galeazzo*, succeeded to the greatest part of the *Milanese*; but it seems to have been an infatuation with the wisest of the *Visconti* family to have divided their estates. Besides the lawful sons, he left two natural ones, *Gabriel* and *Antony*; and all of them, excepting the last, took the designation of *Maria*. His funeral was magnificently celebrated; and upon opening the codicils of his will, it was found that he had left a regency, at the head of which was *Charles Malatesta*, lord of *Rimini*, and *James Vermi*; but *Peter*, archbishop of *Milan*, was at the head of the commission, chiefly on account of decency. *John*, the eldest son, was declared by his will to be duke of *Milan*; to which was annexed the possession of *Bergamo*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Feltri*, *Civitella*, *Lodi*, *Bologna*, and a vast number of other estates; the entire barrier of the *Alps*, towards *Germany* and *France*, together with *Sienna* in *Tuscany* and *Perugia*. To his second son, *Philip*, he left *Pavia*, with the title of count, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Tortona*, *Alessandria*, and all that neighbourhood. He was equally mindful of *Gabriel*, his eldest

Divisions of the Milanese government,

- a eldest natural son, whose mother was a lady of quality; and he left him *Pisa, Luna, Serazana*, with many castles in that neighbourhood. His last natural son was so young, that he made no provision for him, but left him to the care of his brothers, and his family, his mother being a person of no consideration. But besides those provisions for his family, he left very noble legacies to his other friends, particularly to the *Venetians*, the *Mantuan*s, and several of his private favourites. His legitimate children, the eldest of whom was not above thirteen years of age, were brought up under the eye of their tutors; but it is surprising to reflect, that so provident and so wise a man as *Galcazzo* was, had been so much, during the latter part of his life, employed in war^a, that he had taken no precaution for the education of his sons; and there was such a penury of learned
- b men in all his wide-extended dominions, that scarce a person was to be found equal to the common task of their education. A person of low extraction, one *Francis Barbavaria*, was the only man found capable to instruct them. This drove all the men of quality from the court, and the archbishop of *Milan* was the only person of high quality who remained about it; but even he was obliged to shut himself up within his palace; so miserably was the government divided between contending parties. At last, the old remains of the *Visconti* family got the ascendancy; and *Francis Visconti* was introduced into *Milan*, from which he had lived for some time in exile. He had a brother, *Antony*, whom he associated with himself in all his schemes. The intrigues of so distracted a court are not to be regarded. Murders, robberies, and rapines, multiplied every day;
- c and at last a kind of compromise was made between *Antony Visconti* and the party of *Barbavaria*. The *Florentines* took advantage of those confusions, and were unwearied in their endeavours to excite the states of *Italy* to throw off the yoke of the *Milanese*. By this time the duke of *Milan* and his brother were taken out of the hands of their mother, who had very seldom access to see her sons; and every day produced some new alteration in the government. One *Pandolph* was named to the government of the *Sienese*; but had neither spirit nor courage to oppose the attempts of the *Florentines*. *John Colonna* had the charge of *Pisa*, with a sufficient body of troops to defend it; but the *Florentines*, having persuaded pope *Boniface* to join them, invaded the *Milanese* under *Nicholas Ferrara*. The first attempt was upon the side of the *Parmesan*, where several tumultuary actions passed, but without any effect; and at last a treaty was proposed for accommodating all differences. *Charles Malatesta* appeared on the side of the young duke of *Milan*. *Gianelli*, the pope's brother, managed for his holiness. The *Florentines* demanded *Perugia* and *Bologna*; and their claims comprehended the property of almost all *Tuscany*. This gave a handle for *Malatesta* to throw a difference between the *Florentines* and *Gianelli*, on account of the ambition of the former. He proposed to shut the *Florentines* quite out of the negotiation; and this was so much for the benefit of the church, that the agreement was struck, and *Bologna*, with *Perugia*, was immediately given up to the holy see; upon which the *Florentines* were obliged to return to *Tuscany*.
- e This compromise proved as a precedent for all the rest of the states of *Lombardy*, which had been subjected to the *Milanese*, to endeavour to assert their own independency; and the old factions of the *Gibelins* and *Guelphs* were now revived with more animosity than ever. Not only states and principalities were torn in pieces by those distractions; but every village had its separate factions; and though the whole went under the name of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, yet those were no other than sounds to cloak private faction and personal resentments. In a short time all the *Milanese* was one promiscuous scene of carnage; and the rage of parties that had been quieted under the mild government of the *Visconti*, seemed to have been gathering strength, that it might break out with the more fatal effects. Every petty governor of a town or state set up to be independent; while
- f those of greater consideration were so much interested in their own schemes of ambition, that they neither durst nor cared to check their inferiors. The misfortune was, that though the *Milanese* was supposed to be an imperial fief, yet the whole empire was in a condition equally distracted; so that it could not be said that there was any center of authority, not only in *Milan*, but in *Italy*, and indeed in *Germany* itself. While matters were in this confusion, each seized the portion of territory that lay most practicable or convenient for himself, without the smallest regard to their former oaths and engagements. *Pandolfo Malatesta* made himself master of *Brescia* and *Bergamo*. *Gabrini Fundulio* seized upon *Cremona*; as *Scaliger* did upon *Pavia* and *Alessandria*. *Vineati* became master of *Lodi*; the *Benzoni* of *Crema*; the *Arcelli* of *Piacenza*; *Ottoboni* of *Parma*; *Franchino Rusca* of *Como*; and the *Bruffati* and *Tormelli*, returning from banishment, possessed themselves of *Vercelli* and *Novara*. The young duke of *Milan* continued still in the

which is split into factions.

^a BILLII Hist. apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 12.

power of his kinsmen *Visconti*, while his mother was a helpless exile amongst the friends and exiles of her husband's family, without even the means of supporting herself. *Pandolfo Malatesta*, being introduced to *Como* by the faction of the *Rusconi*, gave up that rich city to be plundered. The duchess was, at that time, at *Como*, and a scheme was laid for driving her from thence. For this purpose factions were encouraged; and the duchess plainly perceiving, by the progress of the tumult, that her enemies intended to become masters of the city, thought proper to retire to *Mouza*, though vastly against the advice of her friends. During this cessation of government, the young duke was, by his mother, advised to create a governor, who should, during his minority, have the care of his dominions; and to name *Charles Malatesta* to that office. He was a worthy man, and a brave soldier; but though the young duke's name and authority introduced *Malatesta* into *Milan*, yet he found things there in a most desperate situation. The greatest part of the generals and counsellors employed by the great duke, had been either put to death, or obliged to fly for their lives. There was only one circumstance in his favour, and that was the dissensions and disagreements that prevailed amongst the opposite faction, and which *Malatesta* took care to improve, so as to procure to himself an easy access to his government. His first care was to introduce a force into *Milan*, sufficient to overawe the disaffected of every kind; and taking from the factions all hopes of profiting by the public commotions, he treated of a marriage between his niece and the young duke. It is said, that the public factions, at this time, arrived at such a height, that when any person was devoted to death, the common saying of the judge was, "You have given me a subject, and it must be my business to make him a criminal."

Charles Malatesta made regent.

SUCH was the state of the *Milanese* affairs, when *Charles Malatesta* entered upon his regency. Having with great difficulty equipped a sufficient army, his first undertaking was to punish one *Stranguline*, who had been guilty of murdering his colleague, and had fled to *Scaliger*, who was then in possession of the castle of *Milan*, which *Charles* besieged with so much vigour, that he soon reduced it. He next took a signal revenge upon those who had been the most active against the duchess dowager; and to shew how high party was carried at that time, the common executioners of prisoners were mastiff dogs trained up to blood. This method of execution was highly agreeable to the young duke; and *Malatesta*, for that reason, hastened the marriage between his niece, who was daughter to *Pandolph*, and the young duke. This expedient had some effect in softening the young prince's manners; but a new faction at this time started up. *Christopher Cassati*, and *Antony Vercelli*, listed themselves under the banners of the young count of *Pavia*; and they had entered into a conspiracy for inviting the *French* under *Bouccicault* to take part in the war. Both *Charles* and *Pandolfo Malatesta* opposed this conspiracy; and it is said, that young *Philip* narrowly escaped being murdered. It happened unfortunately for the *Milanese*, that *Charles Malatesta* was the professed partizan of the *Guelphs*, while the *Milanese* in general inclined to the *Gibelins*. This occasioned another revolution; and *Charles Malatesta* was driven out of *Milan* by *Facino Scaliger*, who permitted his followers, the *Gibelins*, to indulge themselves in all kinds of licentiousness. This produced another conspiracy against *Scaliger*, who was surprised and made prisoner by *John Luitprand*, who soon repented of his undertaking, and pleaded youth and want of consideration for his excuse. *Philip* count of *Pavia* was thought to be at the bottom of this conspiracy; and *Scaliger*, dissembling his resentment, took little notice of *Philip*; but, pretending to be indisposed, took his bed, and meditated to make himself master of *Pavia*. According to *Paul Jovius*, the design upon *Scaliger* was so near being executed, that he was obliged to the swiftness of his horse, which carried him off with such violence, that he received a contusion in his forehead, and escaped to *Rosetta* with the loss of his cap. Be that as it will, it is certain that he was delivered almost as soon as he was made prisoner.

Adventure of Bouccicault.

AFTER this the faction of the *Guelphs*, which was headed by *Antony Torriano*, prevailed upon *John Maria*, notwithstanding the ancient enmity between their families, to invite *Bouccicault*, the *French* general, to become the guardian of the *Milanese*, in place of *Scaliger*. *Bouccicault*, who was remarkable at once for the vastness of his courage, and the largeness of his person, was governor, under the *French* king, of *Genoa*, which had revolted to him amongst the other states of *Italy* that had thrown off the yoke of the *Milanese* upon the death of *John Galeazzo*. *Bouccicault*, according to *Paul Jovius*, came to *Milan*, attended by a great retinue of *French* cavalry: but began his government by an attempt to make himself master of the castle of *Milan*. In this, finding some difficulty, he endeavoured to effect his end by gold; and that failing, he employed rougher measures, for he erected a court of justice, and issued edicts, as if he had been the absolute lord of *Milan*; and even went so far as to coin money. It was believed, that the hatred which the *Italians* naturally entertained of the *French*, pushed *Bouccicault* upon those unpopular measures; for in a short time he became obnoxious, and hated not only by *John Maria*,

^a *Maria*, but by the *Milanese* of all ranks and denominations; and tho' he was one of the most worthy men of his time, he was represented as endeavouring to usurp the power of the ducal family. But in the mean while, a great revolution happened at *Genoa*, from whence, by the intrigues of *Scaliger*, the *French* troops were driven out, and the marquis of *Montferrat* was substituted in *Bouccicault's* room, and acknowledged to be the prince, or rather guardian, of *Genoa*. This revolution was no sooner known at *Milan*, than *Bouccicault*, pretending to lead an expedition against *Pavia*, evacuated that city before the news became public. In his march towards *Novi*, he was attacked by *Scaliger*, and so totally defeated, that he lost in one day the government both of *Genoa* and *Milan*; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that he escaped back to *France* by the *Alps*.

^b THE *Italian* historian ^a has, on this occasion, charged *Bouccicault* with a piece of barbarity little agreeable to the general tenor of his character; for we are told, that he put to death *Gabriel*, the same who had been driven from *Pisa* by the *Florentines*, and had taken refuge at *Genoa*, 'on account of the riches he had carried from *Pisa*. About this time *John* lost his mother, who was weakened by heart-break, and a long course of ill usage. She is blamed by *Paul Jovius* for the pernicious counsels she gave to throw her son's dominions into the hands of the pope, by which they never reverted to the dukedom. He mentions particularly the alienation of *Bologna*, which had cost so much blood and treasure to the dukes of *Milan*, as had *Affisi* and *Perugia*; all which now went to the popedom, for the empty phantom of the supposed friendship of his holiness, which, in the end, proved rather a detriment than an advantage. *Sienna*, at the same time, recovered her liberty, after long and bloody contests. All those calamities were far from putting a stop to the civil dissensions of *Milan*, which grew every day more and more intractable. They who were defeated, being spirited up by revenge, refused to agree to any truce with their enemies; and the victors rejected all accommodation, as being useless to their purposes.

IN such various scenes of distress, the duke found no other expedient for preserving or retrieving his authority, than making matters up with *Facino*, or, as we have called him on other occasions, *Scaliger*, a prince of unbounded ambition, as well as abilities, both in peace and war. *John Maria*, therefore, having received hostages for the fidelity of *Facino*, gave him, under himself, the government of all his estates and armies; but he had scarce ratified this measure, than he repented it; though he plainly perceived that it was to no purpose. *Facino* was obliged to support himself in his new acquired power, by other freebooters of government, whom he suffered to pillage the subjects of their private properties, but reserved to himself the whole of the public money. *Facino* attributed all the danger he had escaped to the count of *Pavia*, and endeavoured to make himself master of that city. He therefore pretended to be indisposed; and being in a confederacy with the *Beccarii*, *Pavia* was betrayed to him, and the estates of all the contrary faction were given up to the plunder of the *Beccarii*. *Facino* understanding this, and that nothing would be left to him, issued an order for plundering both factions, which accordingly was punctually obeyed. The count of *Pavia*, by this time, had retired to the citadel, where he had very little authority, and less assurance of safety. *Facino* promised to take him under his protection, if he was admitted into the citadel, which at last the count was obliged to suffer; so that *Facino* had, in fact, the full power and authority over *Pavia*, as well as *Milan*, and nothing was wanting but the title, to render him sovereign master of both. The duke, and his brother the count of *Pavia*, had scarcely the common necessities of life allowed them; and the former was persuaded no longer to cohabit with his wife. Taxes and oppressions were multiplied, and *Facino* took such a liking to the castle of *Pavia*, then one of the strongest, as well as most delightful, in the world, that he shut himself up in it, and there he fell into his last illness; while the two brothers were reduced to such difficulties, that *Philip* is said to have been destitute of bed-cloaths.

^c DURING his illness, which now appeared to be mortal, the *Gibelin* faction, being afraid that, upon his death, *John Maria* would recover his authority, and being no stranger to his innate fierceness and cruelty, formed a conspiracy to put an end to his life. At this time the *Milanese* was entirely in peace, and *Facino*, though confined to his bed, carried his arms into the *Bergamese*, where they did infinite damage. Some authors, particularly *Paul Jovius*, say, that he was making war in the *Bergamasco*, when he was seized with his last illness ^b, and that he was carried to *Pavia* ^c. While he was upon his death-bed, the conspiracy against *John Maria* came to a head. The *Guelphs*, as well as the *Gibelins*, entered into it through detestation of his bloody, brutish disposition, which, in some measure, justified *Facino's* severity; for the little power he still retained, was daily employed in throwing the unhappy victims of his tyranny to be devoured by dogs.

^a PAUL JOVIUS, p. 178.

^b BILLIUS apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 35.

^c PAUL JOVIUS, p. 180.

THE chief of the conspirators were of the *Visconti* family; and their scheme was, if their conspiracy took effect, to make *Hector Barnabo's* son duke of *Milan*; and if *Facino* should die, to give *Pavia* to the *Beccarii*. The other conspirators were *Bagio*, and his brother *Paul Pusterlano*, whose father *John Maria* had put to death, as we have already seen, by throwing him to the dogs, and some noblemen of the house of *Maine*, the two brothers of which had been butchered by *John*. The scene of the tragedy was the church, where they stabbed him at the great altar (C), as he was assisting at mass (D). It is remarked, that the detestation of *John Maria's* person was so strong with the conspirators, that it united them, though they were of different factions, so that not one of them betrayed another. *Paul Jovius* observes, that, notwithstanding the troubles and distresses of his government, he never abated in the ferocity of his disposition. He had one *Squarcia Giramo*, of a noble family, but who served him as his favourite, and the purveyor of his inhumanities, by procuring for him the largest and fiercest mastiffs, who were maintained on nothing but human flesh. When he was dead, there was not a living creature who took the least concern about his body, which would have laid unburied, had it not been for the care of a common whore, who kept it for some time amongst roses; a humanity that deservedly procured for her a handsome provision from *Philip* his brother and successor, by which she was enabled to marry with credit, and in good circumstances. The same day *Giramo*, the infamous minion of *John Maria*, was discovered in a lurking hole by the people, and dragged by a hook in his nose to the street before his own palace, which was levelled to the ground, and there put to death with the most exquisite tortures. It is remarked of *John Maria*, that, notwithstanding his ferocity, he possessed many of the great qualities of his ancestors (E), which served to render him still more detestable.

Death of Facino,

FACINO was all this time confined to his bed at *Pavia*; but his officers and creatures kept possession of the castle of *Milan*. *Hector*, whom we have already spoken of, no sooner heard of *John's* assassination, than he came to *Milan* with no more than twelve attendants; and the conspirators being prepared to receive him, he was admitted into the city without opposition. The commandant of the castle was *Vicenzo*, who refused to deliver it up, tho' neither threats nor rewards were wanting to shake him. *Facino* no sooner heard of the murder of *John Maria*, than he fell into a violent passion at the conspirators; and his last breath was spent in recommending the person of *Philip*, and the punishment of his brother's murder, to his attendants, particularly to *Bartholomew*, archbishop of *Milan*, in the most earnest pathetic manner. According to *Billius*^a, he likewise recommended to their care his wife *Beatrix*. He also ordered, that *Philip* should not, for some time, be suffered to stir abroad, for fear of farther treachery. He died without issue, and without relations, who could succeed to the power he left in the *Milanese*. He made some amends upon his death-bed for the treachery and inhumanities he had been guilty of in his life-time. His death gave the conspirators additional hopes of success, and they all swore fealty to *Hector*.

whose widow Philip, the new duke of Milan, marries.

IT happened fortunately for *Philip*, that *Facino* was, at the time of his death, at the head of an excellent army, and that his officers had all joined in the most solemn engagements, for revenging *John Maria's* murder. *Philip* remained at the castle of *Pavia*, closely guarded; so that he was uncertain for some time, whether he was a prince or a prisoner. *Bozero*, or *Baucio*, of *Cremona*, commanded in the castle of *Pavia*; and his first care was to shut up the gates, and to suffer none, without his knowledge, to enter the castle, or to depart out of it. This precaution was taken on account of the *Beccarii*, whose allegiance was a little doubtful; and the *Pavians*, who were devoted to *Philip*, being suspicious that he was doomed to his brother's fate, took arms, and demanded that *Philip* might be produced to them. He accordingly appeared on the walls with great expressions of his sense of their affection and loyalty, and assured them that he was perfectly safe, provided he was secure of their allegiance. But though *Philip* was thus safe, yet he was destitute of every thing, particularly money, that was befitting so great a prince. *Facino* was excessively rich, especially in ready money, and had left all the fortune he could dispose of to his wife *Beatrix*, with a view, as some suppose not improbably, of her marrying *Philip*. The archbishop and *Baucio* consulted together, and proposed the match to *Philip*, who readily agreed to it; and the consent of the *Beccarii* was likewise obtained, they thinking that they would

^a BILLIUS, ubi supra, p. 36.

(C) *Paul Jovius*, p. 180, says, that the conspirators in number were about thirty.

(D) According to *Paul Jovius*, he was assassinated by the two brothers *Borfi*, on the 16th of May, as he was proceeding to *St. Godard's* church.

(E) *Billius* ubi supra. But this perhaps was only a compliment to his dignity; for *Paul Jovius* takes no notice of it, nor is it easy to conceive, that any good quality could exist in so young a monster.

a have the chief management under their former mistress *Beatrice*; but she knew them too well to trust them. *Philip*, at this time, was scarcely twenty years of age, and she was about thirty-eight, but possessed of all the remains of her husband's authority, as well as wealth. *Facino's* officers and soldiers were entirely devoted to her, as were the inhabitants of *Vercelli*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria*, and the garrisons of almost all the neighbouring castles; so that all parties in *Pavia* being agreed, the marriage was celebrated with a general approbation.

b THE next care of *Philip* and his party in *Pavia*, was to relieve *Vicenzo*, who still held out the castle of *Milan*, by assuring him of a speedy assistance from *Philip* in person. *Hector*, and the *Visconti* faction, had been far from seeing or suspecting this sudden alteration in favour of *Philip*; and it disconcerted all their measures. The reputation of *Philip* gained such ground, that each vied with another to be the foremost to join him. All the diffidence of the *Visconti* and their friends was now with regard to the mercenaries who had served under *Facino*, and who, having been indebted to him, sought to better their circumstances by going over to the *Visconti*. This defection, however, was soon remedied, by the representations of *Sicco* of *Padua*, who put them in mind, that they had sworn to be faithful not only to *Facino*, but to *Beatrice* likewise. He therefore persuaded them to wait the result of a letter from *Beatrice*, or her husband. A letter accordingly arrived from *Pavia*, remitting all the debts that had been due to *Facino* and his wife; and it was explained to them, that *Philip* was now the sole lord and master of the *Milanese*. Those representations had the intended effect, and the revolvers were brought back to their duty, though not without receiving large gratuities, in earnest of their future fidelity.

c NOTHING was now wanting to *Philip's* success. His wife had brought him in ready money a dowry of about four hundred thousand pounds, an immense sum at that time: his army was in excellent order, and commanded by *Carmagnola*, and one of the *Beccarii*, while *Vicenzo* continued gallantly to defend the castle of *Milan*. On the other hand, *Hector* and his friends had been obliged to have recourse to cruel oppressive methods for raising money to carry on the siege; but they were unsuccessful. *Philip* advanced to the *Comense* gate, where an encounter happened between him and *Hector*, in which the latter was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Mosca*. *Philip*, upon this, entered the castle without farther resistance, and the first thing he did, was to proclaim pardon to all but those who had been concerned in his brother's death. *Andrew Bagio*, and *Francis Maine*, were accordingly judicially sentenced, and put to death for the same. This well-timed moderation won the hearts of the *Milanese*, and *Philip* was joyfully acclaimed duke of *Milan*.

d HAVING settled every thing in that castle and city, he proceeded to *Mosca*, which *Hector* had taken possession of, and besieged it. In this siege *Carmagnola* eminently distinguished himself. The siege was furiously pressed, and the place was bravely defended, till *Philip* bringing up his machines, drove *Hector* into the castle, where, being mortally wounded in the leg by a stone, he died in three days. He was a young man of great spirit and courage, and in his noble appearance, being above the common size, he resembled his father *Bar-nabo*. After *Mosca* and its castle were reduced, *Philip* proceeded to *Canturi*, from whence *John Visconti* removed to *Naples*, and the place was immediately surrendered to *Philip*. *Rusca*, a young nobleman of great accomplishments, was then master of *Como*, but he surrendered it to *Philip*, without making any terms for himself, as being only a kind of trustee, for which *Philip* rewarded him with several noble possessions. In the mean while the people of *Lodi*, and the neighbouring states, entered into treaty with *Philip*; but *John*, who was in possession of *Lodi*, refused to give it up, and ordered his son to defend it to the last. *Philip*, upon this, carried *John* prisoner from *Milan* to *Lodi*, where he shewed him in chains to his son, to whom he offered not only pardon, but a reward, if he agreed to give up the place. The young man hesitated upon this, and expostulated upon the iniquity of his father's imprisonment. But *Philip's* soldiers, in the mean time, stormed the place, and carried both father and son prisoners to *Milan*, where they were executed.

f PHILIP was equally fortunate against the other petty tyrants, who had dismembered the estates of his family. He took *Burgamo* and *Brescia* from *Pandolfo Malatesta*, and made *Gabrino Funduli*, the cruel tyrant of *Cremona*, his prisoner. There was something shocking in the manner of this man's death. Being carried to the scaffold where he was to suffer, he was exhorted to lay his head upon the block, and to undergo death with resignation and meekness; but instead of that, looking on the friars who assisted at his execution with a furious air, he bid them trouble him no more with impertinent exhortations; adding, that he had been villainously betrayed by *Philip*, and that he repented of nothing so much, as that he had not thrown both the emperor and the pope, who came to visit him at the same time, from the top of his lofty tower at *Cremona*.

g It would be too tedious to particularize all the successes of *Philip* in the *Milanese*. It is sufficient to say, that having subdued all opposition there, he applied himself to regulate his

His great suc-
cesses against
the states of
Italy.

his court and army. He had of household troops eight thousand horse and foot, and of a his other subjects, drawn from different parts of his dominions, above twelve thousand, all of them the best soldiers in *Italy*. Besides *Carmagnola*, he had engaged in his service the famous *Nicholas Picinino*, and several others of the most famous generals then in *Italy*, by whom his army was excellently well disciplined. The troops I have mentioned were all quartered about *Milan*, and he had above twenty thousand more in other parts of his dominions. Their commander in chief was *Carmagnola*, who was at the same time *Philip's* first minister, and married to one of his kinswomen; and all his inferior posts, both civil and military, were well supplied with able officers and ministers.

and against
Genoa.

At this time the *Venetians* held *Verona*, the *Florentines* *Pisa*, and the pope *Bologna*, all which cities and states had once belonged to *Philip's* father, and he resolved to retake them. b The reader, in the former parts of this work, will meet with the history of the progress of his arms; so that we need but touch upon a few particulars that have not been yet related. *Placentia* had been surpris'd by *Philip Arsellani* for *Philip*, by which the emperor *Sigismund*, who had designed to give it to the marquis of *Montferrat*, was disappointed. *Arsellani*, for that service, came into great favour with *Philip*; but perceiving, in a short time, that *Carmagnola* had the sole ascendancy both in the court and the army, he was so stung with emulation and jealousy, that he threw off his dependence with *Philip*, and governed in his own name. *Philip*, upon this, ordered *Carmagnola* to march with an army against *Placentia*, which he willingly did. In the mean while, *Arsellani*, and *Pandolfo Malatesta*, entered into a confederacy together, in which they were joined by *Fulgofo*, the doge of *Genoa*, and his c five brethren, who had driven all the opposite party out of that city. The exiles were befriended by *Philip*, who assisted them with part of his horse. About the same time the *Beccarii* again rebelled, and *Castellino Beccari* falling into *Philip's* hands, was put to death. His brother *Lancelot* entered into a league with one of the *Facino* family; and the former attacked *Tortona*, and the other *Alessandria*; while *Carmagnola* drove *Arsellani* out of *Placentia*, but was unable to take the citadel. *Lancelot Beccari* was besieged and taken in *Seravalla*; and being carried prisoner to *Pavia*, he was there executed on a gibbet. Thus all who had an actual concern in the death of *Philip's* mother or brother, came to condign punishment. *Philip* after that took *Gavi*, and thereby opened a road for himself into the *Genoese* dominions. *Carmagnola*, upon this, left the siege of the castle of *Placentia*, and d went to put himself at the head of the *Genoese* exiles; so that *Pandolfo Malatesta* was at liberty to join *Arsellani* in the citadel of *Placentia*. *Philip* hearing this, and that the city was likely to fall into the hands of *Malatesta*, sent a squadron of ships to carry off the inhabitants under *George Valsperg*, who transported them to *Pavia*, *Lodi*, and other places; and *Placentia* accordingly fell into *Pandolfo's* hands, but without any inhabitants. This occasioned a debate whether they ought not to burn the city; but it was spared.

A. D. 1421.
He reduces
Placentia.

CARMAGNOLA was all this time pressing the *Genoese*, and had even driven them within the walls of their city, by attacking them on the western *Riviera*, while *Guido Torelli* kept them blocked up in another quarter. The *Arsellani*, and their confederates, endeavoured to relieve the *Genoese*, and advanced through the straits of the mountains; but being e ignorant of the ways, they were shut up by the *Genoese* mountaineers, and all of them were either killed or made prisoners; but afterwards the survivors were dismissed, excepting a few of the *Arsellani* and the *Malatesta* family, who were detained as pledges for the rendition of *Placentia*. *Fulgofo*, hearing of this disaster, offered to capitulate with *Philip*, who understanding that *Malatesta* was still powerful, entered into a negotiation with him. The *Arsellani*, however, and the other prisoners, still refused to deliver up *Placentia*, which cost the unhappy youths their lives, being executed on gibbets in sight of their relations. This barbarity was thought to be owing to the personal resentment of *Carmagnola* against the *Arsellani* and the *Malatesti*, and gave *Philip* great disquiet, though from his natural diffimulation he concealed it. One of the youths was much regretted by all *Italy*, on account of f his excellent endowments and fine person. His mother beheld his execution from a window of the castle of *Placentia*, and was almost frantic with grief, pouring out the most bitter curses against her husband, for his obstinacy and rebellion. The father, stung with remorse, and finding the castle to be untenable, abandoned it next day, and fled to *Treviso*, in the *Venetian* territories, where he died a miserable exile. He is allowed to have been a man of great parts and courage, but was ruined by ambition. It was thought that *Philip* intended, if he had surrendered *Placentia*, to have substituted him in the place of *Carmagnola*, who was now declining in his favour.

THE surrender of the castle of *Placentia* was followed by the submission of *Borgo di San Domino*, which was held by *Orlando Pallavicini*; and most of the noble families in the *Parmesan* declared themselves *Gibelins*, and chose *Philip* either for their master or protector; so that it was with difficulty that *Nicholas of Ferrara* prevented the city of *Parma* itself from following their example. This revolution was brought about by a most singular mixture of g

of

a of justice, treachery, and barbarity, and requires to be particularly related. *Facino* had driven *Otto*, who is called *Otto III.* and who pretended to be duke of *Parma*, out of *Milan*; upon which he returned to *Parma*, where he fell, in the most inhuman manner, upon the *Gibelins*, and all whom he looked upon to be his enemies. His spite was more particularly levelled against the family of *Rubeis*, and he ordered all of them that could be found to be massacred, not excepting children in the cradle, whose brains he dashed out with his own hands against the wall. He then intended to butcher the *Pallavicini* in the same manner, and had laid siege to *Borgo di San Domino*; but the inhabitants standing to their defence, he marched to *Reggio*, then in possession of the house of *Este*, and took it. As *Otto* had no money by which he could subsist his army, he was obliged to do it by plunder, which made him formidable almost equally to friends as foes. The famous *Sforza* the elder was at the same time a soldier of fortune in *Italy*; and the marquis of *Este* applied to him for assistance, which he readily granted, with the consent of the *Florentines* his masters.

OTTO was very powerful in cavalry, having been joined by above four thousand horse; who chose to live upon plunder rather than pay, and therefore he endeavoured to intercept *Sforza* in his march out of *Tuscany*. For that purpose he attempted to surprise *Modena*; but was repulsed after a sharp conflict, and *Sforza* effected his junction with the marquis of *Este's* army. *Sforza* then marched to *Rubiera*, every day producing new skirmishes between him and *Otto*^a. At last, according to *Sforza's* historians, though the matter is not mentioned by others, *Sforza*, in endeavouring to surprise a convoy, defeated *Otto*, and took him prisoner; but being unable to detain him, *Otto* escaped out of his hands, and in his turn made some of *Sforza's* principal officers prisoners, amongst whom was *Attendula*, a near relation to *Sforza*, all whom he treated with the greatest inhumanity. They escaped from his hands with great difficulty; and *Otto*, after continuing the war for some time, perceiving that the marquis and *Sforza*, in conjunction, over-matched him, pretended a great desire to enter into a negotiation. According to the authority last quoted, *Otto's* view was to separate the marquis from *Sforza*; in which case, he was in hopes they must both of them, in the end, fall his prey. His design was discovered to the marquis by the officer who was sent to appoint the interview; and the marquis dissembling, agreed that it should be at a little cell near *Modena*. In the mean while *Sforza* concealed himself in the neighbourhood with a chosen body of friends, and the marquis refusing to appear, *Otto* was attacked, and killed by the hand of *Attendula*, without almost any resistance; he being so much hated, that a woman, whose husband he had put to death, plucked the heart out of his body, and eat part of it.

THE death of *Otto* was a fortunate event for *Philip*. His army immediately separated, some of them taking service under him, and some of them under the marquis of *Ferrara*; and though *Otto* left a young son, whose title was for some time recognized by the *Parmensans*, his party was quickly driven out, and the marquis was received as lord of *Parma*, where he governed for several years; till he, in his turn, was expelled by *Philip*, who maintained himself in the government to the day of his death. He would likewise have reduced *Reggio*, had not the *Venetians* interposed. He then marched to the *Bergamasco* against *Pandolfo Malatesta*, who was but ill provided for a defence, because his communication was cut off from *Milan*. Most of the forts, therefore, in that country, fell into his hands one by one; and *Malatesta* was obliged to call in to his assistance *Nicholas* of *Faenza*, the *Venetian* general, who could do no more than guard the strong passes, and garrison the forts.

ABOUT this time *Martin V.* was chosen pope at the council of *Constance*, and arriving in the *Milanese*, he met with a most magnificent reception from *Philip*, and reconsecrated the great church, that had been contaminated by interdicts. The war still continuing between *Philip* and *Pandolfo Malatesta*, a compromise was now entered into on both sides, chiefly with a view of facilitating *Philip's* conquest of *Florence*. This accommodation is said to have been effected by the mediation of pope *Martin*, which made him no welcome guest at *Florence*, to which city he repaired after he left *Milan*. *Philip* agreed to take *Malatesta's* troops into his pay, and to give him an annual subsidy, on condition that, upon *Malatesta's* death, the possession of *Brescia* should revert to *Philip*.

WE are now come to an incident in *Philip's* life, that represents him in a very different light from that in which we have hitherto considered him. The death of a mother and a brother, and the dismemberment of so many cities and states, justified some severity against the authors; but his behaviour to his wife was barbarous, ungrateful, and wicked, to the last degree. We have already taken notice of the disproportion there was between their ages, which had disgusted *Philip* so much, that he had abstained from her bed. It does not

The death of
Otto of Parma.

^a LEONARDUS CRIBELLIUS de vita Sfortis, apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 644.

*Tragical death
of the duchess
of Milan.*

appear that the lady resented this provocation in any indecent, or indeed passionate manner; and she had even submitted to serve him in the most menial offices. Unfortunately for her, she entertained as an attendant one *Orombelli*, a young man accomplished in the arts of music, dancing, and the other embellishments that are most acceptable at a court. *Philip*, considering her life as an obstacle to his pleasure, accused her of criminal conversation with this youth; and though nothing could be worse founded than the charge, certain enchanted utensils were pretended to be found under her bed. Upon this villainous pretext the duchess was seized, and confined prisoner in the castle of *Binasco*. The youth was imprisoned at the same time; and, according to common report, both of them were put to the torture. Whatever might be in this, it is certain that he was tortured; and unable to withstand the force of the pain, he confessed the criminality, for which both of them were condemned to death, after being confronted with each other. On this occasion the duchess shewed an invincible constancy. She reproached *Orombelli* with his weakness, in yielding to tortures to confess a falsehood, and, in the most solemn and affecting manner, she called God to witness for her innocence; only she implored his pardon for having yielded to the archbishop of *Milan*, in persuading her to so unequal a match. She declared, she never had resented the duke's abstaining from her bed; and she mentioned the great fortune and acquisitions she had brought *Philip*; concluding, that she the less regretted her death, because she had preserved her innocence.

HAVING finished the pathetic declaration, *Orombelli* was put to death before her eyes, and she followed him with the most heroic constancy. By the accounts of all historians, she was a woman of a very exalted character, and no reproach remains upon her memory, but the inequality of her match with *Philip*. The young man was so perfectly conscious of his own innocence, that he might have escaped when she was made prisoner; but instead of that, he came as usual to court, and declared he knew nothing of the matter, though his friends told him of his danger. Soon after the execution of the duchess, the duke brought to his court a young *Milanese* lady, whom he had ravished some time before. As to the duchess, her unjust death was thought to be partly owing to the vindictive temper of *Philip*, who resented her having been the wife of *Facino*, and the partner of his victories.

*Philip becomes
master of Ge-
noa.*

PHILIP by this time had become master of *Genoa*, in the manner related in the history of that city; and to his other generals, he had added *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, who was known by the name of *Tartalia*. After that, his great aim was to subdue *Florence*, which he endeavoured to do in the manner described in the history of that city; after reducing *Imola*, and a number of other places in the *Romagna*. But though it must be acknowledged, that all *Philip's* schemes and operations, both in peace and war, were conducted with the utmost judgment, yet it is certain that he was apt to carry his refinements too far. He had too deep a distrust of mankind to render his generals and statesmen so useful as they might have been in his service. But that was not the only misfortune he lay under. Though he had the best generals at that time in *Italy* in his service, yet they were all of them mercenaries or foreigners, and it was their interest to protract the war; so that he could never do any thing decisive; and the indetermined state of his affairs often involved him in unforeseen difficulties. Though he had again and again defeated the *Florentines*, and even reduced them to the lowest ebb; and though he had been prosperous in almost all his undertakings, yet fresh wars started up against him on all hands; and at last, when the *Florentines* seemed to be upon the brink of perdition by a new league, in which *Philip* included the *Genoese* (though they were in fact his subjects) and the *Siennese*, they found means to counter-balance it by another league with the *Venetians*, which was favoured by the pope, and saved *Florence*. *Philip's* suspicious temper was, in other respects, of infinite prejudice to him. The particulars of the wars he carried on by *Sforza*, *Braccio*, *Piccinino*, and his other generals, are to be found in the history of *Florence*, and other parts of this work. As his years increased, so did his distrust of mankind, which sometimes proceeded to the most shocking cruelties; and his growing love of pleasure led him at last to sequester himself, in a great measure, from the world, and to shut himself up with the instruments of his lewdness, which some historians say were of an infamous nature. By this time, he abandoned the care of his affairs to those who had neither honesty nor capacity to manage them. Besides all the above considerations, *Philip* was now become sordidly covetous.

*He is deserted
by Carmagno-
la.*

THE main instrument of *Philip's* greatness hitherto had been *Carmagnola*, who, we may say, was the only man of virtue about his court. He had lately conducted a war against the pope and the *Neapolitans* (upon whose crown *Philip* had an eye) with great abilities; but his command being given to *Torelli* by *Philip*, he came in some passion to *Milan*, where he loudly complained of his treatment. *Philip* being beset with flatterers, conceived a deep prepossession against *Carmagnola*, who was not of a temper to remove it by patience and obsequiousness. He was still governor of *Genoa* under *Philip*, who demanded him to

retrench

- a retrench the expence of his government; upon which *Carmagnola* applied for a dismissal from his service. The duke was, at this time, at one of his country-seats; and *Carmagnola*, who had received no express answer, repaired to it with a few attendants; but was denied admittance to *Philip's* person, being desired to apply for audience to *Henrico*, *Philip's* great minion, and *Carmagnola's* principal enemy. *Carmagnola* insisted again and again to see the duke; but was at last flatly refused admittance. Upon this, perceiving *Philip* in a window at a distance, he loudly upbraided him with his services, and the ingratitude with which he was repaid. He rode off, but was pursued by *Lampugnani*, another of *Philip's* favourites, who endeavoured to intercept his retreat; but failed, through cowardice, in his attempt. *Carmagnola* therefore continued his journey, and reached the dominions of the duke of *Savoy*, who received him in person with all the distinctions due to his great name and merits, being himself born a subject of *Savoy*. Having related the injuries he had received at the court of *Philip*, whom he represented as being intirely immersed in pleasures, and equally weak and vicious; the duke upon this proposed to *Carmagnola*, that he should be general of the confederacy that had been lately formed between the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, in which himself was a party. *Carmagnola* agreed to the proposal, and being invited to *Venice*, he there received the command of the sea and land forces of both republics.

- It is remarkable, that notwithstanding *Philip's* voluptuous retirement, he had employed spies, who traced every step *Carmagnola* went, though he travelled incognito, for fear of the *Swisses*, from the duke of *Savoy's* territories to those of *Venice*, and was informed of every design he laid down. Perceiving that had irretrievably lost his service, he confiscated to his own use all *Carmagnola's* estate, effects, and money, besides his annual revenues, which amounted to above forty thousand crowns of gold. This defection of *Carmagnola* turned the scale of *Philip's* fortunes, which ever after that declined. At this juncture, *Gabrinio Funduli* was living very peaceably at *Castiglione*, near *Cremona*. *Philip* suspected that he was a friend to the *Venetians*, and that he would betray *Cremona* to them; at the same time he knew his versatility, and that he was one of the most artful men of that age. *Oldrati*, brother-in-law to *Gabrinio*, undertook to have a watchful eye over him, and went with a few attendants to *Cremona*, where he pretended that his horse was pricked with a nail in his foot, and sent to *Castello* for a farrier. *Gabrinio* invited him to his house; but *Oldrati*, pretending he could not proceed farther, *Gabrinio* went out to meet him, and was seized by *Oldrati*, who, at the same time, found means to enter *Castello*, where he was made prisoner, together with his two sons, and sent to *Pavia*, where all of them were executed; and thus an immense booty, which was found in *Castello*, fell to *Philip*.

- OLDRATI* after this was sent with a magnificent equipage to *Venice*, in order to negotiate a peace with that republic. *Foscari* was then doge of *Venice*, and was entirely in the interest of the *Florentines*, whose affairs were managed by *Rodolfo*, an able minister, who defeated *Oldrati* in all his applications. By this time *Philip* had lost *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; but having got the younger *Picinino* into his service, soon recovered his affairs; but was afterwards himself defeated at *Anghiera*. After this loss, *Philip* was obliged to retreat to *Cremona*; and his affairs, by this time, had fallen into such disorder, that he had no recourse but that of applying to *Sforza*, who, next to *Carmagnola*, was then the most successful general in *Italy*. For this purpose he employed *Nicholas de Este*, who remonstrated to *Sforza* the danger which both he and the inferior states of *Italy* must be exposed to if the *Florentines* and *Venetians* should prevail. *Sforza* knew the truth of all this; and *Philip* had, for some time before, tempted him with an offer of his natural daughter in marriage, and of leaving him all the *Milanese*. *Sforza*, in answer to *de Este's* representations, said, he had been so long amused by *Philip* with that proposal of marriage, that he could not trust him. He advised *Philip*, however, before he gave any definitive answer, to endeavour to make up matters with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*.

- According to all accounts, *Sforza* was in love with the lady who was proposed to him for his bride, and would have readily agreed to the overture of marriage, had he not been convinced that *Philip* made use of it as a bait to draw him into his terms, and then to deceive him. But, in fact, another obstacle stood in the way; for *Sforza*, as the lady was a bastard, could have very little dependence upon the succession continuing in his family. It is certain, however, that *Sforza* was inclined to close with the proposal, provided he could do it consistently with his honour to the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, in whose service he then was.

- In the mean while, *Carmagnola* continued still at the head of the *Venetian* army; and *Philip* was so jealous of his abilities, that he had found instruments to administer poison to him; of which, however, he recovered, and carried on the war so briskly, that *Philip*, being

being now broken both in mind and fortune, declared that he was resolved, at all events, to conclude a peace. *Milan* was, at this time, immensely rich, by the former successes of *Philip*; and the inhabitants were afraid of falling under the power of the pope, the *Venetians*, or the *Florentines*, and offered, if their duke would give them leave, to carry on the war at their own expence, without any assistance from him. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, he had still on foot a noble army; and his subjects, seeing he was now wholly immersed in pleasure and indolence, requested him to lay aside all thoughts of war and business, and trust to them for success, being resolved to live and die under the *Visconti* family. As a proof of their loyalty, they offered to maintain for him ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot, without any other consideration than that of having the benefit of the revenues of the city of *Milan* itself, without the intervention of any of his blood-sucking courtiers. But they agreed to leave him in full possession of all the rest of his dominions and their revenues.

rejected.

This proposal was strenuously opposed by *Philip's* courtiers, who represented to him the disgrace of suffering his dukedom to fall under a republican administration. Those arguments prevailed. *Philip* refused to admit the deputies into his presence, but referred them to *Hericio*; and thus the proposal was dropt. Notwithstanding that, *Philip* resolved to avail himself so far of their offer, as to oblige them to furnish all the expences of the war, and to carry it on at their charge. He, therefore, ransomed all the soldiers that had been taken at the battle of *Anghiera*, broke off all conferences for peace with the *Venetians*, and the war was recommenced.

New wars
break out in
Italy.

PHILIP being still rich in ready money, soon got together a greater army than ever. During the conferences for peace, the *Venetians* had thought proper to dismiss some of their soldiers; and they all entered into *Philip's* pay. The extraordinary encouragement he gave them exasperated the *Venetians*; and they called upon their allies for the performance of their engagements. These were, the *Florentines*, the duke of *Savoy*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was promised to be put in possession of *Alessandria*, as soon as it could be conquered, and the *Genoese* exiles, who were in hopes of returning to their city. *Philip*, on the other hand, made head against this powerful confederacy both by land and water. He recalled *Picinino* from *Bologna*, and marched a strong army into the *Bressan*, where, at first, his success was so rapid, that it promised to reinstate him in *Brescia*, and all its dependencies. It happened fortunately for *Philip*, that *Sforza* the *Venetian* general, at this time, had still a desire to the match with *Philip's* daughter; and though he had too much honour to betray his masters, yet he certainly did not act so decisively as he might have done, had he been free from that passion. The reader, in the history of *Florence*, will see all the turns which this war took. The life of *Philip* was the most miserable that can be supposed; for he was in perpetual suspense. He was passionately fond of quiet, but not of peace, all his aim being to keep war and disturbance from his own person. He never negotiated but with a design to over-reach others; and he imagined that all mankind were in a confederacy against himself. Thus his days were one continued chequer of fighting and treating. One day his affairs appeared to be irretrievable, and the next he was victorious in every quarter. He made the greatest sacrifices for tranquility of any prince in his time, and broke it upon the most frivolous occasions. He was by nature the most interested man alive; and yet none was ever known to do more magnanimous generous actions. This was proved in his treatment of *Alphonso* of *Aragon*. That prince had laid claim to the crown of *Naples*, in opposition to *Regier* of *Anjou*. *Gaeta* being then besieged by *Alphonso*, *Philip*, who, as we have already hinted, had himself an eye to the crown of *Naples*, ordered the *Genoese* to fit out a fleet for its relief. According to some authors, who perhaps refine too much upon *Philip's* history, he was at that time jealous of the *Genoese*, and obliged them to fit out that fleet in hopes that it would be destroyed by *Alphonso*. They even go so far as to pretend, that there was a secret correspondence between him and *Alphonso* for that purpose. Be that as it will, though it is extremely improbable, it is certain that *Alphonso* was apprised of the approach of the *Genoese* fleet, went out and engaged it, was defeated, and he himself, with two of his brothers, were made prisoners; as were many of his chief nobility and followers. Every one gave up *Alphonso* as being now utterly ruined; and he was carried from *Genoa* to *Milan*, where he was nobly received and entertained by *Philip*, who dismissed him and all his friends without ransom. But this generosity was attributed to interested motives; and the *Genoese*, not imagining that it was possible for *Philip* to perform any virtuous action, but with wicked views, resolved to revolt from him. They were the more ripe for this, as *Philip* had behaved with great haughtiness towards them; and tho' he knew they hated *Alphonso* worse than they did any man in the world, he compelled them to fit out a new squadron, which carried *Alphonso* to *Milan*, rather as a conqueror than a captive. *Philip* trembled at the apprehensions of the revolt of the *Genoese*; and to appease

Generosity of
Philip towards
Alphonso,
whom he takes
prisoner.

a appease them, he pretended that he had given *Alphonso* his liberty, only on condition that he should deliver up *Corfica* to their republic. This pretext amused the *Genoese*, till they saw two thousand fresh troops, sent by *Philip*, arrive in their city; and then their conspiracy broke out all at once.

THEY were headed by one of their own number, *Francis Spinola*, who had acquired a reputation in war. They killed *Philip's* governor, and obliged his garrison to surrender. The next care of the conspirators was to new-model the constitution of their city, which they did by chusing eight persons, who had the government in the mean time, till it could return to its former channel. *Philip*, in hopes to prevent the consequences of this revolt, ordered *Picinino* his general to march against the city, while the insurgents besieged and b took the citadel; so that *Picinino* could do nothing effectual against the city, and was obliged to march to the *Western Riviera*, where he besieged *Albenga*, which was relieved by *Fulgoso*, who again got the government of *Genoa*; and recovered several towns belonging to their dominions. Next year *Fulgoso* renewed his league with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*; and the intestine divisions of *Genoa* reviving, *Philip* applied to *Baptist Fulgoso*, brother to the doge; and, by making him great promises, engaged him in a party for raising himself to the dogeship; but in this he failed, and was taken prisoner. He was, however, pardoned by his brother, and sent with seven galleys to assist the duke of *Anjou*, in making good his claim upon the crown of *Naples*. The progress and particulars of that war, is to be found in our history of *Genoa*. All that regards *Philip* is, that *Fulgoso* c was in his turn expelled by *Flisco*, a new competitor for that government; and *Peter Fulgoso* put himself under the protection of *Philip*, who gave him *Novi*, which enabled him to make great depredations upon the *Genoese*. But *Philip* himself, during all his life-time, never regained his footing in *Genoa*. A. D. 1437.

His affairs in other parts of *Lombardy* were, however, in a prosperous condition. His generals defeated the *Venetians* under *Carmagnola*; and it is said, that he had so much interest even in *Venice*, as to make a party against that general, who had behaved against him with vast rancour, and had been the chief obstacle of all his schemes. *Carmagnola* had in his composition violent resentments and great haughtiness, and was proud of having more than once humbled *Philip*, and forced him to accept law from *Venice*; but upon d the loss of a battle, his death had been resolved on by that senate, for many months before it happened: so that *Carmagnola* knew nothing of what was intended against him, and was living familiarly with the doge, and those who had pronounced his sentence, when all of a sudden he was arrested; and a few hours after, undergoing the torture, his head was struck off. As to his crimes, they do not clearly appear. The pretext for putting him to death, was his entering into a secret correspondence with the enemies of *Venice*; an allegation that never was proved.

PHILIP, ever since the death of his first wife *Beatrix*, had continued a widower. But his minions and flatterers, perceiving his health, through his vices, to be on the decline, became now importunate with him to marry; and the archbishop of *Milan* undertook to e make a match between him and the daughter of *Amadeo* duke of *Savoy*. *Philip* at first was averse to the proposal; but his creatures being in hopes, in case of a minority, to obtain the government for themselves, applied not only to his friends and relations, but to the neighbouring princes, who all of them joined in their solicitations for the same purpose. *Philip*, however, would have continued deaf to all their remonstrances, had they not engaged in their party one *Stephen*, a reputed astrologer, whose prognostications by the stars were held sacred by *Philip*, who was then at his retreat of *Abbiati*. *Stephen* no sooner pronounced the stars to have a favourable aspect, than he agreed that the lady should be sent for. Her friends, afraid of his fickle fantastical temper, had already brought her to *Rebecca*, which lies within three miles of *Abbiati*, where she was attended f by her brother and a noble train of *Savoyards*. The ceremonial of the meeting being settled, the bride appeared mounted on a palfrey behind her brother, and *Philip* met her on horseback likewise, on a certain spot in the fields, that had been marked out for their first interview. The compliments that passed between them were few; and *Philip*, after producing a ring, espoused her and mounted her behind himself, took leave of her attendants, and returned to *Abbiati* to consummate the marriage. He was so well pleased with his bride, that he ordered vast rejoicings to be made on account of the marriage, and not only refused to receive any thing with her in dowry, but even relinquished to her brother the duke, the quiet possession of *Vercelli*; a generosity which was owing, perhaps, not more to love than to policy, as he thereby made *Amadeo* his friend.

g PHILIP, after his marriage, had a short respite from war; but he was soon obliged to march his troops against the inhabitants of the *Appennines*, the *Placentine* rebels, and some other free-booters in those parts. There is reason to believe, that *Philip* had no motive for this expedition, but revenge for those people having shewn dispositions to take

Other wars
break out.

A.D. 1441.

Sforza mar-
ries Philip's
natural
daughter.

part with the *Venetians* in the late war; and all mention of them having been omitted in the pacification, *Philip* pretended that he had a right to treat them as robbers and traitors; and he proceeded accordingly, by hanging such of them as fell into his hands. The rest of *Philip's* life and actions, which have not been recounted in the preceding parts of this history, were perfectly detestable. *Sforza*, notwithstanding his passion for *Philip's* daughter, knew him too well to press the celebration of the nuptials; though *Philip* himself had again and again offered to conclude it; but at last a meer accident brought it about. The *Venetians* were ever intent on their own interests, without regarding those of their confederates, and that made them withdraw their confidence from *Sforza*, whom they would not trust, but could not discharge. The palm of war was, at this time, divided so equally between him and *Picinino*, that it was hard to say which had the best right to wear it, though the advantage of magnanimity, generosity, and the other civil virtues, lay on *Sforza's* side. Add to this, that he had at his devotion a body of troops, the best disciplined of any then in *Italy*; and they were always ready to follow him, without making any questions whatever party he took. Being extremely careful of his honour, he served every state and master who paid him, with great fidelity, as he considered that the want of success, in their eyes, was the want of merit. He was therefore the more vexed, that the *Venetians* did not enable him to carry on the war in *Lombardy*, with the same vigour as before, and went to *Venice*, where he cleared himself of all suspicions so effectually, that the *Venetians* ordered their troops to withdraw from *Tuscany* to join him. But before that could be effected, *Picinino*, who was well supported by *Philip*, had obtained so many advantages in the field, that there was a probability that *Sforza* and his army must surrender prisoners of war. *Picinino*, who had nothing to depend upon for his subsistence but his sword, thought himself so sure of that, that having made his dispositions, he sent to demand of *Philip* the city and territory of *Piacenza*, because, as he said, he was not master of so much earth as would bury him. *Philip* no sooner received this message, than, either out of caprice or policy, but most probably the former, he resolved to purchase peace at any rate. He accordingly sent *Antony Fortona* to *Sforza*, to make an end of all difficulties, and to conclude the marriage without farther delay. The interest of the *Venetians*, *Sforza's* masters, was not forgot; for *Philip* gave up to them all his claims upon the *Bressan* and the *Bergamese*, with other cities and forts that had been conquered from him; and matters were made up at the same time with the *Florentines*. As to *Sforza*, he obtained the lady in marriage, and with her the city of *Cremona*. According to some authors, this peace was mediated by *Sforza* alone; but others say, that *Philip* dispatched a messenger to sound the dispositions of the *Venetian* senate, who were as desirous of it as himself; for he obtained *Martinengo*, and all the forts and places upon the *Ghiaradadda*; and the claims of the *Gonzaga* family upon the *Mantuan*, were settled at the same time.

THIS peace, which in itself was equitable, pleased all *Italy*, excepting the pope and *Picinino*. The nuncio of the former, when it was concluded, left *Venice* in a rage, breathing fury against the contracting parties, for having, he said, betrayed the interests of the church. As to *Picinino*, *Philip* (A), the moment the articles were agreed upon, sent him a peremptory order to make a truce with *Sforza* for a year. This command came upon him like a thunder-bolt. He refused to obey it, till *Philip* gave him to understand, that, if he did not comply, he would give him up to his enemies, from whom he knew he could expect no quarter; upon which *Picinino* was, with the utmost reluctance, forced to submit. The marriage between *Sforza* and *Philip's* daughter, was celebrated at *Cremona*. According to *Paul Jovius*, *Philip* was long in suspense, whether to give the preference of his succession to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, or to *Sforza*. The former was befriended in his councils by *Brocard Passico* and *Francis Landriani*; and the latter by *Andrew Birago* and *Peter Pusterla*. The matter remained long doubtful; but *Philip's* affection for his daughter prevailed in *Sforza's* favour, though, as we shall have occasion to observe, he retained still a strong inclination for *Alphonso*.

THOUGH *Philip* had every motive, both of interest and inclination, to cherish the peace he had just obtained; yet it scarcely was concluded, when, by his own impatience and suspicious temper, it was disturbed. *Alphonso*, the king of *Naples*, having got the advantage of his competitor *Regnier*, who held nothing in that kingdom but the capital, had seized *Benevento*, and other great possessions belonging to *Sforza*, that had been granted to his father for his services in that kingdom. *Sforza*, who, after the celebration

(A) Whatever historians in general may say, this peace seems not to have been so hastily concluded as they represent, and it was in fact owing to the secret jealousy which all parties had of the pope, as well as the resentment of *Philip* against *Picinino*. That it had

been for some time in agitation appears pretty plain, from the uncertainty of its date, some placing it in 1440, and some in 1441; whereas the truth is, the chief terms of it were concluded in the former year, but it was not ratified till the latter.

a of his marriage, had retired to *Venice*, immediately formed connexions in favour of *Regnier*, who was joined likewise by the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Genoese*; all of whom were jealous of *Alphonso's* power. He, on the other hand, had recourse to *Philip*, with whom he had so much reason to be satisfied; and *Philip*, having nothing to apprehend on the side of *Naples*, readily came into his views, and even persuaded his holiness to join against *Sforza*, most of whose estates had formerly belonged to the church. At the same time, *Philip* offered to send *Picinino*, who continued still in his service, to his assistance, which he actually did; and *Picinino* entering the marquisate of *Ancona*, stripped *Sforza* of almost all he possessed there. In the mean while, *Alphonso* drove his competitor *Regnier* out of *Naples*, and took that capital; while *Antony Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, the *Venetians*,
b and the *Florentines*, prepared to assist *Sforza*. *Philip*, according to the mysterious manner in which he conducted all his actions, seeing *Alphonso* in possession of the throne of *Naples*, was secretly glad of the confederacy that had been formed in favour of his son-in-law; but still proceeded in a way peculiar to himself. He would not give *Picinino* orders to return with his army to the *Milanese*, and agreed with *Alphonso* in suffering *Sforza* and the pope to fight it out between themselves. Though *Picinino's* army was paid by himself, yet he was afraid of the entire dependence they had upon their general; and thus *Picinino* had only himself, and the valour of his soldiers, to depend upon; while *Sforza*, receiving fresh reinforcements, defeated *Picinino*, and obliged him to take refuge in *Montecchio*. This reverse of fortune interested the pope and *Alphonso*, who were afraid of *Sforza's* progress, in favour of *Picinino*, whom they enabled to take the field with a stronger army than before, which turned the tide of war once more against *Sforza*. When *Picinino* was on the point of victory, *Philip*, under a plausible pretext, ordered *Picinino* to repair to *Milan*, which he did, leaving the command of his army to his son. *Sforza* laid hold of that opportunity to attack young *Picinino*, whom he entirely defeated, and took prisoner; and the father, perceiving that he had been deceived and abandoned by *Philip*, died of grief in the year 1445. *Sforza*, by his late victory, regained his estates in *Ancona*, and came to an accommodation with his holiness.

But continues in the Venetian service.

WE have already seen the revolution which, at this time, happened in the *Bolognese*, in which *Philip* had so great concern. Notwithstanding *Sforza's* late accommodation with the pope, he never had been able to prevail with *Philip* to give him the command of his army, who sent for *Ciarpellone*, a general officer who had deserted from the *Venetian* service, to succeed *Picinino*. *Ciarpellone* was then in *Sforza's* army; but upon his receiving *Philip's* order, he was arrested and put to death, though it does not clearly appear upon what pretext. We are informed, that *Philip*, before this, had given an estate to *Ciarpellone* in the *Milanese*. This outrage upon *Philip's* dignity, produced another war in *Ancona* and *Lombardy*. *Philip* was joined, in supporting *Gismond Malatesta* of *Rimini*, by the pope and the king of *Naples*; as was *Sforza* in stripping him of his estates, by the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*. *Philip*, upon the death of *Ciarpellone*, had given the command of his army to young *Picinino*, whom *Sforza* had set at liberty. But he was totally defeated at
c *Casal* by the *Venetians*, who pursued their advantages to the very heart of the *Milanese*, and the gates of that capital; while *Sforza* baffled two attempts formed by his father-in-law upon *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*. The successes of the *Venetians* produced a reconciliation between *Philip* and his son-in-law *Sforza*. Both of them were perfectly sensible that the *Venetians* aimed at becoming masters of the *Milanese*. The duke could immediately receive no assistance from his ally *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, who however promised to send it to him; and being now dispirited, blind, and neglected by his subjects, he found himself obliged, after all his fine-spun politics, to apply for relief to his son-in-law *Sforza*.

THE latter had a difficult game to manage. He was still commander in chief of the *Venetian* army, though his kinsman *Attendula*, an able and brave officer, was the acting
f general, and had entirely broken the power of *Philip's* army under *Picinino*, and therefore was extremely cautious in his answer to *Philip*. The *Venetians* were not insensible of the views of his father-in-law, and endeavoured to outbid him, by offering him a power over their armies, little inferior to that of a perpetual dictator. *Sforza's* indiction still continued; and the *Venetians* thought themselves, through their late successes, powerful enough to force him into their measures. They imprisoned an envoy he sent to their senate. They cancelled all the public acts they had passed in his favour; and at last they attempted to surprise *Cremona*, in which they failed. In the mean while, *Philip* had lost almost all his towns upon the *Adda*; and *Brandolino* erected the *Venetian* standard under the walls of *Milan*, inviting the inhabitants to shake off *Philip's* yoke, and to assert their liberty. It
g was now high time for *Sforza* to determine on the part he was to act; and his decision was in favour of his father-in-law. He accordingly set out to his relief; but when he was upon his march, he received accounts of *Philip's* death, which happened in August 1448, when he was sixty years of age, from a violent fever.

Philip's death and character.

PHILIP's character is one of the most difficult to draw of any in history. Though he is allowed, by all writers, to have been one of the best soldiers and completest statesmen of his age; yet distrust and superstition had weakened him to a degree of the lowest contempt with his friends, as well as his enemies. He naturally was expensive, magnificent, and voluptuous; yet he seldom enjoyed quiet, and more than once brought his dominions to the brink of ruin by his parsimony. *Paul Jovius*, who was the best acquainted with his character of any other writer, is of opinion, that the unexampled generosity he shewed to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, was the result of his own magnanimity; that he excelled all his ancestors in the splendor of living; that the magnificence of his hospitality was inexpressible; and other writers agree in celebrating the politeness of his address, and the sprightliness of his conversation: while all allow, that he bore the most mortifying reverses of fortune with the greatest calmness and intrepidity. The same authors who cloath him with this noble character, admit that he was naturally so timid, that he trembled at hearing a small clap of thunder; and that on such occasions he fled like one distracted to dark subterraneous recesses. When at home he generally lived in a small closet that could receive but very little company. The access to his person was very difficult. He commonly managed his business at second hand, and shewed great aversion to company. In the latter part of his life, he pretended that his eye-sight had failed him, and that he could not discern one person from another; while those who were better acquainted with him, thought that this defect proceeded only from affectation and distrust; and that the frequent use he made of interpreters and monitors proceeded from dissimulation. He took great delight in reading history; and, according to *Paul Jovius*, who lived near the time, he used a spying or magnifying-glass^a, to look at the young men belonging to his court, as they were playing at tennis, or exercising themselves in wrestling; and when he saw any who pleased him by their address, vigour, or beauty, he commonly took them into his service about his person; a circumstance that has borne hard upon his memory, though *Paul Jovius* attempts to vindicate him from any suspicions of unnaturality.

AFTER the murder of his wife, and several wanton executions he ordered, it would be difficult to clear him from the charge of being personally cruel; but *Jovius* lays the blame of many of his failings upon bad advisers, particularly upon *Oldrati Lampugnani*, who had been bred up with him from his youth, and had obtained an entire sway over his affections, by depreciating all but his own merits, and those of his favourites. *Philip*'s failings grew with his age; and *Jovius* himself acknowledges, that towards the end of his life, his bad qualities encreased, particularly his inconstancy and cruelty. He is accused, while he was fickle and variable in his friendship, to have been determined and inexorable in his hatred, and that; however he might seem to overlook it, he never pardoned an offence that had been once given him.

His irresolution made him unhappy at the time of his death; for though he had nothing but the assistance of *Sforza* to depend on, and though he doated on his daughter *Blanche*, yet he could not bear the thoughts of *Sforza*, who, as we have already said, was a bastard, succeeding him in his dominions, and still turned his thoughts towards *Alphonso*. That prince had nobly repaid the generosity which had been shewn him by *Philip*, whose partiality towards him went so far, as it is said, to make a will in his favour, which never was signed, *Philip* being deterred by the universal aversion that prevailed amongst his subjects against the *Neapolitans*. *Alphonso* III. of *Naples*, however, hearing that this will had been destroyed, put in his claim to the *Milanes*e succession.

Affairs of
Milan.

By *Philip*'s death, the legitimate male line of the *Visconti* family was at an end, and the next lawful heir was *Valentina* his sister, who had married the duke of *Orleans*, son to *Charles V.* of *France*. By the contract of that marriage, the lawful progeny of it was to succeed to the duchy of *Milan*, in failure of the heirs male. But this provision was disputed by the emperor, who pretended that it could not be valid without his consent, which it never had obtained. Notwithstanding this objection, neither *Sforza* nor the *French* court regarded the imperial authority, and the people of *Milan* regarded it less than either. *Sforza* had great difficulties to conquer before he could make good his claim. By his difference with the *Venetians* he had not been able to pay his troops; and he knew that most of the powers of *Italy* were his enemies. Though he had a great party in the *Milanes*e, yet that city was far from being united. Many of its inhabitants inclined to a republican government, and some to *Alphonso*; but the republicans proved the most powerful. *Sforza*, to give them as little time as possible for deliberation, moved with his army towards *Milan*, and offered its inhabitants his services. By this time, they had established themselves into a kind of republic government; and we are now to consider the house of *Visconti* to be entirely at an end. The great figure which they had for some

^a Obducto ad fenestram speculari vitro. PAULUS JOVIUS, p. 186.

- a ages made in the affairs of *Italy*; the prodigious magnificence of their buildings and public works, and their strength, especially under *Barnabo*, compared to their power ever since, makes it plain that the *Visconti* on the whole were a generous and a wise family.
- SFORZA* received an answer to his application, that the people of *Milan* were ready to take him into their pay upon the same terms on which he had served the late duke; and that in the mean time they were willing to relinquish to him *Brescia* and *Verona*, as soon as he could conquer them. It would be disgusting the reader, should we proceed in the history of the *Sforza* family, which we were unavoidably obliged to insert in the foregoing parts of this work, particularly in our history of *Florence*, where he will find a full account of *Lewis Sforza*, who made so great a figure in the history of *Italy*, and who fell
- b a sacrifice to his own cunning. It is certain, that if a legal title by birth lay to the succession of the *Milanese*, it was vested in the house of *Orleans* and the kings of *France*. *Lewis XII.* accordingly put in his claim to the same, as being grandson of *John Galeazzo*; and for some time he was successful; but the insolence of the *French* was such, that they were driven out of the *Milanese* by the *Swiss* and *Maximilian Sforza*; and *Francis I.* of *France*, in his turn, defeated the *Swiss* and *Milanese*, and obliged the descendants of the *Sforza* family to relinquish the government for a pension of thirty thousand ducats a year. *Francis Sforza*, the son of *Maximilian*, however, being assisted by the emperor and the pope, regained the possession of the *Milanese* about the year 1521; and eight years after, the *French* king, by the treaty of *Cambray*, gave up his claim upon that duchy.
- c BUT, in fact, the emperors of *Germany* had, perhaps, the fairest title to the *Milanese*, in right of their being formerly sovereigns of *Italy*. Upon the death of *Francis Sforza*, therefore, in the year 1536, the emperor *Charles V.* declared the *Milanese* to be an imperial fief, and granted the investiture of it to his son *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, in whose family it continued till the year 1706, when the *French* and *Spaniards* were driven out of it by the imperialists, and the emperor again took possession of it as a fief. It was confirmed to his house by the treaty of *Baden* in 1714, by the quadruple alliance in 1718, and by the peace of *Aix la-Chapelle* in 1748. This fine duchy, however, has undergone prodigious dismemberments, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of *Savoy*; though her imperial majesty, as heiress of the house of *Austria*, never has relinquished the *dominium directum*; which, however, seems more properly to belong to her husband, as head of the empire, than to her. The duke of *Modena*, who is in high favour with the imperial court, was appointed, in 1754, imperial vicar-general and governor of the *Milanese*, during the minority of the archduke of *Austria*, *Peter Leopold*, who is declared governor-general of the *Austrian Lombardy*.
- d

END of the HISTORY of MILAN.

The HISTORY of MODENA and FERRARA.

S E C T. I.

Containing a Geographical Description of Modena.—History of the Modenese to the Year 1762.

*Description of
Modena, and
its territory.*

WE have, in the several parts of this work, been so full on the history of the different parts of *Italy*, as occasion presented, that it would be repeating the same thing over, should we particularize all the facts in which *Modena* was concerned in common with the other *Italian* states. We shall therefore, in conformity with our proposed brevity, touch upon a general description of the duchy, and the history of its dukes, in their order of succession, which we had no opportunity of introducing before.

MODENA is surrounded by the duchies of *Parma* and *Mantua*, the ecclesiastical state, the duchy of *Florence*, and the republic of *Lucca*. It is, from south to north, fifty-six *English* miles, and from west to east, between twenty-four and thirty-six. The soil is reckoned generally good, and is full of natural medicines, which are famous for curing particular diseases. *Modena* is the capital of the duchy; and though not celebrated for its lofty buildings and spacious streets, it contains several objects worthy the curiosity of a traveller. The new city, however, is tolerable, and visited for its fine pictures, and particularly the famous night-piece of *Correggio*, representing the birth of Christ, and the adoration of the shepherds, which is reckoned to be one of the finest in the world. The most celebrated churches, are those of the *Jesuits*, the *Theatines*, and the *Dominicans*. In the college founded by *St. Borromeo*, seventy or eighty young noblemen are maintained and instructed. The ducal palace is magnificent, and full of excellent pictures. *Reggio*, anciently called *Rhegium Lepidi*, is the next town of note in the duchy, and a bishop's see, under the archbishop of *Bologna*. It lies in a healthy situation, and deserves, more than *Modena* does, to be the capital of the duchy. It is tolerably well fortified, and inhabited by people of fashion. The city of *Reggio* passed through a vast number of hands, before it came to the house of *Este*. The manner of living here is licentious, through the formality and strictness of devotion that prevails amongst the fair sex, and which gives them great liberties.

CARPI is of itself a principality, though a small one, and lies about four leagues from *Modena*. It formerly belonged to the house of *Pio*; the elder sons of which bore the title of princes of *St. Gregory*. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Manfroy* was the first prince of *Carpi*; but in the sixteenth *Albert Pio*, after serving the emperors *Maximilian* and *Charles V.* entered into the service of *Francis I.* of *France*, and was his ambassador to pope *Clement VII.* upon which account, being found at *Rome*, at the sack of that city, the emperor *Charles V.* gave his principality to *Alfonzo*, duke of *Ferrara*, in whose hands great part of it was before, having been obliged to surrender it to defend himself from his own cousins and kinsmen. The duke of *Ferrara*, in recompence, gave to the family the town of *Sassuolo*, and some other lands. *Albert* was, however, at last obliged to retire to *Paris*, where, being stripped of all his estates, he died in 1538, with the reputation of one of the best and bravest men of his age. The family of *Pio* is yet in being, and continues attached to the *French* court. Some of them have been even raised to the purple, and still make a figure in *Europe*. *Correggio* is another principality of this duchy, but its heads forfeited their estate by taking part in the wars of *Italy* against the emperor, who conferred it on the duke of *Modena*. The princes of that house now live at *Parma*, and pretend to be descended of a natural son of the house of *Austria*. *Berselli* is another territory, lying in the same duchy, and was formerly celebrated both in the *Roman* and the *Longobardic* history. It is now dwindled down to an inconsiderable place, compared to what it was. In 1702 the fortifications were blown up; the place itself having been bombarded by the duke of *Vendosme*. It is at *Berselli* that the *Po* divides the *Modenese* and the *Mantuan*, and those two dukes jointly contributed in fitting out and maintaining a vessel on that river, for collecting their duties, and preventing all illicit commerce. But the imperial court gave orders, upon a quarrel with the duke of *Mantua*, for destroying this custom-house yacht (as we may call it) which was accordingly done; and the dukes of *Modena* have

a have ever since been endeavouring to repair *Bersilli*, which would be of vast advantage to the navigation of the river on their side.

RUBIERA is a fortress lying between *Modena* and *Reggio*, but is by no means strong, and serves at present to confine state prisoners. *Final* of the *Modenese*, so called to distinguish it from the *Final* of the *Genoese*, is a pretty little town, lying on the river *Panara*, five leagues from *Modena*, towards *Ferrara*. By its situation, it is greatly exposed to the ravages of war; and during the two last wars in *Italy*, it was frequently the theatre of action, and obliged to obey both sides, as each prevailed. *Sassuolo* formerly belonged to the princes of *Carpi*, and at present is a palace belonging to the duke of *Modena*. *Nouantola* is the rich and famous abbey we have taken notice of so often in the history of *Bologna*.

b The remains of it are still magnificent; but the few monks who repair to it are miserably poor, while the revenues of the abbey are pocketed either by the duke of *Modena*, or some of his family. According to some authors, this monastery was founded by the famous countess *Matilda*; others say, by *Anselm*, a religious *Lombard* prince, who himself led a life of devotion, and settled in that, and other religious houses in the neighbourhood, upwards of one thousand monks. *Canosa* is the celebrated castle, lying on the top of a mountain, and giving title to an earl, where the countess *Matilda*, and her gallant pope *Gregory*, obliged the emperor *Henry IV.* to wait for three days successively bare footed (though he was a very high-spirited prince) in 1076, in a coarse woollen penitential habit, without eating or drinking, during very severe weather, and with tears to implore to be re-admitted
c into the bosom of the church. It appears that *Canosa* was, at that time, the strongest place in all the countess's extended dominions. Its counts were sometimes masters of *Reggio*. *Garfagno* is a mountainous district, without any thing remarkable to distinguish it, excepting great plenty of wild bears.

MIRANDOLA is part of *Modena*, and formerly was governed by dukes of the name of *Pico*. It lies surrounded by *Modena*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, and has, by turns, been subject to all three. In the beginning of this century, at the death of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, the duke, who was then a minor, under the guardianship of his mother, applied conjointly with her to the emperor *Leopold* for assistance, to maintain herself in the regency; but soon after, upon the accession of the duke of *Anjou* to the *Spanish* monarchy, they slighted the
d emperor's protection, and joined with the *French* and *Spaniards*, in recognizing *Mirandola* as part of the *Milanese*. The Imperialists, who were then in *Italy*, immediately stripped the duchess dowager of all her power, and entered *Mirandola*. The *French* besieged and took the place in 1705; upon which the young duke threw himself upon their protection; but soon after, the *French* being expelled from that part of *Italy*, the duke lost all his estates, which were given to one of the duke of *Modena*'s sons. He was, at the same time, put under the ban of the empire, but obtained, in 1711, an offer of a million of gilders, which were accordingly paid him; and the possession of *Mirandola* was confirmed to the duke of *Modena*, by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748. *Mirandola* itself is a strong city, with a citadel, and is a bishop's see, and was of infinite service, during the last war in
e *Italy*, to the *French*. The last city in the *Modenese* to be spoken of, is *Cento*: this is a little town, and was taken by pope *Alexander VI.* from the bishop of *Bologna*, who was indemnified by other lands, and given with his natural daughter *Lucrece Borgia*, in dowry to *Alphonso*, the first duke of *Ferrara*. Pope *Julius II.* cancelled this deed, and restored *Cento* to the bishops of *Bologna*; but upon the death of *Leo X.* duke *Alphonso* again took possession of it, and the house of *Este* has ever since held it in fealty of the holy see. We have been the more explicit on the history of those several little principalities, because they were in fact formerly so many sovereign princes, though holding nominally only of the emperor or the pope.

f THE house of *Este*, from which the dukes of *Modena* are descended, originally came from *Germany* along with the emperor *Charlemagne*. They take the name of *Este* from a small, but handsome, city in the *Paduan*, where they remained after the return of that great prince to *Germany*. The first of the family we have any precise knowledge of, was *Azo*, who seems to have been a commissary or chamberlain for the imperial interest. In progress of time the emperor's residence being confined to *Germany* or *France*, his title and person was scarcely remembered; and the successes of those who had been imperial lieutenants in *Italy*, were such, that though they did not declare themselves independent upon the imperial power, yet acted as if they had been so. Each seized upon the portion or territory of power that had been allotted him or his ancestors; and their commissions, from being only temporary and limited, became hereditary, it being very difficult to retrace the tenures on
g which they originally held them. Notwithstanding this, it is generally agreed, that all *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, and even the *Romagna* held of the empire.

A Z O, the first count or marquis of *Este*, like the other imperial substitutes there, kept his residence sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and assumed the title of lord

Original of the house of Este.

over the places he held. The truth is, he seems to have been one of the most early feudaries in *Italy*. At first, those substitutes had no pretext to any hereditary power; but the troubles of the empire, that immediately succeeded the reign of *Charles the Great*, not suffering the emperors to send new ones, their possessions and governments descended to their sons. *Este*, from which *Azzo* took his name, was very probably a place of consequence. The dominions annexed to it, reached over great part of *Lombardy*, and the towns on both sides the *Po*, amongst which were *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Guastalla*, and others, of which he had the superintendency or government. He is said to have died in the year 970. He was succeeded by his son *Theodald*, and according to others by *Boniface*. This *Theodald* had married a natural daughter of the emperor *Otho II.* and added to his paternal government the city of *Lucca*, then one of the most considerable in *Italy*; and, according to some, the government of all *Tuscany*. It is pretended, that in virtue of this power he assumed the title of Imperial Vicar; and that as such he exercised the most extensive authority over the greatest part of *Italy*, though his dominions were incontestably subject to the empire; for the independent claims of sovereignty were not yet set up; nor in so small a distance of time was the power of *Charles the Great* forgotten. Its remembrance, however, began to be weakened; for *Theodald* was succeeded by his son, tho' others say by his brother *Boniface*. He likewise married a daughter of the emperor *Conrade II.* sister to *Henry III.* Her name was *Beatrix*, and she was mother to the famous countess *Matilda*. The wars between the popes and the emperors had, by this time, broken out, and all *Italy* then groaned under the yoke of the *Normans*. *Boniface*, who is sometimes called marquis of *Mantua*, and sometimes of *Modena*, was assassinated at *Spinetta*, and left two children, *Boniface* and *Matilda*. But *Boniface* dying, *Matilda* became the heiress of that great estate. She inherited her mother's aversion to the emperors of *Germany*, and found a fit tool to work upon her passions in the person of the famous *Hildebrand*, afterwards pope *Gregory VII.* He was by birth a *Tuscan* of a mean extraction; and being brought up at *Rome*, he was admitted a monk of *Cluni*. Being of an active, turbulent disposition, and an enthusiast for the papal power; he was employed by the court of *Rome* in the numerous intrigues and disputes between it and the emperors. But, at that time, the popes generally received their confirmation from the emperor, and sometimes the latter nominated the very person whom they were to chuse. In other parts of this history; we have been very full on the transactions of those times. It is certain that *Gregory* arrived at the pitch of insolence and power he attained to, by getting the entire management of the estates belonging to *Matilda*; and, according to some, the possession of her person. Having found means to imbroid the princes of *Germany* with one another, he repaired, as the arbiter of their disputes, to *Augsburgh*, attended by *Matilda*. Having proceeded successfully there, and sufficiently humbled the emperor *Henry IV.* he returned to *Italy*. During his absence from *Germany*, the emperor recovered his power so far, that all of a sudden he broke into *Italy*, with a design to depose the pope; who upon that intelligence retired with *Matilda* to the castle of *Canosa*, of which we have already spoken. But nothing could humble the spirit of *Gregory*, while supported by *Matilda*, who, in right of her mother, pretended to be an independent sovereign; and in some histories they are termed queens of *Italy*. The emperor, who was not then above twenty-five, had got a decisive victory over the *Saxons*, and yet he was excommunicated by *Gregory*. Upon a frivolous pretence, he treated the king of *France* in the same manner as he did the *Normans*, and several other princes both in *Germany* and *Italy*. All this he effected by playing one power against another, through the assistance of *Matilda*. He was likewise greatly assisted by some attempts that had been made upon his life by a ruffian, one *Synefius*, who was employed by the emperor to assassinate him, and by the divisions which then reigned in *Germany*; thro' which he gained almost all the prelates and clergy, and one half of the lay power, to his interest. This raised him to such a pitch of arrogance, that he set at nought the imperial power, and at last he presumed to depose the emperor himself.

History of the
countess Ma-
tilda.

The emperor
humbled by
the pope.

Thus the emperor, instead of humbling the pope, was himself reduced to the danger of being himself actually deposed, and obliged to come to the disgraceful resolution of repairing to *Canosa*, and submit himself, in the most abject manner, to his holiness. It is said, that at first he insisted upon *Henry's* surrendering into his hands his crown, and all the badges of his authority, and acknowledging himself unworthy to wear them. This sentence was mitigated by *Henry* obtaining an interview with his cousin the countess *Matilda*; and upon her return to *Canosa*, she was attended by some of the chief princes in *Italy*, who were friends to *Henry*, for whom they all interceded. It is probable, that the whole of this negotiation was a piece of management contrived by the countess and his holiness, who, with great seeming difficulty, was at last prevailed upon to suffer *Henry* to repair to *Canosa*. He accordingly left his army at *Vercelli*, and went with a few attendants to *Canosa*. That town, or rather fort, had three inclosures. *Henry* was stopped when he passed the first, and his

return

a retinue was prohibited from proceeding farther; so that he was admitted by himself alone into the second inclosure, where being stripped of his robes, he was dressed in a hair-cloth, and obliged to wait and fast for three days, notwithstanding the extremity of the weather. At last he gained admission to the pope, to whom he made all the submissions that his haughtiness could require; and after the most humiliating behaviour, he received pardon and absolution from his holiness, though upon very hard terms.

b AFTER this, the countess *Matilda*, who seems to have been a weak-brained enthusiast for the see of *Rome*, but in other respects not destitute of spirit and prudence, made a gift to the pope of all her estates in *Italy*; and this gift laid the foundation of all the differences between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. As to *Matilda*, though she was twice married, she left no children: and the haughtiness of the pope had almost proved his and her ruin. The *Italians* and *Germans* could not bear to reflect upon the shameful part *Henry* had acted, and obliged him to break the compromise he had entered into with his holiness. After remaining for some time near *Canosa*, he formed a design for seizing both the pope and *Matilda*; but receiving timely notice of it, they remained upon their guard within *Canosa*, which disconcerted all the emperor's schemes. The rest of *Matilda's* history belongs properly to the general history of *Italy*, and may be found in the other parts of this work.

c THE next marquis of *Este* we meet with on record, was *Azo II.* the son of *Albert*, or *Sigibert*, a younger son of *Theodald*, and brother to *Boniface*, father to the countess *Matilda*. Her ill-advised donation had cut all the blood of *Este* out of their patrimonial inheritance; but *Azo II.* found means, however, to retain some estates that had been purchased, or conquered, by his father. By prudence and abilities he rendered himself necessary to the popes who succeeded *Gregory VII.* and thereby he gradually enlarged his possessions, even during the life-time of *Matilda*, whose heir in blood was the emperor *Henry IV.* There was no question as to *Matilda's* title to her estates; but the emperor pretended that she could not alienate the feudatory rights from the empire. For this reason he made light of his kinswoman's donation: but this proved a matter of more importance than he had foreseen. The *Italian* princes, or, as they were called, vicars, in general were much better pleased with their subjection to the pope, than to the emperor, and could be of little consequence but by maintaining the papal power. The weakness of the times contributed greatly to the prejudices that prevailed against the emperor, on account of his opposing the pope. But notwithstanding all those circumstances, many of the states that had recognized *Matilda's* authority, during her life-time, stuck to the emperor. Amongst those were *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Guastalla*, *Lucca*, and a great part of *Tuscany*. *Azo II.* kept himself as neutral as possibly he could, and became at last the head of that branch of the *Este* family, that came to the possession of the *Ferrarese*; so that he is generally reckoned in the *Guelph* interest. *Hugh*, who was earl of *Maine* by his mother, succeeded *Azo II.* and was himself succeeded by *Obizo*, the first marquis of *Este*, lord of *Verona*, and other places, to which pope *Celestine*, in 1194, added the lordship of *Ancona*.
e It happened to be a fortunate circumstance for the *Guelph* interest, that many inferior magistrates at this time held deputations from the pope, over particular cities and places, under the denomination of *podestas*, in which they maintained themselves without acknowledging the imperial power, but in a nominal, rather than a real, dependence upon the popes. Those *podestas*, such as *Fermo*, *Senagaglia*, and *Pesaro*, were not hereditary; and, as they fell, were by degrees conferred by the popes upon the princes of *Ferrara*, whom they looked upon to be their chief bulwark in *Italy*. *Azo II.* died in 1212, as his son *Azo III.* did in 1264. His son *Rinaldo* died in his father's life-time, as did his brother *Obizo II.* About the end of the thirteenth century, the house of *Este* became very powerful, through the devolution of many states or *podestas* that were joined to it.
f The next head of that house was *Azo IV.* whose son *Francis*, by a former marriage, being afraid to be disinherited, if his father should leave children by his second wife, who was daughter to *Charles II.* king of *Naples*, put him to death, and by the assistance of the *Venetians*, made himself master of *Ferrara*, which he fortified, but was obliged to resign his rights to the *Venetians*. This *Francis* is represented as being a monster of cruelty; and for some time, by the assistance of the *Venetians*, he kept himself in possession of *Ferrara*, till his crimes became so odious, that pope *Clement V.* published a crusade against the *Venetians*, leaving every man at liberty to seize upon their goods, and to kill their persons wherever they could be found. *Platina* pretends, that *Francis*, by his cruelties in the *Ferrarese*, where he had reduced half that city to ashes, obliged the subjects to invite the *Venetians* to protect them from his fury. Notwithstanding this, they were involved in the crusade now published against them; and the riches they had acquired by merchandize being immense, a vast many hands were found to execute it. Cardinal *Pelegre* was
g

Azo II. of Este.

A. D. 1212. which house increases in its power and reputation.

sent by his holiness, with full powers, to take care of the papal interest in *Ferrara*; and by help of the *Florentines*, he retook that city in the name of his holiness, and gave the government of it to *Robert*, son to the king of *Naples*. That prince being soon after obliged, on account of his father's death, to return to his paternal dominions, he left the government of the *Ferrarese* to one *Diego*, a *Catalan*, with orders to preserve the subjects in their obedience to the holy see. But their affections being fixed on the family of *Este*, they rebelled against their new governor, which obliged him to draw the garrison out of the citadel, and to hang twenty-eight of the chief partizans of the *Este* family. This brought the popes to consider what the consequences might be, if they should persist in their endeavours to reannex the sovereignty of the *Ferrarese* to the see of *Rome*. For this reason *Benedict XII.* gave the investiture of the *Ferrarese* to *Obizo III.* brother to *Francis*, who died in the year 1309. This *Obizo* married *Jacqueline Pepoli*, by whom he had no children, but by his mistress, *Lippa Ariosta*, he had eleven, whom he publickly owned; and having married her before his death, they succeeded him in his estates without opposition. The eldest son was *Aldobrandin*, who, by the sage advice of his mother, who had been, in a manner, associated by his father in the government, ruled his dominions with great prudence. *Aldobrandin* died without children, and was succeeded by his brother *Albert*, who had a mistress named *Ifotta*, whom he married some time before his death, and by her he left issue *Nicholas*, surnamed *The Lane*. His succession was disputed, on account of his illegitimacy, by *Azo*, a descendant from the first marquis of *Este*; but *Nicholas* maintained his ground against all opposition; and being accounted a prince equally magnanimous and politic, he was termed the arbiter of *Italy*, and courted by most of the *Italian* princes of his age. He possessed himself of *Ferrara* and *Modena*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, and other cities, and left behind him two legitimate, and two natural sons. *Leonel*, the eldest of the natural sons, in right of seniority, took possession of his estates in prejudice of the legitimate heirs, whom he sent to be educated at the court of *Alphonso* of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, as being the most proper school where they could learn the art of reigning. During their absence, his government was so mild and beneficent, that he reconciled all the *Ferrarese* to his allegiance. He rebuilt the walls of *Ferrara*, and enlarged the streets; he embellished the buildings; he founded churches and monasteries, and behaved with excessive prudence and affability towards all who approached him. He married a princess of the house of *Gonzaga*, and by her he had a son named *Nicholas*, whom on his death-bed he recommended to the care of his brother *Borso*, who accordingly put him in possession of his estates, when he became of age fit for governing. This *Leonel* died in 1450. Some historians have, with great probability, assigned him another wife, a daughter of *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*. They pretend that *Alphonso* the more readily complied with this match, in hopes that his daughter's children might succeed to the duchies of *Modena* and *Ferrara*: and, indeed, when we consider the little difference that was paid to legitimacy in this family, we cannot well be surprized at the fact. The *Neapolitan* princess, however, having no son, *Borso* became administrator of the duchies, but seems to have served his brother's son, as his brother had served the legitimate offspring of his father; for he acted as administrator for full twenty-one years, but behaved with so much wisdom, liberality, and magnificence, that the defects of his title were overlooked; so that it is remarkable in this family, that the princes of it supplied their defect of title, by the exercise of those virtues which ought to have given them title. In short, when the emperor *Frederick III.* came into *Italy*, *Borso* performed so many eminent services to him, and received him with so much politeness and magnificence, that he created him, as a mark of his regard, duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in the year 1451. Pope *Paul II.* in imitation of the emperor, when *Borso* came to visit the holy places about *Rome*, created him duke of *Ferrara*, a title which he said depended immediately upon the holy see. *Borso* shewed himself more worthy to reign, than his brother *Leonel*, with all his good qualities, had done; for he never married: and, at the beginning of his administration, he recalled from their exile at the court of *Naples* his brothers *Hercules* and *Sigismond*, the sons of *Nicholas the Lane*; and he treated his nephew *Nicholas*, the son of *Leonel*, with all the regard and affection that was due to his blood, except placing him in the government of the *Ferrarese*, which we do not find he ever offered to do. Some authors affect to be surprized that pope *Paul II.* who could not be ignorant of the defeat of *Borso's* title, never made any objection to his legitimacy, but rather seemed to give it a sanction. This is easily accounted for, when we consider that it was the maxim of the popes to weaken the right of succession, by primogeniture or legitimacy, all that they could. They, as well as the emperors, pretended to the full disposal of every succession that held of them; and to obviate the danger of going out of the line of *Este*, they conferred it upon *Borso*.

*Borso duke of
Modena.*

^a BORSO was succeeded by his brother *Hercules I.* who, as we have seen, was bred up at the *Neapolitan* court, and was forty-five years of age when he came to govern. He had married *Eleanor of Arragon*, daughter to the king of *Naples*, of whom he had a numerous progeny. His title, however, was disputed by *Nicholas*, the son of *Leonel*, who had formed some intrigues to seize upon the regency; but he was surprized in his attempts, and his head was cut off without any orders from his uncle, and even without consulting him; for which reason *Hercules* banished the offenders. He was one of the greatest princes of his time, both in the field and the cabinet. His differences with the *Venetians* have been repeatedly taken notice of in this history, as also those with pope *Sixtus IV.* and he acquitted himself, on all occasions, with the greatest honour and credit, both as to his valour and wisdom. He was much befriended by the other princes of *Italy*, and aggrandized *Ferrara*, both in its fortifications and buildings. He left behind him four sons and two daughters; one of whom, *Beatrix*, was married to *Lewis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*; and the other to *Francis Gonzaga*, marquis of *Mantua*. His brother *Sigismond*, was the author of the *de Estes* of *St. Martin*, which, we are told, are still in being. One of his sons, *Hippolito*, was raised to the purple by *Alexander VI.* and made a considerable figure amongst the scholars and politicians of that age.

*Hercules I
duke of
Modena.*

^b ALPHONSO, the eldest son, succeeded his father in his duchy in 1505, and, like him, was a great general, and deeply involved in war. Upon the expulsion of the house of *Medici* from *Florence*, the *Florentines* gave him the command of their troops, for which the popes *Julius II.* and *Leo X.* conceived an invincible aversion to him, and his interest. He married *Lucretia Borgia*, daughter to pope *Alexander VI.* but upon the death of that pontiff, and his successor *Pius III.* pope *Julius II.* stripped him of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Rubiera*, and other places he held beyond the *Po*. Upon the death of *Leo X.* he availed himself of the vacancy or interregnum of the holy see, to repossess himself of *Reggio*, *Rubiera*, and other states: but, as we have seen in the preceding parts of this work, he was so useful to the emperor *Charles V.* that he took him into his particular protection, and continued his friend against all the power and machinations of his enemies. Under *Adrian VI.* who was a wise and pacific pontiff, he obtained some time to breathe; and it is said to have been owing to his counsels, that the duke of *Bourbon* marched against *Rome*. As the use of artillery was now become frequent in *Europe*, he shewed so great a genius for the improvement of guns, cannons, and other warlike machines, that he is said to have been the best engineer of his age. He was almost in perpetual wars, till the treaty between the pope and the emperor, in 1526, reinstated him in his dominions. One of the articles of that treaty was, that pope *Clement* should give him the investiture of *Ferrara*, which his holiness never really intended to do; and that the duke should retain possession of *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Carpi*, for which he was to become subject to the emperor only. The same emperor promised him likewise the possession of *Novi*, and to give him one of his daughters in marriage. The insincerity of the pope, and the cautious mercenary disposition of the emperor, once more brought matters into confusion. When the emperor, in 1530, came to receive the imperial crown at *Bologna*, *Alphonso* attended him; and there it was agreed, that *Charles* should take into his own hand the city of *Modena*, as a deposit, till he should pronounce sentence between them, which he did at *Ghent* in 1532. By his award the duke, in consideration of peaceably possessing his dominions, was to pay to his holiness one hundred and forty thousand golden ducats, and an annual subsidy of seven thousand, as a quit-rent for the duchy of *Ferrara*. His holiness, who was perfectly well skilled in all the arts of cunning and procrastination, refused to ratify this award, which did not take place during his life-time. This *Alphonso* was three times married. His first wife was *Anne Sforza*, daughter to the duke of *Milan*; and by her he had no issue. By his second wife, *Lucretia Borgia*, whom he married for interest and conveniency, he had ^c *Hercules II.* who succeeded him; *Hippolito*, who was a cardinal, archbishop of *Milan*, and one of the richest ecclesiastics of his age; *Francis*, marquis of *Massa*, who left behind him only one daughter. The third marriage of *Alphonso I.* was with a lady of *Ferrara*, whom he had secretly, for some time, kept as his mistress. Her name was *Laura Eustochia*; and upon the death of *Lucretia Borgia*, he espoused her, and legitimated her son Don ^d *Alphonso*, prince of *Montecchio*; which legitimation was afterwards disputed.

*Alphonso duke
of Modena.*

Hercules II.

^e HERCULES II. before his father's death, which happened in 1554, married *Rene* of *France*, daughter to *Lewis XII.* and he served in the *French* armies as lieutenant-general under *Henry II.* to whom he proved a brave and an useful ally. His brother, the cardinal archbishop of *Milan*, having vast preferments in *France*, was the means of his being attached to that service; and indeed those connexions continued for many years. His duchess was secretly of the reformed religion; and it is confidently reported, that she had an interview on that head at *Ferrara*, with the famous *Calvin*. Her conversion gave great disquiet to her husband, and it was during his life-time kept secret; but upon his death, which

which happened in 1559, the duchess returned to *France*, where she made profession of the reformed religion, and died in the same. a

HERCULES II. left by his wife *Rene*, his son and successor *Alphonso II.* and *Lewis*, who was afterwards a cardinal, and succeeded to some of his uncle's great benefices in *France*, and was one of the brightest ornaments in the *Römish* church in those days ^b. *Alphonso II.* was educated in *France*; but served against the *Turks* in the imperial armies. He married, first, *Lucretia de Medici*, daughter to the grand duke of *Tuscany*. His second wife was *Barbara of Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Frederick*; and he had a third wife, *Margaret Gonzaga*, daughter of *William* marquis of *Mantua*; but left behind him no children by either of those marriages. He therefore adopted as his heir and successor *Cesar de Este*, who was the son of *Alphonso* prince of *Montecchio*, whose mother was the *Ferrarese* lady b we have mentioned. *Alphonso II.* took all the means he could to render this adoption valid, by procuring it to be ratified by the emperor *Rodolph II.* But when pope *Clement VIII.* mounted the papal throne, he declared that *Don Cesar* could not, as he was illegitimate at the time of his birth, succeed to the duchy of *Ferrara*, which he not only annexed to the ecclesiastical state, but prepared to take possession of it by main force. The *Ferrarese*, who doated on *Cesar*, complained of the injustice done both him and them, as no objection had been made in times past to the legitimacy of their dukes, though not born in wedlock; but all was to no purpose. *Don Cesar* pleaded the testament of the late duke; but was unable to support his title. His holiness put himself in armour, and marched at the head of a body of troops into *Ferrara*, from whence he drove *Don Cesar* out of one c gate, while he himself entered at the head of his army by another. The armour in which the pope was drest, is to be still seen in the vatican; and to take from *Don Cesar* all hopes of being reinstated in *Ferrara*, he ordered the gate through which he had escaped, to be walled up.

Cesar.

The pope takes possession of Ferrara.

Don Cesar I. was now obliged to be contented with the title of duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, which dominions he held for about thirty years; and he died in 1628. He married *Anne Virginia de Medici*, daughter to *Cosmo I.* duke of *Tuscany*; and by her he had two sons, *Alphonso III.* who succeeded him, and *Aloisio de Este*, marquis of *Montecchio* and *Scandiano*, whose only daughter and child *Hippolita* married *Borso de Este*. He had likewise *Laura*, who was married to *Alexander* duke of *Mirandola*. This house of *Scandiano*, d or *Montecchio*, was extinct in the year 1713.

Alphonso III.

Francis I.

ALPHONSO III. had, in his father's life-time, married *Isabella*, daughter to duke *Charles Emanuel* of *Savoy*, and *Catherine Michel* of *Austria*, daughter to *Philip II.* of *Spain*. *Alphonso III.* reigned only about twelve months, when his duchess, a woman of exemplary piety, dying in 1626, he was so affected with her death, that he resigned his dominions to his eldest son *Francis I.* and retired from the world, taking upon him the habit of a capuchin, and practising all the severities of that order to the time of his death in 1644, in the fifty-third year of his age. His religious name was brother *John Baptist*. *Francis I.* espoused the cause of *France*, which raised him many troubles. He was in his person a brave and accomplished prince; but could not be said to have been fortunate in war. e He commanded the army of the *Italian* princes in 1643, and in 1656 he commanded the *French* army which laid siege to *Valence* upon the *Po*. The reader here is to observe, that there is some confusion in the denominations of those dukes. Most of the *Italian* princes do not admit the progeny of *Alphonso*, son to *Laura Eustochia*, to be the descendants of the ancient dukes of *Modena*; and therefore they reckon *Alphonso III.* to be only the first of that name. Duke *Francis I.* attempted to take *Cremona*; but failing in his design, the marquis of *Caracena*, the *Spanish* governor of *Milan*, invaded his dominions, and obliged him to renounce his alliance with *France*. He was three times married. His first wife was *Mary Farnese*, daughter to *Ranuccio* duke of *Parma*. By her he had *Alphonso II.* or *IV.* who succeeded him; two daughters, *Isabel* and *Mary*, who were successively married f to *Ranuccio II.* duke of *Parma*; *Amauri*, who died at the siege of *Candia*; and *Eleanor*, who betook herself to a monastery. His second wife was *Victoria Farnese*, the sister of his first wife; by whom he had only a daughter, who died in her infancy. His third wife was *Lucretia Barbarina*, daughter to *Thaddeo* prince of *Palestrine*, brother to pope *Urban VIII.* who gave, on that account, a cardinal's hat to the duke's brother *Rinaldo*. This cardinal proved afterwards a great supporter of the *French* interest, and was, for about thirty years, the protector of that nation. *Alphonso II.* or *IV.* the son of duke *Francis*, was like his ancestors, a warrior. He commanded several times the *French* armies in *Italy*, and died of the gout in his stomach in 1662. He married *Laura Martinuzzi*, the daughter of *Jerome Martinuzzi*, a *Roman* nobleman, and of *Margaret Mazarine*, eldest sister to the famous cardinal of that name. Their issue was *Mary Beatrix Eleanor*, who was married to the duke of *York*, afterwards *James II.* of *England*; and *Francis II.* who succeeded to the duchy

a of *Modena*, when he was no more than two years of age. He was therefore brought up under the guardianship of his mother; and in the year 1692 he married *Margaret Maria Frances Farnese*, daughter of *Ranuccio II.* Francis II. duke of Modena.

THE duchess dowager being in *England* at the time of her son's death, the government was administered by *Don Cesar* marquis of *Montecchio*, who behaved with great haughtiness towards the duchess, and entirely governed the young duke to the time of his death. The duchess resented this so much, that she complained to the king of *France* of *Don Cesar*, who was obliged to retire into the *Romagna*. The young duke, however, was so fond of him, that he prevailed with his most Christian majesty, and his mother, to suffer *Don Cesar* to return to *Modena*, where he behaved with the same haughtiness as ever towards the duchess. Upon this she repaired to *Rome*; and though the duke her son was very earnest for her return, she could not be persuaded to see him. The duke went in person to *Rome*, to endeavour to mollify her; but happening to be attended by *Don Cesar*, the negociation had no effect; and the duke's attachment to him was so great, that it was thought he employed some supernatural means over his mind. The duke, however, was at last once more obliged to give up his favourite, who was obnoxious to almost all the courts of *Italy*; not only for his insolence towards his prince, but for the oppressive practices he introduced into the government to enrich himself.

FRANCIS II. died without issue in 1694, and was succeeded by his uncle *Rinaldo*, who immediately sent his cardinal's hat to *Rome*, and laid down a new plan of conduct, by attaching himself to the imperial court, and married the princess *Charlotta Felicita* of *Brunswick*, daughter to *John Frederick* duke of *Brunswick Hanover*, who was a Roman Catholic, and sister to the princess *Wilhelmina Amelia*, who, three years after, married the king of the *Romans*, who was afterwards the emperor *Joseph*. It is thought, that he was the more inclined to this match, because the family of *Este* is supposed to be descended from that of *Brunswick*. Others think, that he had conceived a disgust, while he was cardinal, against the *French* king, who had refused him the protectorship of the *French* nation, and some other favours. His match with a *German* family, and his putting the imperialists in possession of *Bercello*, so greatly disoblged the court of *France*, that in 1703 the *French* king ordered his army to enter the *Modenese*, which it did, and obliged all the duke's subjects to take an oath of fidelity to his most Christian majesty. The duke upon this, being in no condition to recover his duchy, went to *Bologna*, and from thence to *Rome*, to solicit the pope's mediation at the court of *France*. He accordingly had several conferences with cardinal *Jansson*, the *French* minister at *Rome*, and was amused by his holiness, with the hopes of receiving an annuity out of his estate of forty thousand crowns a-year; but the negociation proved of no effect. The duke refused to disavow his minister's recognizing the archduke *Charles* for king of *Spain*, or to break off his connexions with the imperialists; and *Lewis* was so exasperated, that he annexed *Modena* to the duchy of *Milan* and the estates in *Italy*, upon which his grandson had pretensions, as belonging to the *Spanish* succession. *Lewis* took this step, that he might not alarm the jealousy of the *Italian* courts, by seeming to keep in his own hands so considerable a dominion in that country. *Rinaldo*, being thus disappointed, retired once more to *Bologna*, where he waited with patience till the imperialists entered *Italy*, under prince *Eugene*, in 1706. That great general, during the night between the 19th and 20th of *November*, that same year, recovered *Modena* by storm, and put all the *French*, who had not saved themselves in the citadel, to the sword. Soon after, notwithstanding the severity of the season, he besieged and took the citadel likewise; and the *French* being thus driven out of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Modena*, *Rinaldo* returned from *Bolegna*, and again took possession of his capital. After this he applied himself to repair the waste that war had made in his dominions, by cultivating the arts of peace; but, in the mean time, he carried on a correspondence with *England*, *Germany*, and other parties of the grand alliance, to which he continued always firm. In 1710, he was so rich that he purchased the duchy of *Mirandola*, and received the investiture of it from the emperor. In 1726, his imperial majesty granted him a principality in *Hungary*, in consideration of that of *Comacchio*, which the emperor had yielded to the pope. At last he died, on the 26th of *October*, 1737, eighty-three years of age, after going through a variety of fortunes. By his wife, he had *Benedicta Ernestina Mary*, born in 1697, and married to prince *Antony* of *Parma* in 1715; *Francis Mary*, hereditary prince of *Modena*, born in 1698, who married the second daughter of the late duke of *Orleans*, by whom he had two sons; *Amelia Josepha*, born in 1699; and *John Frederick Ernest*, born in 1700.

g FRANCIS MARY DE ESTE, in 1720, married *Charlotte Aëglé de Valois*, daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*. This match, in its consequences, created a misunderstanding between the prince and his father; and when the late war broke out

Francis Mary de Este duke of Modena.

again between the houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*, in *Italy*, the duke of *Modena*, taking a part with the former, lost all his dominions. His conduct during that period has been sufficiently described in other parts of this work. It is enough here to say, that he had a son by his wife, *Hercules Renaud*, born *November 22, 1717*, and married *September 29, 1741*, to *Mary Theresa*, princess of *Massa Carrara*, born *June 29, 1725*; and by this marriage there is likewise issue. By the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the duke of *Modena* was reinstated in all his dominions. He soon after paid a visit to king *George II.* in *England*, where, though incognito, he met with great marks of respect from the court; and upon his return to *Italy*, he was, as we have already said, appointed vicar-general, field-marshal, and governor of the *Milaneze*, during the minority of the archduke *Peter Leopold*, who was declared governor-general of the *Austrian Lombardy*. As the imperial court has given him several possessions in the neighbourhood of his duchy, in lieu of his *Hungarian* estates, he is now looked upon as a very considerable *Italian* prince. b

END of the HISTORY of MODENA and FERRARA.

The HISTORY of MANTUA.

S E C T. I.

Containing a Description of Mantua; with the History of the Family of Gonzaga, Dukes of Mantua, till their Extinction.

a **T**HE duchy of Mantua is but fifty-six *English* miles in length, and forty in breadth; but it claims a place here on account of the great figure its heads have made in the affairs of *Europe*, and particularly in those of *Italy*. It is surrounded by the *Milanese*, the *Modenese*, the ecclesiastical, and the *Venetian* territories. The *Po*, which runs through the midst of it, receives the *Oglio*, *Minsio*, *Secchia*, and other rivers. The soil of the *Mantuan*, like most of the provinces of *Italy*, is very delectable; and its chief towns are *Mantua*, *Borgoforte*, *Governolo*, *Ostiglia*, *Gonzaga*, *Goito*, *Luzara*, *Viadana*, *Guastalla*, *Novellara*, *Sabionetta*, *Bozzolo*, *Castiglione della Stiverè*, and *Solferino*. *Situation and Description of the duchy.*

MANTUA, the capital, stands in a very undesirable situation, in the middle of a lake, or rather a morass, formed by the *Mincio*, about fourscore miles to the eastward of *Milan*, and the same distance to the south-westward of *Venice*. It is joined to the continent by several bridges, or causeways, which are strongly fortified. The city itself was reckoned to contain about fifty thousand inhabitants; but now, it is said, they are dwindled down to fewer than twenty thousand; four or five thousand of whom are Jews, and live in a separate quarter; and it is above four miles in circumference. Notwithstanding the unwholesomeness of its situation, its streets in general are long, broad, and strait, interspersed with noble palaces, squares, and churches; and, upon the whole, the morass renders it very strong. It contains about eighteen parish churches, others say, twenty-one; four collegiate, besides other churches and alms-houses, eleven oratories, and forty convents. Its suburbs were formerly adorned with noble buildings, particularly the famous palace of *The*, which is now reduced to the appearance of a stable. The cathedral is a work of the famous *Julio Romano*, and contains some of the finest paintings in *Italy*. The church of *St. Antony* is celebrated for relics, particularly a quantity of our Saviour's blood, which is preserved with the greatest veneration. The inside of the *Franciscan* church is very elegant; and all that can be said of the ducal palace is, that it is very large. In the palace church are the two famous pictures, the baptism of *Constantine*, and the martyrdom of *St. Andrew*. In *Mantua* was formerly a celebrated museum, which was destroyed by the imperialists in 1630. In short, this city, which was once so renowned for magnificence and manufactures, particularly of silk, can now shew only the ruins of the one, and scarcely any remains of the other. This duchy, however, will be for ever respected, as having been the birth-place of *Virgil* the poet, who was born at *Andes*, now *Pietolo*; and a ducal palace, called *La Virgiliana*, is still to be seen near the place of his birth. The other towns, or, as they were termed, cities, of this duchy, deserve no particular description, being remarkable for nothing but for battles and the trumpery of relics, all the gold and silver they contain being confined to shrines and statues in their churches. *and of its capital.*

THE reader will find the old history of *Mantua* in the ancient history of *Italy*, where it once made a capital figure. It followed the fate of the other cities of *Lombardy*, when *Charles the Great* invaded that country; for all its boasted antiquity could not save it from subjection to the *Goths* and *Lombards*, and afterwards to *Charles*. The emperor *Otho II.* as we have seen in the history of *Modena*, gave the lordship of *Mantua*, and other cities, to *Theodald*; and notwithstanding the history of those times are very uncertain, *Theodald*'s son *Boniface*, and the famous countess *Matilda*, daughter to the latter, held the government of *Mantua* as vicars to the empire, though *Matilda* pretended to possess them in her own right. It may, perhaps, be difficult to prove her right to an undoubted fief of the empire. It appears, however, from historians who lived in or near her time, that *Boniface* eloped with her mother, the emperor *Henry III.*'s daughter, and married her; but her father is said to have been afterwards reconciled to both, and to have bestowed upon *Mantua's different masters.*

^a RICOB. FERRARIENSIS apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 242.

them the great possessions in *Italy* inherited by *Matilda*. Upon the quarrel between that lady and her cousin the emperor *Henry IV.* he took *Mantua*, and she retook it in 1114, the year before her death. For some years after, the emperors of *Germany* suffered *Mantua*, and other fiefs of the empire in *Italy*, to live under free governments of their own, with only a very distant acknowledgment of their imperial power. *Mantua*, in *Matilda's* time, was so very important a city, that it gave her the chief title she affected; but tho' she conveyed it with her other lands to the holy see, we do not find that the popes ever exercised, or indeed claimed any jurisdiction over it.

Sordello.

Bonacursi and
Zenachalli
podestats of
Mantua.

In 1220 *Sordello*, viscount or lord of *Goito*, which still retains its name, had the government of that city and territory; and it was, in all probability, confirmed to him by the emperor *Frederick II.* when he came that year to *Italy*, and was recognized as sovereign by its several states. We know very little of *Mantua* for some years after this, only we are told by *Ricobaldus Ferrariensis*, that in 1273, there was a great disturbance at *Mantua*; and the party that favoured the marquis was driven out of the city. Upon their expulsion, the inhabitants chose two magistrates, or podestats, with equal power to manage their government. One was *Pinamonte Bonacursi*, and the other *Ottonello Renachalli*. This new form of government took place in the second year of the emperor *Rodolph I.* who, having no desire to visit *Italy* in person, left the *Mantuans*, as well as other states there, in possession of their form of government, upon their paying him a sum of money. It even seems probable, that he increased their privileges. Soon after this *Pinamonte* found means to put his colleague to death; and he governed by himself for eighteen years with great cruelty. He died in 1212, and was succeeded by his son *Bardellone* (A), who, treading in the footsteps of his father's tyranny, was expelled in less than a year. The Chronicle of *Parma*, however, informs us, that *Bardellone*, in his father's life-time, drove out his brother *Carpio*, and imprisoned, or put to death, most of his party; but the account of *Ferretus* of *Vicenza* seems the most probable. He says, that *Bardellone* governed tolerably well after his brother's expulsion; but that his nephew *Bottexella* arose against him, and engaged *Albert Scalliger* of *Verona* to assist him. Upon his return from *Verona* to *Mantua*, he dissembled so well, that his uncle had no suspicion of his design, and brought a great number of the *Mantuans* to his party, who admitted the *Veronese* into the city, so that it was with difficulty that *Bardellone* escaped with safety; and he repaired, in his turn, for assistance to *Azo* of *Ferrara*, and from thence to *Venice*, every where soliciting aid, but meeting with nothing but contempt and hatred; till at last he died at *Padua*. After his death, *Bottexella* met with little trouble in seizing the government, which he held till the time of his death, in 1308. He was succeeded by his brother *Passerino*, of whose actions the *Italian* historians are full, but each different from another. This *Passerino* was an artful, turbulent, and ambitious man, and filled all about him with wars and confusion. He was more than once expelled from *Mantua*; but still found means to return by the emperor's favour, which he won by gold and great promises. At last he surprized the city of *Modena*, which was possessed by *Francis Pico* of *Mirandola*, who, with two of his sons, was killed in the attack. He then made himself master of *Mirandola* likewise; but drew upon himself the resentment of the emperor's general *Lewis Gonzaga*, who extirpated his family, and took *Mantua*, under the protection of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, for whom he ruled it as imperial vicar about the year 1328.

THIS *Lewis Gonzaga* was originally a *German*; and, as other *Germans* had done, his father obtained preferment from the emperor in *Italy*, and settled in *Mantua*, where his son made a great figure. His family being noble, and himself very rich, he married a *Mantuan* lady of most exquisite beauty. *Passerino*, who was at once lustful, ambitious, and cruel, fell in love with her; and finding all his advances ineffectual, he threatened to employ force. The lady informed her husband of this; and before *Passerino* could complete his execrable design, *Gonzaga* killed him by a single blow of his fist, which struck him on the temples. *Passerino* was so much detested, that his body was embalmed; and being a squat little man, it was exposed as an object of public ridicule and detestation, in *Gonzaga's* gallery, where it long remained. *Gonzaga*, soon after, imprisoned all *Passerino's* descendants and relations; and gave up his brother *Butironi* to *Nicholas Pico*, the son of that *Francis Pico* whom *Passerino* had treacherously killed in taking *Modena*; and he was by him put to death. As the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was, at that time, in *Italy*, it is more than probable that *Gonzaga* had the imperial authority for what he did, and that he gave *Gonzaga* the investiture of *Mantua*. Pope *John XXII.* however, being then at

^b FERRETI VICENTINI apud MURAT, tom. ix. p. 982.

(A) The Chronicle of *Parma*, apud Murat. tome de Correggio, were expelled by the *Bonacursi* out of ix. page 786, says, that in 1292, *Guido* and *Matthew* *Mantua*.

a *Acignon*, refused to acknowledge the legality of that investiture, and excommunicated both the emperor and *Gonzaga*. His anathemas were disregarded by the latter, who lived to the age of eighty-three, and died in the year 1360. He had four sons; *Guy*, who succeeded him in his dignity of captain, or marquis (for those titles are not well ascertained) of *Mantua*. His second son was *Philippin*, or *Philip*, one of the greatest generals of his age, and whom we have often mentioned. His third son was *Feltrin*, who was the founder of the house of *Novellara*. His fourth son was *Conrade*, who had a numerous posterity.

GUY GONZAGA succeeded his father in his government of *Mantua*, and the imperial vicariate. He was a religious and moderate prince, and extremely punctual in fulfilling all his engagements. His chief failing was a too great indulgence for his three sons, *Ugolin*, *Francis*, and *Lewis*. The first being his favourite, and by him employed and trusted with the management of all his affairs, the two younger brothers formed a conspiracy against him, and without any regard to the paternal authority, assassinated him. It does not appear that either of them were punished; for *Francis* died in the life-time of his father, who administered the government nine years; and upon his death it devolved upon *Lewis* II. He governed twelve years, but with a very indifferent character.

His son *Francis* I. succeeded him in 1382, when he was no more than thirteen years of age, and grew to be a great prince. He defended *Mantua* against all the intrigues and power of *John Galeazzo*, first duke of *Milan*. According to *Leander Alberti*, he had many private, as well as public, virtues. He knew how to preserve his authority to the utmost. He understood history; was a lover of learning, and learned men; winning and witty in conversation; but liberal and splendid in his court. He died in 1407, and was succeeded by his son *John Francis*. This prince equalled, if not excelled, all the virtues of his father. He was but twelve years of age when he came to the government; but he acquired such a character for wisdom, that he was distinguished by the title of *Arbiter of Italy*. To repeat all the noble actions of his life, would be to repeat great part of this history, particularly in his conduct when he was general of the ecclesiastical and *Venetian* troops against the duke of *Milan*. In the year 1433, the emperor *Sigismund*, being at *Mantua*, on his road to *Rome*, in gratitude for the services performed to him, created *John Francis* marquis of *Mantua*, and honoured him with a very noble coat of arms, which was ever after worn by the family till it was extinct. The ceremony of his creation was extremely magnificent. It was performed upon a sumptuous theatre, erected in the Grand Square of *Mantua*, where the emperor *Sigismund* crowned him with his own hand.

THIS first marquis was a very powerful prince; and having several children, he gave them all great fortunes. He bestowed upon his eldest son *Lewis* the city of *Mantua*, and a large estate belonging to it. He gave to his second son *Charles*, *Reggiolo*, *Gonzaga*, *Luzzara*, *Isola*, *Rivarolo*, *Bozzolo*, *S Martino*, *Sabionetta*, *Gazzolo*, *Viadana*, and *Suzzara*, together with a noble palace in *Mantua*. He left to his third son *Alexander* another palace in the same city, with *Caneto*, *Redondesco*, *Castel Giuffé* *Medola*, *Castello della Stivere*, and *Ustiniano*. To his youngest son *John Lewis*, though dedicated to an ecclesiastical life, he bequeathed *Rovigo*, *Volta Capriana*, *Ceresara*, *Pinboca*, and *Castellaro*. It is remarkable, that all those places were either cities or large towns, and that they lie in the most fertile parts of *Italy*. The marquis, towards the latter end of his life, inclined so much to religion, that he endeavoured all he could to withdraw himself from the world, and died in 1444.

His eldest son, *Lewis* III. succeeded him in the marquisate. He began his government by quarrelling with his brothers about the estates left them by their father; and he forced *Charles* to recognize him as his superior, and lord paramount of all the lands he held. Having great experience in war, the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, gave him successively the command of their armies; and he was so excellent and so successful a politician, that, like his predecessor *John Francis*, he was called the *Arbiter of Italy*. After the *Turks* had rendered themselves masters of *Constantinople*, pope *Pius* II. indicted a council at *Mantua*, to consult on the means of retaking that city, or to check their progress; and he was entertained by *Lewis* with the utmost splendor. *Lewis* behaved in like manner to the emperor *Frederick* III. *Christiern* I. king of *Denmark*, and several other princes who visited him at *Mantua*. He embellished that city with many sumptuous buildings; and by introducing a cut from the *Mincio*, he fertilized great part of his dominions. The church of *St. Andrew*, which is the cathedral of *Mantua*, owes its foundation to him; and he died at *Goito*, in 1478. He married *Barbe*, or *Barbara* of *Brandenburgh*, the daughter of the margrave *John*, surnamed the *Chemist*; and by her had five sons and two daughters. The sons were, first, *Frederick* I. who succeeded him; second, *Francis Gonzaga*, who was made a cardinal in 1464, and died in 1483; third, *Lewis*.

Lewis Gonzaga, who was bishop of *Mantua* in 1483, and died in 1511; fourth, *Barbara*, married to *Everard I.* duke of *Wirtemberg*; fifth, *Dorothy*, married to *Galeazzo Maria* duke of *Milan*; sixth, *John Francis Gonzaga*, the founder of the house of *Sabionetta* and *Bezzolo*, which was extinct in the year 1703, in the person of *John Francis*; seventh, *Rodolph Gonzaga*, from whom are descended the princes of *Castiglione*, which house still remains.

Frederic I.

FREDERIC I. of *Mantua* has the glory of not shining in history as a warrior; but he was a wise, generous, elegant prince, and brought the sciences to great perfection in his dominions. The arts of poetry, painting, and sculpture owed more to his patronage than to that of any prince of his time; but the love of his people was his chief passion. He had a maxim, that no subject ought to be idle, and therefore he assisted with money, in their respective employments and callings, all the poor of his dominions who were unable to assist themselves. Like some of his predecessors, he was endued with that hereditary policy which put into his hands the balance of power in *Italy*; and the tranquility it enjoyed during his government, was in a great measure owing to him. He married *Margaret*, daughter to *Albert III.* duke of *Bavaria*. By her he had three sons, besides daughters, who were all of them married into great families. The sons were, *Francis II.* who succeeded him; *Sigismund*, cardinal and bishop of *Mantua*, who died in 1525; and *John Gonzaga*, who left behind him a numerous posterity. This *Frederic I.* died in 1484.

Francis II.

To write the particular history of *Francis II.* of *Mantua*, would be only a repetition of what is to be found in the preceding parts of this work. He was one of the most illustrious generals of his age; but there is somewhat very particular in the manner of his accession to the government; for though it was generally thought to be hereditary, yet he was formally created marquis by a ceremonious act. A theatre being erected in the great square of the city before the castle, he received the investiture of his government from one of his public officers, who put into his hand a scepter or rod. This particular proves, that the subjects of the *Italian* states still retained ideas of the municipal rights, which they enjoyed under the sanction of the empire; and that they considered their sovereigns only as trustees for defending the community and its liberties. When very young, he commanded the *Venetian* and the confederate troops against those of *France*, under *Charles* the *French* king, at the famous battle of *Taro*, where his personal valour, and good conduct, baffled the attempts of *Charles* to pass that river. He afterwards went into the service of *Lewis II.* of *France*; and he commanded against *Gonsalvo*, commonly called the Great Captain. But, the *French* suspecting him as being too good an *Italian* to act in earnest on their side, he saw such visible marks of their distrust, as made it necessary for him to pretend sickness, by which he got quit of their service; but was followed by all the *Italian* cavalry, which occasioned the total loss of *Naples* to the *French*. He afterwards commanded the troops of the emperor *Maximilian*; those of *Lewis the Moor*, duke of *Milan*; and those of pope *Julius II.* He had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in a battle by the *Venetians*, who thought themselves victorious in having him their captive. He was delivered by the treaty that succeeded; and the pope had so high an esteem of his abilities, that he made him grand gonfalonier of the church; and the *Venetians* again placed him at the head of their armies. The great actions he performed for all the princes and states he served, make a considerable figure in the preceding part of this history. He is particularly noted for his affability, and humane treatment of his soldiers. According to some modern authors, he was the first of the *Italian* princes who wore a beard; but that must be a mistake, as appears from what we have said of the dukes of *Milan*; though perhaps it may be true, that he was one of those great men who have thought that the largeness of a beard drew respect upon a person. His death happened in 1519. His wife was *Isabella*, daughter of *Hercules I.* duke of *Ferrara* and *Modena*; and by her he had three sons and three daughters. The former were, first, his successor *Frederic II.* second, *Hercules*, who was made a cardinal in 1527; third, *Ferdinand*, who was duke of *Malfi*, and the founder of the house of *Guastalla*, which failed in the year 1746; but by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 1748, it was, by the empress queen, given up to the infant *Don Philip* of *Spain*.

Frederic II.

FREDERIC II. of *Mantua*, was but nineteen years of age when he succeeded his father, and was inaugurated in the same manner as he was; but with greater pomp; for at the ceremony, he created several knights, and made a procession at the head of his court, from the cathedral through his capital, to be recognized by his people. Young as he was, he shewed an extraordinary impatience to imitate the military virtues of his father. He commanded the troops of *Leo X.* and entered into the confederacy for delivering pope *Clement VII.* from his imprisonment in the castle of *St. Angelo*, in 1526. He afterwards made up matters with the emperor *Charles V.* and that monarch having received the imperial crown at *Bologna*, from the same pope, paid *Frederic* a visit in his return to *Germany*, at *Mantua*, where he was entertained with extraordinary magnificence, and received from the emperor the ducal crown, by which he was created the first duke of *Mantua*.

FRE-

FREDERIC II. married *Margaret*, daughter to *William VIII.* marquis of *Montferrat*, Frederic II. who died in the year 1518, leaving a son, *Boniface*, who died in 1530, without issue; but left his estate to his uncle *John George*. He, though an ecclesiastic, quitted that profession; but though espoused to *Julia*, daughter to *Frederic* king of *Naples*, he in died three years without issue. Upon this the house of *Savoy* claimed the succession; but the emperor marched his troops into *Montferrat*, and gave the investiture of it to *Frederic* duke of *Mantua*, who after performing many glorious actions, both in war and peace, died in 1540, leaving three sons; first, *Francis III.* second, *William*; third, *Lewis Gonzaga*, duke of *Nevers*, in *France*. The fourth son *Frederic*, was posthumous, and was afterwards bishop of *Mantua*, and a cardinal.

b FRANCIS III. though but six years of age at the time of his father's death, was inaugu- Francis III. rated in the same manner as his predecessors had been. His tutor was his uncle *Hercules* the cardinal, who was a man of great probity and prudence, and managed all the affairs of his nephew, without the intervention of his mother. *Francis* married *Catherine* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand I.* but had no issue by her, and died in 1550. He was succeeded by his brother *William*. This prince, being but fifteen years of age, at the time of his brother's death, the government of *Mantua* continued in the hands of the car- William; dinal. The most remarkable affair that happened to this prince, was a family dispute which he was obliged to maintain, and which makes it necessary for us to speak of the third brother.

c He had entered very young into the service of *France*, where he became so agreeable to the *French* king, that he was made governor of *Champagne*. He then courted the princess *Henrietta* of *Clèves*, though she was homely in her person, and had three brothers, and two sisters, all of them elder than her, alive. The match between a prince who had his fortune to make, and such a princess, was not very promising; but he courted her without having a rival for several years, without being able to gain her. At last, her three brothers and her two sisters died, and leaving her heiress to an immense fortune, she was courted by numbers of the first rank and quality in *Europe*. To prevent any bad consequences from their rivalry, *Charles IX.* of *France*, who was her sovereign, took her under his protection, and gave her leave to take any of her suitors for a husband that she pleased; and her choice generously fell upon her constant admirer *Lewis Gonzaga*, whom she married in 1562; and by that match he became duke of *Nevers* and *Retheleis*, and consequently one of the most considerable noblemen in *France*. This duke, two years after his marriage, went into *Italy*, to raise troops for his master *Charles*, and claimed from his brother the share of his father's and mother's succession, which had been usually given to the younger brothers of the family, and particularly some estates belonging to *Montferrat*.

Duke *William*, who was naturally very suspicious, thought that his brother's raising men for the *French* king, was only a pretext; that his true design was to support, by force, the people of *Casal*, the capital of *Montferrat*, who had rebelled, and to seize the places he had demanded in *Montferrat*. The duke of *Nevers* justified himself; but it was with some difficulty he succeeded, and the dispute had very disagreeable consequences in the family. In favour of this duke *William*, the emperor *Maximilian II.* in 1572, erected *Montferrat* into a duchy. We have little or nothing more to add, than that in 1574, *Henry III.* of *France* paid him a visit, in his journey from *Poland*, to take upon him the *French* crown. Duke *William* was married to the princess *Eleanor* of *Austria*, youngest daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand I.* and by her had a son, *Vincent*, and two daughters; of whom *Margaret*, the eldest, married *Alphonso II.* duke of *Ferrara*; and *Catherine* was the wife of *Frederic* of *Austria*, her uncle.

VINCENT I. was a pacific prince, and so very religious, that he instituted the order of the Precious Blood, the *Mantuan*s being fully persuaded that they are in possession of the sponge which was wet with the blood of our Saviour, and which *Longinus*, the soldier who pierced his side, but was afterwards a great saint, carried to *Mantua*, where he preached the Christian religion. This story, and many such absurdities, are received as certain truths, not only at *Mantua*, but all over *Italy*; so that pope *Leo III.* came in person to *Mantua* to adore the holy relic; and it continues to this day in high veneration, and gave occasion to the institution we have spoken of, which took its rise in 1608. *Vincent* was more deservedly famous for the vast encouragement and patronage he extended to learned men, and persons of genius in the fine arts; all of whom, especially those who celebrated him in their works, he encouraged to profusion. He died in 1612. He married first, *Margaret*, daughter to *Alexander* duke of *Parma*; and secondly, *Eleanor*, daughter to Francis duke of *Tuscany*; and by her he had three sons; first, *Francis IV.* second, *Ferdinand*; and third, *Vincent II.* who were successively dukes of *Mantua*; and two daughters, of whom the first was married to *Henry* duke of *Lorraine*; and the other, *Eleanor*, was the second wife to the emperor *Ferdinand II.*

Francis IV. *FRANCIS IV.* died in the first year of his government. He married *Margaret of Savoy*, daughter to *Charles Emanuel*, and *Catharine Michel* of *Austria*, by whom he left only a daughter. This circumstance created some difficulty. The young lady's uncle, cardinal *Ferdinand*, upon this, claimed to be duke of *Mantua*, but was opposed by her grandfather, the duke of *Savoy*; so that a quarrel ensued, in which not only the *Italian* states, but *Austria*, *Spain*, and *France*, were engaged; but after a variety of negotiations and expedients, the affair was rather hushed up than adjusted. *Ferdinand* having thrown up his cardinal's hat, kept possession of the duchy of *Mantua*, and died in 1626, without leaving any issue by his wife *Catharine de Medici*.

Vincent II. He was succeeded by his brother *Vincent II.* who was likewise a cardinal, but resigned his hat, and married *Isabella Gonzaga*, daughter to *Ferdinand*, duke of *Bozzolo*. As it was likely that his government might be disputed by his niece *Mary*, he applied to the pope to be divorced from *Isabella de Bozzolo*, on account of her youth, and to be enabled to marry his niece. But while he was in the prosecution of this affair, in which he was disappointed, and for which he was but ill qualified by his health and habit of body, he died without any issue in 1628, and by his death the male line of the eldest branch of the *Gonzaga* family, became extinct; an event which created great troubles in *Italy*.

Dispute about the succession. THE princess *Mary*, daughter to *Francis IV.* now revived her pretensions, she being the undoubted female heir of that line. The duke of *Nevers*, in *France*, claimed to be the next male successor. His name was *Charles*, and he had succeeded his father *Lewis*, and both of them were great favourites at the *French* court; but he set up another title besides that of his paternal descent. The *French* king, who thought himself interested in the succession of *Mantua*, constantly kept a resident at that court, who gained so far upon *Vincent II.* that he dropped his design of marrying his niece, and procured his consent that she should be married to the eldest son of the duke of *Nevers*. The marriage was accordingly performed by proxy, the very day before the death of duke *Vincent II.* At this time the duke of *Nevers* was the *French* ambassador at *Rome*; and hearing of *Vincent's* death, he came to *Mantua*, and took possession of that duchy, as well as that of *Montferrat*, by a double title, his own right, and that of his daughter-in-law. The reader, in the course of this history, may all along perceive, that the emperors of *Germany* had considered *Mantua*, and the other *Italian* duchies and states, as being fiefs of the empire, and that they had a right to dispose of their succession, especially if there was any doubt as to the claims of the competitors. Besides the duke of *Nevers*, the duke of *Guastalla*, and other princes of the *Gonzaga* family, had all set up pretensions; and therefore the emperor insisted that the duchies should be put under sequestration, till the several claims were adjusted. At the same time he intimated to the duke of *Nevers*, that he was disposed to give his claim the preference.

Charles the first duke of Nevers succeeds.

Supported by the French.

LEWIS XIII. was then king of *France*; and being fond of every opportunity to humble the emperor, he prevailed with the duke not to submit to the sequestration, but to do himself justice by arms. The duke following that advice, the emperor considered it as such an infringement of his authority, that he put the duke to the ban of the empire, and made the governor of *Milan* the executor of the ban; and he accordingly laid siege to *Casal*, for refusing to submit to the sequestration. *Lewis*, at that time, had got rid of his civil wars with the Protestants, and was at leisure to employ his troops in *Italy*. He accordingly passed the mountains, and raised the siege of *Casal*; but soon after returned to *France*. Upon his return, the imperial troops under general *Collalto*, poured into *Italy*, and the war became very furious. *Spain* joined with the emperor, and the *Venetians* with the duke, who was so infatuated, as to give no ear to his best friends, when they represented that *France* had nothing but her own ends in view, and that though he should even force the emperor to grant him the investiture, yet he must receive it with the ruin and depopulation of his estates, after a bloody war; not to mention, that his subjects were extremely averse to live under any prince who had not the imperial sanction. By this time *Spain* had declared herself in favour of the emperor; but neither the *French* nor the *Venetians* thought proper to declare against her, because of her connexions with the duke of *Savoy*, who was a capital party in the dispute, and whose situation enabled him to check the march of the *French* armies. Cardinal *Richlieu* was then the first minister of *France*, and in his high impetuous manner he put himself at the head of her troops, and marched into *Savoy*. There he endeavoured to over-reach that duke, sometimes by treachery, sometimes by negotiating, and was so near succeeding, that it was with difficulty that he escaped to *Turin*; but *Pignerole* fell into *Richlieu's* hands, and that conquest laid the first foundations of the *French* power on the side of *Italy*. The war still went on between the emperor and the *Venetians*, with various success, but with so many mortifying events to the duke of *Nevers*, that he began to think of accommodating matters with the emperor, but was diverted from it by the marshal *d'Etrée*, the *French* ambassador and general in the *Mantuan*; and by the *Venetians*, who promised

A. D. 1630.

- a promised to support him with all their power. The plague, at that time, raged in the *Mantuan*, and made such havock in that capital, that it was in great danger of being taken by the imperialists, who had besieged it. The *Venetians* endeavoured to succour the place, and a large body of troops were put in motion for that purpose. *Collalto*, the imperial general, hearing of their approach, and having a correspondence with some of the besieged officers, surprized and scaled the walls; and thus the imperialists became masters of the place, where they committed the most cruel ravages. The duke, and the marshal *d'Étrec*, were then in the city, and had just time to retire to one of the castles, which they no sooner entered, than its fortifications were blown up; so that they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the imperial general, who sent the marquis and his family to *Melara*, a place in the *Mantuan*, where the *Venetians* furnished them with the means of subsistence.

Peace of Quevasque.

- In the mean while, the *French* troops were masters of *Casal*, and the emperor was so intent upon their quitting *Italy*, that at the diet of *Ratisbon*, he offered the duke the investiture of *Mantua*. The cardinal being, at that time, afraid of his master's death, at last lent an ear to the accommodation; but *Lewis* recovering from his dangerous illness, the war was continued, especially in *Monferrat*, where he endeavoured to establish a footing for the *French*. The scene of war being transferred to *Germany*, the treaty of *Quevasque*, which was concluded in 1631, gave peace to *Mantua*, and the emperor bestowed the formal investiture of it upon duke *Charles*, who held it peaceably till the time of his death, which happened in 1637; but he had the mortification of seeing great part of *Monferrat* torn from his family by the treaty of *Quevasque*, and settled on the house of *Savoy*, to satisfy that duke's pretensions upon the *Mantuan*.

- c *CHARLES*, eldest son to *Charles I.* who had married *Mary*, only daughter of duke *Francis II.* died in 1631, and left a son of his own name with two princesses; the eldest of whom, who is renowned for virtue and beauty, was the third wife of the emperor *Ferdinand III.* *Charles III.* for so he is called, his father being considered as duke of *Mantua*, on account of his marriage, was educated under his father till he was eight years of age. He was deformed in his person, but his mind was active, and his spirit penetrating. He married in 1649, *Isabella Clara* of *Austria*, daughter to the archduke *Leopold* of *Innsbruck*, which was one of the most unfortunate steps of his life; for their persons being disagreeable to one another, the duke fell into many amorous irregularities, which he pursued at *Venice*. Being, at the time of his grandfather's death, destitute of any uncle, or near relation, his education, which was left to the emperor *Ferdinand III.* was entirely neglected. *Mantua*, however, continued in peace, by the friendship and alliance of the emperor; so that *Charles* had no business to divert him from the pursuit of pleasure, which he indulged to the full, and even ordered it to be insinuated to his duchess, that she might do the same. His adventures at *Venice* were such, as cannot decently be recorded by history, but his excellent sister the empress, employed all her credit with her husband, in favour of the house of *Gonzaga*. *Charles III.* died in 1665.

Charles II. and III.

- e His son and successor *Charles IV.* was but seven years of age when his father died, and his mother, who had the care of his education, being a *German*, was hated and calumniated by the *Mantuans*, which made her life very uneasy. The emperor *Leopold* took the same concern in the affairs of *Mantua*, that his father had done; and hearing certain reports to the disadvantage of the duchess dowager, he sent count *Windigratz* to *Mantua*, with a private commission narrowly to inspect her conduct, and the affairs of the duchy. The count, though he pretended to have no business but to pay the emperor's compliments to the duchess, and the young duke, who, about the time we speak of, was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, suspected the real motive of the visit, and did all he could to come at the truth; but the envoy still kept to general terms, and eluded all their inquiries. At last, the young duke flatly demanded to know his real business; and the count no longer finding means to evade an answer, informed him, by way of secret, that there was a person about the court of *Mantua* whom the emperor disliked, and whom he had orders to secure. The duke imparting this answer to his mother, she immediately retired to a religious house, and a count, who was supposed to be her gallant, took the habit of *St. Dominic*. The emperor getting intelligence of this, appointed a council to manage the affairs of the duchy till the duke was of age.

Charles IV.

- f In the year 1670, the empress *Eleonora*, his aunt, brought about a marriage between him and the princess *Isabella* of *Guaftalla*. This match was highly advantageous to the duke, as by the preference which the emperor gave him, he was put in possession of the valuable duchy of *Guaftalla*, though many of the male line of that family claimed it. This present, however, was understood by both parties to be the price of the duke's intire attachment to the imperial interest; and an express condition was inserted in the articles of marriage, that *Guaftalla*, the capital of that duchy, should remain in the condition it then was, that is, without fortifications. The duke forgot all obligations of that kind, and precipitately entered into all the measures of *France*.

his advantageous marriage,

and character.

Gained over
by the
French.and gives
them Casal,but is obliged
to destroy the
fort of Gua-
stalla.

THIS duke *Charles IV.* was, if possible, more neglected in his education than his father had been, and was without his wit and penetration. Though his wife, the princess of *Guaftalla*, was a most amiable lady, he conceived an aversion to her person soon after their marriage, and refrained from her bed. As he had never been contradicted in any thing by his mother, he neglected business so much, that one day when he had occasion to sign his name, neither pen nor ink was to be found in all his palace; and he gave one of his courtiers a hundred pistoles a year to attend him on all occasions with those implements. The court of *France*, knowing the invincible propensity he had to pleasure, encouraged him in all his excesses, and in his aversion to his duchess; and at length he was despised even by the *Venetians*, and all the friends of the house of *Austria*, who before had treated him with the highest respect and esteem. When the *French* had got some ascendancy over him, cardinal *Mazarine* proposed, under pretence that his most Christian majesty was his proper guardian against the power and ambition of the house of *Austria*, that he should receive a *French* garrison into *Casal*; but the duke having then large appointments from the court of *Vienna*, the negociation miscarried. His extravagances, however, soon bringing him into necessities, the *French* king resumed his hopes of succeeding with regard to *Casal*. For that purpose he sent the abbot *Morel* to *Mantua*. His instructions were to offer to the duke an equivalent for *Casal*, either in ready money, or in estates in *France*; but, at the same time, to enforce the great advantage it would be for the duke of *Mantua*, to be free from the expence of maintaining the numerous garrison which that place required. The duke was reduced to a proper pitch of poverty, not to resent this proposal. He seemed, however, at first to be so averse to it, that the abbot retired from *Mantua* with some apparent disgust. The duke was far from being in earnest in his refusal; but, in fact, his situation was such, with the house of *Austria*, amongst the neighbouring powers, that he durst not at first comply. He at last sent the marquis *de Guerrier*, as his ambassador to *Paris*, to testify to his most Christian majesty, the extreme desire he had to remain in his good graces, and his willingness to do every thing in his power to oblige him. *Lewis* understood this compliment as a proof of the duke's being willing to part with *Casal*, and sent the abbot *Morel* back to *Mantua*. The abbot, in his first audience with the duke, put him in mind of what his ambassador had declared to *Lewis*. According to some writers, the duke was so incautious, that he immediately signed his name on a blank sheet of paper, which he delivered to the abbot, and the latter filled up the blank, with an express order for the governor of *Casal* to yield up the place to the *French* troops. The duke, in excuse, pretended that the commission he had charged *Guerrier* with, was no more than a general compliment, and that the *carte blanche* signified no more, than his readiness to gratify his most Christian majesty, in whatever was consistent with his interest and honour. Be this as it will, if the fact of the *carte blanche* is true, it is more than probable that the *French* made the duke a present of a considerable sum of money; for *Casal* was actually given up to them.

THE emperor highly resented this cession, as belonging to an imperial fief; and the *Venetians* reproaching the duke for having sold it to the *French*, he went to *Venice*, and there solemnly swore upon the host, that he never had touched a farthing of *French* money on that account. This asseveration, however, did not satisfy either the *Venetians* or the imperial court; and the duke found himself obliged to put *Guerrier* under an arrest, when he returned to *Mantua*; but no consequences happening from his imprisonment, the *Venetians* broke with the duke, and, without declaring war, cut off all communication between him and the senate and nobility. They were even so exasperated with him, that they hanged a painter who was one of his dependents, and afterwards broke open and read the letters which the duke, some time before, had sent in his favour. This is what the *French* had foreseen, and wished for; and the duke, in order to repair his decayed interest in *Italy*, took the resolution, some say by the advice of the *French* themselves, to fortify *Guaftalla*, tho' in a direct violation of his marriage contract. Having no money of his own, for his excesses always kept him poor, he was obliged to borrow for that purpose forty thousand *louis d'ors* from the *French* king, who lent it him, because he thought that his necessities would oblige him to part with *Guaftalla*, in the same manner as he had done with *Casal*. *Lewis* even sent him architects and engineers to expedite the fortifications.

THE emperor thought himself very ill treated in all this; and, by his ministers, represented to the duke, in the warmest terms, that by his connexions with *France*, he was not only forfeiting the conditions of his investiture, but laying a foundation for the *French* becoming masters of all *Italy*. The king of *Spain* seconded the remonstrances of the emperor; but the *French* had infatuated the duke to such a degree, that the operations still went on, and their engineers and workmen were daily repairing to the *Mantuan*, in pilgrim, or other disguises. Upon this, the king of *Spain* ordered count *Fuenfalida*, then governor of the *Milanese*, to advance with a body of troops to *Casal Maggiore*, where he embarked them and

his

a his artillery, and proceeded till he came opposite to *Guastalla*. He then sent the count de *Louvigny* to reason with the duke of *Mantua*, who had at first appeared resolute; but perceiving that count *Fuensalida* was making dispositions to land his men, he was persuaded not only to suffer the works to be demolished, but to order his subjects to join in the demolition. This was a labour of several months; the fortifications being built in the form of a pentagon, and, if completed, it would have been one of the strongest places in *Europe*.

THE duke, notwithstanding the coldness of the *Venetians* towards him, resided mostly in that city, where he could indulge his pleasures with greater freedom than he could do in the *Mantuan*. His excesses, however, sometimes brought him into inconveniences, and, on account of a love affair, he sent a challenge to the elector of *Bavaria*, who happened b to be there at the same time, but declined to fight the duke, but at the head of an army. Soon after the duke took a resolution to serv a campaign against the *Turks*, who were then threatening to besiege *Vienna*; and having raised a troop of three hundred men, he set out for *Hungary*, attended by a number of his own and other *Italiannobility*. It does not appear, that in this expedition he was wanting either in courage or conduct. His little troop made a noble appearance; and notwithstanding all he had done to provoke the emperor, he presented himself before him at *Vienna*; and *Leopold*, far from reproaching or confining him, as he had a right to do, extolled his generous resolution, and thanked him for his assistance; while the duke, in return, promised to abandon his connections with the *French*. He then became a public favourite with *Leopold*, and his general the c duke of *Lorrain*, under whom he served at the second siege of *Buda*; and when that was over he returned to *Italy*. The war between the *French* and the emperor soon breaking out there, in 1695, *Casal* was besieged and taken by the duke of *Savoy*. The duke of *Mantua* was now so great a favourite with the emperor, that the latter not chusing to suffer *Casal* to remain in the duke of *Savoy*'s hands, he gave it back to its former master, after the fortifications had been demolished, according to the capitulation. It was even thought, if the duke of *Mantua* had not relapsed into his connections with *France*, that he would have been made generalissimo of the imperial and *Spanish* armies. It is certain that the success of the war, in a great measure depended upon the part he should take. The imperialists made him very great offers, if he would give them up *Mantua* for a place of arms, and the pope, b the *Venetians*, and *Swiss*, offered to place a garrison in it at their own expence.

Makes a campaign against the *Turks*.

SUCH was the state of the duke's affairs, when the *Spanish* succession threw all *Europe* again into a combustion. But the duke had secretly determined himself in favour of *France*. He took care, however, as usual, to have some pretext for his conduct, and to clear himself from the imputation of rebellion, and ingratitude towards the emperor. He had hitherto refused to admit into his dominions either *French* or neutral troops; but prince *Vaudemont* having delivered up the *Milanese* to the *French*, and made himself master of *Mirandola*, in the beginning of *April* 1701, sent a letter by a trumpeter, desiring the duke to give up his capital to his troops, and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to reduce it to ashes in a few hours. It was generally believed that this was a preconcert between the duke and the e *French* court; for a body of fifteen thousand men appeared in the neighbourhood of *Mantua*. Upon this, the duke assembled his council, where it was resolved to comply with the summons; and the gates of the city being opened, *Tesse*, the *French* general, took possession of it with three thousand *French* and two thousand *Spaniards*. This event alarmed all *Europe*, and it was publicly given out, that the duke had received fifty thousand *louis d'ors* for the surrender, and his minister ten thousand for making the bargain. The duke had a residence at *Rome*, the marquis of *Berretta*, who had, some time before, applied to his holiness for a body of his troops to garrison *Mantua*; but the pope being slow in sending them, the *French* got the start of them. The marquis presented a letter to the pope, excusing himself for what had happened, and laying it upon his own inability to prevent it. f To this letter the pope returned no answer; but the marquis, soon after, appearing at the imperial resident's house, the latter threatened to throw him out of his window.

Again joins the *French*.

AT *Vienna*, that court was so thoroughly convinced of a collusion between the duke and the *French*, that in *July* after the surrender of *Mantua*, the baron de *Seyler*, the emperor's minister at *Ratisbon*, gave notice to the diet, that the duke of *Mantua*, and the counts of *Berera* and *Fiani*, his ministers, had been cited by the council of the empire to appear, and shew cause, why they surrendered to the *French* the city of *Mantua*; and to hear pronounced against them the sentence of confiscation of their estates and goods, for encouraging and promoting the cruel war which is like to be kindled in *Italy*. He also imparted to the diet, another ordinance of the same council, by which all the officers and vassals of the g duke of *Mantua*, are discharged from their obedience which they owe him: together with certain circulatory letters, by which all the princes of *Italy*, feudaries of the empire, with their vassals, are exhorted to continue faithful to the empire.

THE

*His second
marriage,*

and death.

THE duke, thus finding himself ruined at the imperial court, shut himself up in *Mantua*,^a and entered intirely into the *French* schemes both of pleasure and business. His duchess, *Isabella* of *Guastalla*, dying, the *French* persuaded him to make a journey into *France*, where he was received by *Lewis* with vast careffes; and the better to fix him in his interest, he gave him in marriage the princess *d'Elbeuf*, with the title of general of the *French* armies in *Italy*. This dignity gratified the duke's passion for shew; and when he returned, he took possession of his new post in the duke of *Vendosme's* army, to the great ridicule of the soldiers, and indeed of all *Europe*. But while he was thus exercising his generalship, the war in *Italy* took a new turn, and the *French*, in 1707, were driven out of *Mantua* itself, without being able to make any stipulation in favour of the duke, or his duchess. Upon this, he retired to the remainder of his estate in the *Venetian* territories, and died at *Pavia* on the 5th of *July*, 1708, a few days after he had been put to the ban of the empire.^b Dying without lawful issue, many claimants of the houses of *Guastalla* and *Lorrain*, applied for the investiture of *Mantua*; but the emperor refused it to them all, and kept possession of it himself, but gave the duchy of *Montferrat* to the duke of *Savoy*. It is not our design to discuss the pretensions of the several parties who claimed this succession; but it was generally thought that the house of *Lorrain* had the best right to it; and it has, ever since the death of the last duke, been annexed to the duchy of *Milan*.

END of the HISTORY of MANTUA.

HISTORY of the House of SAVOY.

Containing the history of *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the other estates of his *Sardinian* majesty.

S E C T I.

Containing a general description of the king of *Sardinia's* dominions; and the history of that house from the year 1000.

- a **S**AVOY, the *Sabaudia* of the ancients, borders upon *France* to the West; upon *France* and *Piedmont* to the South; upon *Piedmont*, the *Milanese*; and *Switzerland* to the East; and is bounded on the North by the lake of *Geneva*. According to its present dimensions, it is no more than eighty-eight *English* miles from West to East, and from South to North seventy-six. The face of the country is rugged, and wretched to the last degree, being mountainous, or rather rocky; between the hills, in a few contemptible vallies; the inhabitants, with the utmost efforts of industry and labour, pick up a miserable subsistence. There are, however, a few exceptions to this wretchedness. Grain grows in some of the vallies, and vines near the lake of *Geneva*, *Montmelian*, and *St. Jean de Maurienne*; and *Ripalle* presents romantic but beautiful prospects. Mount *Cenis* is famous for its height; and the difficulty of its passage, being the road between *Savoy* and *Piedmont*; but has of late years been rendered more practicable by incredible labour. The chief river of *Savoy* is the *Rhone*, which flows out of the lake of *Geneva*, and on that side separates it from *France*. Into it run the following rivers: the *Arve*, which rises in *Faucigny*, has a mixture of gold in its sand, and near *Geneva* empties itself into the *Rhone*: *Les Suffes* and *Siers*; the sources of which are in the *Genevois*, and fall into the *Rhone* not far from *Seisel*, the latter being increased by the *Seran*: the *Iserree*, which rises in the *Tarentaise*, at the foot of the mount *Iseran*; among others it receives the river *Arc*, the head of which is in *Maurienne*, and beyond *Valence* loses itself in the *Rhone*. The *Arc*, having a great many falls, is very rapid and full of foam. The chief lakes are those of *Anicy* in the *Genevois*, and *Bourgec* in *Savoy*^a; and both of them abound with excellent fish, particularly trouts. The inhabitants are generally so miserably poor, that one-third of the men seek their bread in foreign countries by the lowest occupations, such as puppet-show men, chimney-sweepers, and shoe-blackers. They who remain at home labour very hard for their living, particularly in carrying strangers and travellers over their mountains, which are often impassable for mules, though it is amazing with what art and security they walk. But neither this employment, nor the most laborious drudgeries, prevents many inhabitants from begging alms on the high roads, from every traveller who makes a tolerable appearance. Yet, after all, the miseries of the *Savoyards* are not so much owing to the barrenness of the soil, as to the tyranny of the landlords, who discourage all cultivation of the ground by their haughtiness and rigour. Many spots of *Savoy* are capable of producing corn; and the few that do produce it, are superior to those that do not, only in the cultivation.
- b
- c
- d

Description of
Savoy,

and its inhabitants.

- The people, who are naturally submissive, chearful, and contented; are shut out by their situation from knowing any thing of the other parts of the world, and bear all their miseries with patience. A farmer, who has a yoke of oxen, two horses, four cows, and a few goats and sheep, is looked upon as being a wealthy man. Most of their bread is made of oats, but a few amongst the richest of them have wheat. The fare of the lower sort is extremely poor: their highest luxury consisting in milk and water for drink; and for food, in cheese, butter, wallnuts, and garden stuff, and even those in very scanty quantities. Flesh meat is seldom known, even amongst the more wealthy of them. The reigning king of *Sardinia*, and his father, have gone far towards abolishing many of the oppressive tenures and usages, under which the subjects groaned from their landlords. Nobility and genealogy, and armorial bearings, are in *Savoy* so many civil diseases; which are encouraged, because they bring in a considerable revenue to the crown; titles here being a mercantile commodity. The language of the *Savoyards* is *French*, but they retain amongst them, a great
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^a BUSCHING'S Geography, vol. iii. pag. 16.

deal of the old *German* plainness and honesty. Their religion is popery, to which they are no great bigots. Hunting is one of the privileges of the noble *Savoyards*; and the lives of the poorer people might be much more comfortable, if they were indulged in the exercise either of that or of fishing, many of their woods and plains being stored with excellent game.

CHAMBERRY, properly speaking, is the capital of *Savoy*, and is situated on the river *Leise*, in a fine valley; but nothing worth mentioning is to be seen there. It is, however, the place where the states or parliament of *Savoy* assemble, and some vestiges of the ancient feudal constitution are still discernable there. *Montmelian* is a very strong town of *Savoy*, and *Ripaille* is famous for its delightful retirements. The rest of its towns have nothing in them remarkable. We cannot close this general account of *Savoy*, without taking notice, that vast numbers of the inhabitants have large wens and excrescences upon their throats, which is thought to be owing to their drinking snow water.

Piedmont.

PIEDMONT, so called from its being situated at the foot of the mountains, is a part of the ancient *Lombardy*, and northward borders on *Savoy* and *Italy*; westward, on *France*; southward, on the *Mediterranean* and the republic of *Genoa*; and eastward, on the duchies of *Montferrat* and *Milan*. From south to north, it is about thirty *German*, or one hundred and fifty *English* miles, but much less from west to east. The soil of it is a great deal more fruitful, and less rugged than that of *Savoy*. Its hills produce great plenty of excellent wine, and *Turin*, its capital, is famous for fine fruits, and noble walks of chestnut and mulberry trees. Chestnuts and truffles of an excellent kind, are found here in great plenty. They have a particular kind of dogs, that by their scent find out the truffles; nor do they lose that quality when carried to other countries. It is said that the cattle of *Piedmont* brings into the country above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year; but the chief commodity of the inhabitants is silk, which is the best in *Italy*. The country, from *Turin* to *Coni*, is delightful; and *Rochemelon* is the highest of all the *Italian Alps*, it requiring a whole day to reach its summit, from whence there is a noble prospect all over the *Milanese*, *Venice*, and the neighbouring countries. The *Po*, into which several other rivers run, and the *Var*, are its chief rivers.

As to its inhabitants, they are lively, ingenious, and witty. The nobility live under the like constitutions, and much after the same manner as those of *Savoy*; and in *Piedmont* there are about fifty earldoms, fifteen marquises, a great number of lordships, and twenty abbeys. The language of the *Piedmontese* is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*; but they have the misfortune to be equally slaves to their kings, and to their religion, which is popery, and which cramps all the efforts of their natural genius. In this duchy, however, amidst the vallies of *Lucerne*, *Peyrouse*, and *St. Martin*, bordering on *Dauphiné*, live the celebrated *Waldenses*; which appellation is not derived from a person of the name of *Waldus*, but the place of their abode, namely, the vallies, the *Italians* calling them *Waldesti*; that is, the people of the vallies. Those people profess a kind of primitive Christianity, and have always opposed the superstitions of the church of *Rome*, which has often drawn upon them most inhuman persecutions. The king of *Sardinia*, by the situation of his dominions, has been justly termed the jailor of the *Alps*, as it is extremely difficult for the *French*, or any other people, to force their way into *Italy* without his consent. This renders his friendship of infinite consequence to all the powers of *Europe*, who are concerned in any quarrel relating to the *Italian* states. As he is an absolute sovereign within his own state in civil matters, and for the most part in ecclesiastic, his ordinary revenues amount to almost what he pleases; and though they cannot be calculated, must be very considerable, as he keeps a very splendid court, and an army of fifteen thousand men in time of peace, though he can bring into the field forty thousand men on occasion.

THE capital city of *Piedmont* is *Turin*, the ancient *Augusta Taurinorum*. It is one of the finest cities in *Europe* for its dimensions, being of a quadrangular form, and above four miles and a half in circumference. It is situated in a delightful country, on the confluence of the *Po* and the *Doria*; and nothing can be more pleasant than the hills that surround it, which are covered with villas, convents, and magnificent buildings. Its inhabitants at present are between fifty and sixty thousand, and it contains forty-eight churches and convents, and seventeen more may be seen from its ramparts. Its high, or principal street, is remarkable for its regularity, breadth, and the loftiness of its buildings, which are decorated with fine spacious piazzas, and balconies to every story, but disfigured by the use of paper lattices. The king's palace is built of free stone, and most splendidly adorned with pillars, statues, and a grand stair-case, where there is a brass figure of *Victor Amadeus*, the late king, on a horse of white marble. It must, however, be acknowledged that the old town of *Turin* (for hitherto we have only spoken of the new one) does not at

^b BUSCHING, vol. iii. p. 24.

^c Ibid, p. 26.

a all answer to this magnificent description. The houses in both are built of brick, and many of the streets are narrow, crooked, and incommodious. To make amends for this, they are interspersed with grand palaces, and some of them contain beautiful squares.

BESIDES the king's palace, which can be matched by few in *Europe*, *Turin* contains a great number of fine public buildings both religious and civil. The opera-house, the record-office, the university, the royal printing-office, and the arsenal, are all of them master-pieces, in their several kinds. The king's cabinet of curiosities is allowed to be invaluable, and the university library, besides twenty-thousand printed volumes, is stocked with an immense collection of manuscripts. The hospitals for the sick, the poor, and the lunatics, are answerable to the other magnificent works of this city; and its fortifications render it extremely strong. A cut from the *Doria*, which is communicated by sluices to all the streets of *Turin*, every night, renders it sweet and wholesome. The inhabitants, in their manner and way of living, greatly resemble the *French*; but they are not without their religious weakneses, witness the holy handkerchief, which is most sacredly preserved in *Turin*, within a chapel of black marble of most curious architecture. *Turin* is the see of an archbishop; and it has an university, which was erected in the year 1405. The academies here, for riding, dancing; and warlike exercises, are reckoned to be the best of any in the world, and are greatly encouraged by that king, whose courtiers, in time of peace, are formed out of the officers of his army. The court itself is polite and agreeable, and is thought to be free from that insincerity which prevails in *France*, and the dissimulation that characterizes the other courts of *Italy*. There are, however, inconveniences that render *Turin* less agreeable to a stranger than it would otherwise be. The air is thick and moist, its water is bad, and the accommodations of inns are very paltry. Upon the whole, the city is grand and beautiful; curious pieces of antiquity are placed in many parts of its walls; and the present king has omitted nothing to complete the fortifications of the city, and to render it the strongest perhaps of any in *Europe*.

THE neighbourhood of *Turin* is full of magnificent palaces, many of which belong to the king. *La Vigne de la Reine* is famous for its delightful prospect. *La Venerie* has a fine garden, and near it the king's guards are quartered. *Montcallier* and *Stupinice* are two royal palaces, neither of them four miles from *Turin*, and each adorned with peculiar beauties of painting, gardening, and situation. *Superga* is a religious foundation, the origin of which is connected with our history. The high hill upon which it is built; was the place from whence the duke of *Savoy*, his present *Sardinian* majesty's father, together with prince *Eugene*, reconnoitred the *French* army, which besieged *Turin* in 1706; and had gone far towards lying it in ashes by red hot bullets; the *French* king having a particular resentment against his royal highness. The awful prospect of this scene of misery and distress, inspired his royal highness with such sentiments, that he made a vow to erect a charitable foundation, if he should succeed in delivering his crown and capital from their enemies, and which he accordingly performed^a. This building, which is six stories high, forms a parallelogram, one of the smaller sides of which is taken up by the pompous church, where, over the main entrance, is seen the following inscription; "*Virgini generatrici Victor Amadeus, Sardiniae rex, bello Gallico vovit, pulsus hostibus, extruxit dedicavitque.*" "*Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, during his war with France, vowed this house; and having defeated his enemies, he has built and dedicated the same to the Virgin Mother.*" Under the church is built the new burial-place for the royal family. This foundation has a yearly appointment of eighteen thousand *Piedmontese* livres in specie, whereby twelve young ecclesiastics, of the better persons of quality, are maintained under the direction of a prior, and completely qualified for the highest ecclesiastical preferments. The prospect from this eminence is exceedingly delightful. The only water here for drinking is the rain, of which it is said, in case of necessity, to be provided with a sufficiency, at least for three years.

Description of its neighbourhood.

It would take up too much room here to describe the other enchanting palaces and spots with which *Piedmont* abounds. It may be called the country of fortifications, as its situation is equally fit for erecting forts; and inviting invasions. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a description of those cities and strong places, that have made the greatest figure in war for these three hundred years past; and tend to illustrate history by describing them.

CHIVAS, or *Chivazzo*, stands on the *Po*, about twelve miles northward of *Turin*. Chivas. It is a strong place, and was retaken by the duke of *Savoy*. *Mondovi* is a fine Mondovi. city, and a district. It is reckoned the second city in *Piedmont*, and a place of strength, and lies forty miles to the south of *Turin*. *Coni* lies about thirty, and, during the late wars of *Savoy*, it was reckoned to be impregnable, having baffled the *French* and Spaniards,

^a BUSCHING, vol. iii. p. 29.

- Pignerole.** *Spaniards* who besieged it. *Pignerole* is famous, in the histories of *France* and *Savoy*, for being the object of perpetual wars. It is situated on the river *Cbiese*, and being very strong, underwent various fates; but at last it was returned to the possession of the house of *Savoy*, by the treaty of *Utrecht* in 1713, but on condition that it should not be re-fortified by his *Sardinian* majesty. **Fort Brunette.** *Fort Brunette* lies on one of the entrances of *Savoy* from *France*. It consists of eight bastions, which, with their out-works, are all cut out of the rocks. Not a single building is to be seen amongst them; and the men are so covered, that not a soldier is to be perceived, excepting a few centinels on proper posts. The communication between the bastions and other works, are under the rocks, and of such a breadth, that large carriages, and heavy cannon, with several horses, can, with the greatest conveniency and safety, go from one place to the other. Those bastions are generally guarded by three thousand men; and the desperate attacks that have been at various times made upon them by the *French*, particularly during the last war, exceed all belief.
- Susa.** *SUSA* lies in another pass between *France* and *Piedmont*, to which it is of the utmost importance. It stands on the river *Doria*, twenty miles northward of *Turin*. After being often in the possession of the *French*, and demolished by them, it returned to the house of *Savoy* by the treaty of *Utrecht*; but it is stronger by its garrison, than by its fortifications or situation. Here is to be seen a marble triumphal arch, erected by king *Cottius*, in honour of *Augustus Cæsar*. **Fenestrelles.** *Fenestrelles* and *Exilles* are likewise famous for their strength and situation, and for the noble defence they made against the *French*, when the latter invaded *Italy* in favour of the infants of *Spain*. **Asti.** *Asti* is the capital of a county. It lies twenty-five miles to the eastward of *Turin*, and is a bishop's see. It is large, strong, and populous, and few cities in *Lombardy* are said to exceed it in its palaces and public buildings. Great remains of antiquity, such as a triumphal arch, an amphitheatre, and the like, are still to be seen here, it being a favourite town with *Augustus Cæsar*, and other emperors. **Saluzzo.** *Saluzzo* is the capital of a marquissate of the same name, and stands on an eminence at the foot of the *Alps*. It has undergone various revolutions; but it is now remarkable for little more than the magnificence of its cathedral, and its being a bishop's seat. **Chateau Dauphin.** *Chateau Dauphin* is another fort, lying in the *Piedmontese* vallies.
- Valley of Lucerne.** THE chief of these is commonly called the vale of *Lucerne*, which is fifteen miles in length, but of an unequal breadth. It contains twelve parishes: that of *Roras*, which is the smallest, is remarkably fruitful in wine, grain, and vegetables, the very dreadful hills, which every where surround it, being improved. The parish of *Angrogne*, in which lies the famous barricade, is perhaps one of the strongest spots in the world; for it lies amongst stupendous mountains, and the entrances into it require to be defended by a very few men, to render it inaccessible. It was here that the famous *Waldenses*, the pious confessors for true Christianity, we have already mentioned, held out against all their enemies, who were powerful, keen, and numerous; and here their pastors used to preach without obstruction before the reformation, and to fit young men for the purposes of the ministry. The reader is to observe, that it is with some difficulty we can account for the propriety of calling those spots vallies, as there is in some of them little or no level ground, though they are in general so excessively fruitful, that it has been commonly said, if *Italy* was a sheep, *Piedmont* might be considered as its kidney.
- Verue.** *VERUE*, a fortress situated on a rock near the *Po*, and of prodigious strength. It has been known to hold out the siege of a *French* army for six months. **Verceil.** *Verceil*, so called from a barony of that name, has been often mentioned in the foregoing part of this history. It is situated near the frontiers of *Milan*, or rather of *Montferrat*, fifteen miles to the northward of *Casal*, and about forty north-east of *Turin*: it gives name to a bishopric, which is suffragan to the archbishopric of *Milan*: it is large and fortified, and generally follows the fortune of *Turin* the capital. Before we finish this description of the vallies of *Piedmont*, some of the chief places of which we have only taken notice of, it may be proper to say somewhat farther concerning their natural curiosities. Those vallies, particularly that of *St. Martin*, contain large woods and thickets that abound in white hares, white, and other coloured partridges, and large pheasants, not to mention great numbers of wolves and bears. The marmotte, which is so famous in *England*, resides on the highest parts of the mountains. It is of a reddish colour; it is larger than a rabbit; its flesh tastes like pork, and lives where there is very little herbage: but the most remarkable property of that animal is, that while the mountains are covered with snow, which is eight or nine months in the year, it is always asleep. The bouquetin, which resembles a goat, or chamois, has its haunts upon the mountains likewise; it generally sleeps on the ice; it is very fleet; its flesh is excellent, and when its blood is administered in warm wine, it is an excellent remedy for that numbness which is so common and fatal in that country. The tumar, or bif, is a creature engendered by a bull and a mare, or a bull and a she-ass: it lives upon very little; and its strength, swiftness, and utility, in travelling, is amazing.

a The mountains of *Piedmont* are likewise famous for excellent vegetables, some of which are medicinal.

THE county of *Nice*, though not properly belonging to *Piedmont*, yet borders on it, *Nice*, and belongs to the same matter. *Nice*, the chief town, stands in a fine plain, sixty miles to the southward of *Pignerole*, at the foot of the *Alps*. Its citadel is strong, and the city itself is said to be very fine. It passed in former times through many hands; but the king of *Sardinia* recovered it at the peace of *Utrecht*, and has since repaired its fortifications. It may be expected we should here touch upon *Montferrat*; but that duchy has been already spoken of; and the places in it, belonging to his *Sardinian* majesty, require no other particular description, than what has been already given. We shall therefore proceed to

b *Sardinia*.

THIS island is of value to his *Sardinian* majesty, chiefly as it gives him a royal title. It stretches from north to south in the *Mediterranean*, and is about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and from west to east eighty. The air is so unwholesome, and the soil so poor, that the antient *Romans* punished their state, and other prisoners, by confining them to live on the island. The barrenness of the soil is, however, chiefly owing to the indolence of the inhabitants, but it has of late been greatly improved; so that from many places they export corn to *Spain*. *Cagliari*, or *Calaris*, the capital, situated on the declivity of a hill, is an university, and an archbishopric, and the residence of the viceroy. It has an excellent harbour, and is said to be large and populous, and to have a brisk trade; but it certainly is a place of no great strength. The rest of the places in this island have nothing remarkable in them. We shall, therefore, here close the description of his *Sardinian* majesty's dominions.

THE ducal and sovereign house of *Savoy* is generally thought to have the same original with the electoral house of *Saxony*, and that their common ancestor was *Witichind*, surnamed *The Great Duke of Saxony*, who was contemporary with *Charlemagne*; but we shall begin our history with *Beroald*, or *Bertold*.

WE have already, in the history of *Geneva*, mentioned the kingdom of the *Bourgignons*, or *Burgundians*, which was sometimes called the kingdom of *Arles*; but in fact they were distinct, though under the same sovereigns. The kingdom of *Arles* comprehended *Provence*, the *Lionnois*, and *Dauphiny*. The kingdom of *Burgundy* comprehended *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, and many countries in the neighbourhood. *Bertold* bought from *Rodolf*, one of the kings of the *Burgundians*, the counties of *Savoy* and *Maurienne*; and he had a son named *Hubert with the white Hands*. This prince, who died about the year 1050, performed so many important services to the emperor *Conrade II.* that he rewarded him by giving him in property *St. Maurice*, *Valais*, and the country of *Chablais*. *Hubert's* son, *Amadeus*, died without issue, and his brother *Otho* added to his paternal dominions the marquisates of *Susa*, *Turin*, *Piedmont*, and the valley of *Aosta*. He assumed the title of marquis of *Italy*, and died in 1060. His son *Amadeus II.* pretended to be independent of the imperial power, and lived during the troublesome times of the emperor *Henry IV.*

c That prince, in his famous expedition into *Italy*, to recover the rights of the empire, found all the passages for his march shut up by his enemies, but that by *Savoy*, through which he demanded to march; but *Amadeus* obliged him, in consideration of that privilege, to yield to him the possession of five bishoprics in the neighbourhood. The history of *Henry* has been recounted in the preceding parts of this work; and *Amadeo* took advantage, from his distresses, to increase his dominions, by the accession of a large portion of the kingdom of *Arles*, which he did not possess before, and which is thought to be the county of *Baugy*. In a few months after he died, and was succeeded by his son *Hubert II.* who took upon himself the title of count, or, as others say, prince of *Piedmont*. He added to his other dominions the *Tarantaise*, and died about the year 1103. His son and successor *Amadeo III.* was engaged in war with the count of *Geneva*, whom he is said to have slain with his own hand. He attended the emperor *Henry V.* in his two journeys to *Rome*, and served in two campaigns against the infidels in the *Holy Land*, and died about 1149 at *Nicosia*, a city of *Cyprus*. His son and successor *Hubert III.* had a religious turn, and inclined to enter into a religious order. He joined the pope against the emperor *Frederick I.* who stripped him of *Turin*, with all its dependences, which he bestowed upon the archbishop of that city. This was a great blow upon the house of *Savoy*, for it did not recover its loss for many years. This *Hubert III.* died in 1188.

HE was succeeded by *Thomas I.* who observed a conduct very different from that of his father; for he attached himself to the imperial interest, who not only restored him to many of his paternal estates in *Piedmont*, but gave him the title of vicar-general of the holy *Roman* empire in *Piedmont*, and in *Lombardy*. His son *Amadeo IV.* following his father's principles and party, prevailed with the emperor *Frederick II.* to erect the *Chablais* and *Aosta* into duchies in his favour. His brother *Thomas* added to the house of *Savoy* the principa-

lity of *Carignan*, which he purchased from the family of *Provane*, and also the marquisate of *Jurée*, which the emperor made a present of to his house, though it was long before they could enter into possession of it. This *Amadeo IV.* reigned twenty years. He was succeeded in 1255, by his son *Boniface*, who, from his bodily strength, was called *Roland*. He was an unfortunate prince, being all his life-time engaged in quarrels with his neighbours, particularly with *William*, marquis of *Montferrat*, who took him prisoner, and carried him to *Turin*, where he died under his confinement, notwithstanding the earnest mediation of the pope in his favour. This *Boniface* never having been married, he was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle *Peter*. This prince married *Agnes*, the heiress of *Faucigny*, the lord of which left all his estates to his daughter, by whom they came to the house of *Savoy*. He defeated the marquis of *Montferrat*, who had been so cruel to his predecessor *Boniface*, and acquired so great a reputation, that the town of *Bern* put itself under his protection, that it might be defended from the encroachments and menaces of its neighbours. This prince dying without issue in 1268, he was succeeded by his brother *Philip*, archbishop of *Lions* and *Vienne*. But he quitted the ecclesiastical state, and married *Alice* of *Burgundy*, by whom having no issue, his dominions fell to his next heir *Amadeo V.* son to *Thomas II.* This prince acquired the surname of *The Great*, by his successes, and the wisdom with which they were conducted. He married *Sibylla*, the heiress of *Bresse*, a province of *France*, which is surrounded by the *Rhone*, the *Saon*, *Burgundy*, and the county of *Vaux*, *Coligni*, and several other territories. He purchased *Revermont* from *Robert*, duke of *Burgundy*, and inherited, by bequeathment from *Margaret*, queen of *France*, the fortresses of *Pierre-Chatel*, *Seissel*, and *Montfalcon*. The county of *Asi* was given to him in a present by the emperor *Henry VII.* but the possession of it was not made good to the house of *Savoy*, till the time of the emperor *Charles V.* This great prince acquired immortal honour by his behaviour in defending the isle of *Rhodes*, which had undergone various revolutions. The califs of *Bagdat*, or, as they are commonly called, the *Saracens*, had taken it from the *Greek* emperor. The *Saracens* were expelled by the *Turks*, and they in their turn by the knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, after besieging the capital for two years. The *Turks*, about the year 1311, endeavoured to retake it, and must have succeeded, had it not been for the generous and powerful assistance offered to the Christians by the count of *Savoy*. The histories of that time are full of his gallant behaviour in defending that important island, which was then the barrier of Christendom, against the infidels. The king of *Arles*, or *Burgundy*, had made a present of the temporal sovereignty of the city of *Lions* to its archbishop; and the latter had given a palace there to the knights of *St. John*, which, in consideration of the great services performed by the count to the order, the great master bestowed upon him. His defence of *Rhodes* is said to have given rise to the device of *F. E. R. T.* the initials of the *Latin* words, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*. "His bravery saved *Rhodes*."

ALL the sovereign princes of *Europe* courted the friendship of this *Amadeo*, and he was generally the mediator in all their differences, witness the friendships he contracted with the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *England*, who all of them loved and honoured him, while they were at variance with one another. He governed *Savoy* forty-five years, and his brother *Thomas* reunited *Piedmont* to that house, which it had long been deprived of, as we have already seen. This *Amadeo the Great* was succeeded by his son *Edward*, who was then only lord, or, as he was called, sire of *Baugy* and *Bresse*. In his father's life-time he had signalized himself in war, particularly in the battle of *Mont en Paele*; but after he came to be count of *Savoy*, he had but indifferent success in the wars he waged with his neighbours, particularly with the dauphin of *Viennois*. In the year 1328, he assisted *Philip de Valois*, whom he followed into *Flanders*, at the battle of *Montcasel*. Having received many services from the inhabitants of *Bern*, he generously re-established that city in its liberties, and died while *Clementia*, the widow of *Lewis Hutin* of *France*, was endeavouring to reconcile him to the dauphin of *Viennois*. He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to *John III.* duke of *Britany*.

EDWARD was succeeded by his brother *Aimon*. This prince, having seen the misfortunes of war during his brother's reign, endeavoured all he could to avoid them; and for that reason obtained the name of *The Pacific*. He was the first count of *Savoy*, who added to his titles that of count of *Verceil*. After reigning upwards of fourteen years, he was succeeded by *Amadeo VI.* This gallant prince distinguished himself at a tournament, in which the furniture of his horse, and his own armour, being all green, he obtained the appellation of count *de Verd*, or *The Green Count*, by which he was so generally known, that it has created some confusion in history. He was but nine years of age when he succeeded to the government of *Savoy*, which he greatly increased. He joined to it *Quevasque* and *Mondovi*, about the year 1346, and the year after *Cheri* and *Savigliano*. Three years after the city of *Fribourg*, of its own accord, put itself under his protection; but it afterwards

a afterwards recovered its liberty, and is now the capital of one of the *Swiss* cantons. He purchased from his cousin *Catharine*, the wife of *Azzo Visconti*, the country of *Vaud*; and he had a present of the marquisate of *Saluces* from the emperor *Charles IV.* that marquis having rebelled against him; but it was of little service at this time to the marquis. In 1373 he took *St. Agatha*, and several other places upon the *Doire*, and afterwards added to his dominions *Bielle*, *Coni*, and *Verrue*. He was the original founder of the order of the knights of *Annunciade*, which for many years was called the order of *Savoy*; and he obliged the king of *Bulgaria* to restore to his liberty the emperor *John Paleologus* of *Greece*. He had many wars with the dauphin of *Viennois*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, and other neighbours, in all which he was successful; but he died near *St. Stefano*, while he was assisting *Lewis* of *Anjou* to recover the kingdom of *Naples*. His death, according to some, was occasioned by the plague, and, according to others, by the enemy having poisoned all the waters of the neighbourhood. His son *Amadeo VII.* was so fortunate as to become master of the county of *Nice*; and both *Villa Franca* and *Barcelonetta* put themselves under his protection; so that the house of *Savoy* became their masters. This prince died of the consequences of a fall he received from his horse while he was hunting, and the unskilfulness of a surgeon who dressed his wounds. Amadeo VII.

He was succeeded by his son *Amadeo VIII.* who purchased from its last earl the county of *Genevois*, which cost him forty-five thousand florins of gold. We have, in the history of *Geneva*, given an ample account of the wars between the house of *Savoy* and the inhabitants of that city; we shall not, therefore, repeat them here. *Amadeo VIII.* purchased the city of *Rumilli*, upon the lake of *Geneva*, from the widow of the last count of *Genevois*; and the house of *Savoy* now became so illustrious, that in 1426, the emperor *Sigismund* erected *Savoy* into a duchy. According to the *Savoyard* historians, this *Amadeo* supported *John Paleologus* against the duke of *Milan*, who endeavoured to deprive him of the duchy of *Montferrat*. *Paleologus*, thinking he could not be too grateful for the assistance he had received, not only resigned to the duke *Chivas*, *Brandis*, and other estates, but submitted to hold all the marquisate of *Montferrat*, as a fief from the house of *Savoy*. We have already observed, that, in the history of *Modena*, *Vercelli* was given to this duke, upon the marriage of his daughter with *Philip Maria*, duke of *Milan*; and, about the same time, the count of *Crescentino* became his toedary. Amadeo VIII.

Few transactions in history are so remarkable, or more memorable, as the life of this *Amadeo*; nor do writers seem to know his real character. Some have represented him to be a person of great sanctity, and as leading a life of moderation and virtue; others, as being a mere bigot, and an enthusiast; and others, as one of the most politic princes in the world. The truth is, his real character appears, with a mixture of virtue and abilities, to have been caprice, and a humour that led him to indulge himself in all kind of even opposite extravagances. He pretended a vast love for retirement, which was no other than that he might have an opportunity to live at freedom, and in the most sensual manner: he therefore retired to *Ripaille*, where there was a religious house, and there he instituted the order of *St. Maurice*. The place, which is naturally delightful, was fitted up with every thing that could please the eye, and charm the other senses; and he was attended by several of his intimates, and twenty servants, who were intrusted with his voluptuous secrets. Instead of taking upon him a religious habit, as he gave out he had done, he assumed robes next to those of royalty (A), and a golden cross was embroidered upon his mantle. In short, nothing was wanting to complete his scheme of pleasure, being provided with excellent music, and living upon the most luxurious dainties, both in eating and drinking. His character, and luxurious retreat.

His pretended retreat, and sanctity of manners, was so celebrated, that he was, by the council of *Basil*, which had deposed pope *Eugene IV.* chosen pope. This was carrying the farce of his devotion very far: but he still continued to humour it. He had resigned the dukedom of *Savoy* to his eldest son *Lewis*, and had made his youngest son *Philip* count of *Genevois*; but their honours were only titular, for they were obliged to live on very small allowances; while the father in his retirement received all the revenues, and amassed so much money, that he is said to have purchased the papacy. It is highly probable that the duke was not then serious in retaining that dignity. He took the name of *Felix V.* and was crowned at *Basil* by the cardinal of *Arles*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, he never having taken any holy orders, and still continuing a layman. This council, however, in its twenty-ninth session, confirmed his election to the popedom; and he himself, with great pretended reluctance, assumed the pontifical ornaments, and was consecrated in the church of *St. Maurice*. For some time the dignity of pope was contested between him and *Eugene*; but he was not acknowledged by the emperor, notwithstanding the most earnest instances Is chosen pope. Takes the name of Felix V.

(A) This retreat, according to *Monstrelet*, a *French* historian, who lived about this time, enriched the *French* language with the word *faire Ripailles*, to signify a life of exquisite pleasure and luxury.

Is excommuni-
cated by Eu-
gene IV.

of the council for that purpose. All *Europe* was divided between him and *Eugene*. *Eneas Sylvius*, who was himself afterwards pope, informs us, that *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Hungary*, acknowledged *Eugene*. *Germany* was neutral. The kings of *Arragon* and *Poland*, and the duke of *Bretagne*, acknowledged the council only, as being head of the church, while *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Basil*, *Strasburg*, *Pomerania*, and one of the dukes of *Bavaria*, acknowledged *Felix*, who obtained from the council a grant of many large revenues for the support of his dignity. This substantial mark of their allegiance prevailed with *Felix* to make some efforts towards retaining the pontificate. He and the council of *Basil* had been excommunicated by *Eugene*; and the emperor *Frederick III.* held a council at *Franckfort*, before which both popes pleaded their rights by their deputies, but without any effect. Soon after, the emperor came into the neighbourhood of *Basil*, where he had an interview with *Felix*, whose natural propensity to pleasure was so great, that he committed the management of his affairs to his cardinals, and retired again to *Ripaille*. It was there that he treated with *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, but in vain; for *Alphonso* acknowledged *Eugene*. Mean while, the fathers of the council of *Basil* were perpetually applying to *Felix* to reside in that city; but he still found means to elude their requests, and to indulge his pleasures. He even rendered them obedient to his will in every thing he desired, and prevailed with them to transfer the council to *Lions*, which lay more convenient for himself. *Eugene* having excommunicated some of the *German* princes for adhering to *Felix*, the others threatened to disavow his authority; and thus every thing relating to the church ran into confusion, till the death of *Eugene*, which, for a few days, left *Felix* sole pope.

and resigns the
holy see to Ni-
cholas.

BUT his authority having been disowned by above half of *Europe*, the cardinals at *Rome*, in order to restore peace to the church, on the 11th day after *Eugene's* death, proceeded to the election of a new pope, and the choice fell upon *Thomas de Sarzana*, who took the name of *Nicholas V.* and being generally recognized, *Felix* agreed at last to treat concerning his abdication of the popedom. This, however, could not be done without danger to himself; and he applied for the assistance and countenance of *Philip* duke of *Milan*, his son-in-law, who had been very instrumental in his exaltation. *Philip* only laughed at his applications, by saying, "That as *Amadeo* had given him a wife without a portion, so he " had given him a popedom without a revenue;" for the grant of money which the council had given him, had never been paid. Though it is uncertain whether *Felix* ever was in earnest about keeping the pontificate, yet he undoubtedly offered the emperor *Frederick III.* two hundred thousand crowns with his daughter in marriage. The emperor had his reasons for declining this offer; and *Felix* perceiving that the little authority that remained to him was daily diminishing, agreed, at the request of the emperor, under certain stipulations, which *Frederick* transmitted to *Rome* for the approbation of *Nicholas*, to resign the papacy. This negotiation proved *Felix* to be an able prince. *Nicholas* annulled all that had been done by the late pope *Eugene* to his prejudice, or that of his friends. He confirmed the acts of the council of *Basil*, and granted many others that were equally to the honour and advantage of *Felix*; for he was made perpetual apostolical legate in *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the other places of his own dominions, as well as in the bishoprics of *Lausanne*, *Basil*, *Strasburg*, and *Constance*. He was, at the same time, created a cardinal, and bishop of *Subino*, and permitted to wear his pontifical dress, all but a few badges of authority appropriated to the pope. It was likewise stipulated, that he should not be obliged to come to *Rome*, or attend any general council; and that when he approached the pope's person, his holiness should rise to receive him; and that he should kiss his lips instead of his toe.

Lewis.

WE have, in the history of *Geneva*, given some farther particulars concerning this *Amadeo* of *Savoy*, to which we refer the reader. He died at *Lausanne*, which, during the latter part of his life, he had chosen for his residence. He was succeeded by his son *Lewis*, to whom the father, in his life-time, had resigned the title, but few or none of the revenues of the dukedom. *Lewis* seems to have relented this hard usage; for he ordered *William de Balomier*, his father's chancellor and chief counsellor, to be drowned in the lake of *Geneva*, on pretence of his opposing the accommodation between his father and pope *Nicholas V.* During the contests about the succession of the duchy of *Milan*, after the death of *Philip Maria*, the last duke, this *Lewis*, duke of *Savoy*, who had strong pretensions to it, made himself master of *Valenza* upon the *Po*, *Romagnana*, and several other places of the *Milanese*. He had been married when young to *Anne de Lusignan*, and his family has still pretensions to the title of king of *Jerusalem*; and by her he had a numerous issue. *Charlotte*, one of his daughters, was married to the dauphin of *France*, afterwards *Lewis XI.* who, after he became king, treated her but indifferently; and the duke her father died at *Lions*, on a journey he made to see his son-in-law. Of eight sons, three of them embraced an ecclesiastical life; two, *Peter* and *John Lewis*, were successively archbishops of

A. D. 1465.

a of *Tarento*; and the youngest of all, *Francis*, was archbishop of *Aix*. *Amadeo IX.* who was the eldest, succeeded to the dukedom of *Savoy*; and the second, *Lewis* count of *Genevois*, was married to *Charlotte* of *Cyprus*, and it is in her right that the house of *Savoy* claims the title of king of *Cyprus*. *Amadeo's* third and fourth brothers died without issue; and the fifth, *Philip*, is the ancestor of the present king of *Sardinia*, being stiled in his father's life-time *Lackland*.

AMADEO IX. of *Savoy*, though in his person he was feeble, unhealthful, and troubled with the falling sickness, was surnamed *The Happy*; on account of his virtue, his piety, his readiness to pardon all who had offended him, and his love for justice. One day a foreign minister at his court took the liberty to ask him, whether he kept any hounds? b "A great many (answered the duke), and if you will visit me to-morrow noon, you shall see them." The minister came accordingly to court; and the duke leading him to a window, which looked into a large square, "There," said he, pointing to a great number of poor people, who were seated at a table eating and drinking, "are my hounds, with whom I go in chace of heaven." *Philibert* was the eldest son of *Amadeo IX.* and succeeded him in his dominions. He was termed *The Hunter*, from his fondness for that diversion; and dying without children, he was succeeded by his brother *Charles I.* who was surnamed *The Warlike*. The reader, in our history of *Geneva*, will find many curious particulars concerning the family of *Amadeo IX.* which we shall not here repeat. *Charles I.* was succeeded by his son *Charles II.* when he was no more than nine months old; and he c died when he was but eight years of age.

THE dukedom, upon that young prince's death, came to *Philip Lackland*, the third son of *Amadeo IX.* who lived but one year after his succession, and was succeeded by his son *Philibert*, surnamed *The Handsome*, whom he had by his first marriage with *Margaret*, daughter to *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*. The mind of this prince was as beautiful as his person, and he was about seventeen years of age when he succeeded to his duchy. He married, for a second wife, *Margaret*, daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, who for her portion brought him the *Franche Comte*; but there being no issue of the marriage, it reverted to the family of *Austria*. *Philibert's* two sisters were married; the first, *Louisa*, to the count of *Angoulesme*, by whom she had *Francis I.* king of *France*; the second to *Julien de Medicis*. *Philibert* having died without issue; he was succeeded in his dominions by his brother *Charles II.* by a second marriage.

THIS duke was so fortunate as to marry *Beatrice* of *Portugal*, sister to *Isabella*, wife to the emperor *Charles V.* who was so favourable to the house of *Savoy*, that he put this duke in full possession of the county of *Aste*, which had been granted to it, as we have already mentioned, by the emperor *Henry VI.* He gave him likewise the investiture of the marquisate of *Cbivas*, and the lordship of *Quevasque*. Those favours, however, had dreadful consequences with regard to the duke of *Savoy*, because they drew upon him the resentment of *Francis I.* king of *France*, the emperor's rival and enemy; and notwithstanding all the duke could do to appease that prince, *Francis* demanded his share of the succession by his mother *Louisa* of *Savoy*. This demand had been made so early as the year 1518, and had been refused, but was now revived; and the duke was so much pressed by *Francis*, that he was obliged openly to declare himself in favour of the emperor.

IN the mean while, the constable of *Bourbon* having, as may be seen in other parts of this history, withdrawn his allegiance from *Francis*, and joined the emperor, the duke of *Savoy* went so far as even to pledge his family jewels, to enable the constable to raise ten thousand *Germans*, who afterwards were greatly instrumental in gaining for the emperor the battle of *Pavia*. *Francis*, all this while, was carrying on a secret negotiation with the duke of *Milan*; of which the emperor having received information, he loaded that duke with reproaches, and proceeded to menaces. *Sforza*, who was a man of no principle, was afraid of disobliging the emperor, and employed some of his courtiers, who picked a quarrel with *Merveille* the *French* agent, which occasioned some disturbances at court; and the duke, after confining *Merveille*, ordered his head to be struck off in prison, to convince the emperor that he considered him only as a private gentleman, on a tour of pleasure at the court of *Milan*. *Francis* demanded satisfaction for so atrocious a violation of the law of nations; which being refused, he not only renewed his family claims upon *Savoy*, but demanded from that duke a passage for his troops through his dominions to *Milan*. This being likewise refused, *Chabot*, the *French* general, entered *Savoy* at the head of an army, and in a short time stripped duke *Charles* of the greatest part of his forts and cities, and would have taken them all, had not the emperor amused the king with hopes that he would grant the investiture of *Milan* to his second son; which were confirmed by the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the *French* ambassador at *Rome*.

THE duke of *Savoy* being thus weakened, the republic of *Bern* took advantage of his condition, and seized the city of *Lausanne*, a great part of *Rosgau*, and the county of *Vaud*; MOD. HIST. VOL. XIV. L 1 while

Philibert.

Charles I.

Charles II.
A. D. 1490.

Philip Lackland.

Philibert the Handsome.

Charles III.
joins the duke
of *Bourbon*.

His loss.

while the *Swiss Fribourghers* invaded *Romont*. The city of *Geneva*, at the same time, took that opportunity to expel popery, and establish protestantism, and deprive the duke of the small remains of his power over the city, and its neighbourhood. The unfortunate duke, seeing himself thus reduced, retired to *Vercelli*, where he died of heart-break, never having been able to recover any part of his losses.

Emanuel
Philibert.

HE was succeeded, in 1553, by his son *Emanuel Philibert*, one of the greatest soldiers and statesmen of that age. This prince had been bred up at the court of *Charles V.* and he performed the greatest services to him and his son *Philip II.* of *Spain*, at the battle of *St. Quintin*, where he commanded the imperial army, which defeated that of *France*, but the victory was in a great measure owing to the valour of the *English* troops. The duke was, at the same time, governor of the *Low Countries*, and his reputation was so high, that he was offered the command of the army of the pope, *Spain*, and *Venetians*, which was raised against *Selim II.* emperor of the *Turks*; but he declined it, being intent on the recovery of his family dominions, great part of which was restored to him by the peace of *Chateau Cambresis*. The *French*, however, still kept possession of *Turin*, *Pignerol*, *Asti*, *Chivas*, and some other towns. When *Henry III.* of *France* was on his journey from *Poland*, to take possession of the *French* crown, he had an interview with *Emanuel* at *Turin*, and the duke managed so well, that the king agreed to give him up all the places that the *French* had in his dominions. Soon after, the duke of *Alva*, general to the king of *Spain*, who was the ally and friend of the duke of *Savoy*, marched an army through the duke's territories, towards the *Low Countries*, which struck the *Genevois* and the *Swiss* Protestants with so much terror, that the city of *Bern* restored to *Savoy* the three bailiages, *Tonon*, *Gye*, and *Ternis*, and the duke renounced his pretensions to all the other dominions belonging to his family, which they had seized upon.

War with the
Vaudois.

THE war with the *Vaudois* is one of the most remarkable incidents in this duke's history. That poor people were harmless, inoffensive, and submissive to the duke's government: but, as we have already hinted, they had been always irreconcilable enemies to the church of *Rome*. It would exceed the bounds allotted to this part of our work, should we recount all the wars and persecutions they suffered, and the glorious victories they obtained, in defence of their religion, over the troops of the pope, and other bigotted *Italian* princes, who were perpetually spiring up the dukes of *Savoy* against them. Duke *Philip* had resolution enough to withstand all their importunities and zeal, and admired the courage with which, armed only with stones and flails, the *Vaudois* defended the passes into their country, and defeated the numerous well-disciplined armies of their enemies. Being resolved to put an end to their persecutions, he permitted them to send twelve of their principals to his court, to make their submissions, and to pay a small acknowledgement of his sovereignty; which the *Vaudois* did, ordering their deputies to do whatever the duke should direct them, provided their religion was safe. It is remarkable on this occasion, that the duke ordered some of their young children to be brought from their vallies, to satisfy himself whether they were not born with black throats, shaggy manes, and four rows of teeth; all which he had been assured by their enemies, and which he found, upon inspection, to be false.

A peace.

War again.

THIS unreserved submission procured them but little respite from persecution, which was renewed against them about the year 1532; but, leaving their prayers, they betook themselves to their fastnesses, and their usual arms, and defeated all the repeated efforts of their enemies, and at last, having settled a correspondence with the reformers of *Germany*, they embraced Protestantism. Their resolution and valour obliged the government of *Savoy*, who durst not break with the pope, to change their method of persecution, and, instead of invading their vallies, they cut them off from all communication with the rest of their dominions, where they were put to death whenever they were found. This could not satisfy the zealots, who persuaded duke *Emanuel*, against his own better judgment, to attempt an utter extirpation of the *Vaudois*. The duke's troops were joined by those of the pope and the *French* king, and the whole were commanded by the marshal *Montelie* and *Charles Truchses*, who lost their lives in the service, and their troops were defeated on every occasion; so that the duke was at last obliged to grant the *Vaudois* the free exercise of their religion, under certain restrictions. This duke *Emanuel* acquired the principality of *Oneglia*, by giving *John Jerome Doria* in exchange for it the marquisate of *Civis*, which he was, however, to hold as a fief of *Savoy*. *Emanuel* likewise purchased the county of *Tend*, and, after a glorious government of twenty-seven years, he died in 1580, universally esteemed and beloved for his wisdom, courage, and the great encouragement he gave to science. He married *Margaret* of *France*, daughter to *Francis I.* a princess of incomparable prudence and virtue. It was chiefly owing to her that the *Vaudois* were delivered from their persecutions; and she was so little an enemy to the reformed religion, that she is said to have sent every year 4000 crowns to *Geneva*, for the use of the *French* Protestants there.

CHARLES

a CHARLES EMANUEL, son to Emanuel Philibert, though of a feeble constitution, had a bold, restless enterprising genius. While Henry III. of France was distressed on the one hand by the leaguers, and on the other by the Protestants, Charles invaded the marquisate of Saluces, which he long had an eye upon, and wrested it from the crown of France, on pretence of securing it against the Protestant general Lesdiguières, who was master of Dauphiny, and might, perhaps, introduce his religion into the marquisate. But the duke did not bear his success with moderation; for he ordered a medal to be struck, with his own head on one side, and on the reverse a centaur, in the action of discharging an arrow from a bow, with the motto "Opportuné," insinuating, that he had seized the lucky crisis of conquest.

Charles Emanuel.
He invades
and seizes the
marquisate of
Saluces.

b UPON the assassination of Henry III. the affairs of his successor Henry IV. looked so gloomy, that the duke renewed his invasion, and seized several places in Dauphiny and Provence, but was soon obliged to give them up. When the peace of Vervins gave Henry the peaceable possession of his kingdom, amongst the first things he did, was to demand from the duke restitution of the marquisate of Saluces. Charles, being conscious he was no match for Henry in power, employed all means to prevail with him to desist from his demand; but finding all ineffectual, proposed to comply with it, provided his majesty would desist from protecting Geneva. The reader, in the history of that city, will see what followed upon this. The duke even paid a visit in person to Henry, at Paris; but all his address and cunning could not prevail over that king's resolution and good sense.

A. D. 1625.

c He immediately invaded and reduced the greatest part of Savoy, and ordered a medal to be struck, in answer to the provoking one of the duke. It contained his own head on one side, and on the other a Hercules killing a centaur with one hand, and with the other raising a crown from the ground, the motto being "Opportunus," that is, more opportunely. At last, the pope made himself a mediator for a peace between them, by which the king kept possession of Bresse, Bugey, Valeromey, Gex, Fort l'Ecluse, and some other places upon the Rhone, such as Auché, Choufi, Vonlai, Pont d'Arley, Seissel, Chaucey, and Pierre Chatel. The duke retained possession of the marquisate of Saluces, and its dependencies; but what he lost in property was made up to him in conveniency, for he thereby gained a frontier for his capital of Turin, which before was exposed to the inroads and insults of his enemies.

b His attempt to scale the city of Geneva, which we have so amply recounted in the history of that city, followed the peace; and the duke was, by the French king and the Bernois, forced to give the Genevois satisfaction, and to agree to build no fort within four miles of their city.

IN 1613, duke Francis of Mantua dying without male issue, the duke of Savoy, who, as we have seen in the history of Mantua, had strong pretensions upon that succession, seized Trino, Alma, and Monte Calvi; but he was forced, by the grand duke of Tuscany, and the republic of Venice, to restore them in a short time. He still, however, kept his army on foot, and was required by the governor of the Milanese, on behalf of the king of Spain, to dismiss it, which he refused to do. Upon this the governor besieged Vercelli and took it, after losing above 6000 men in the siege, together with some places of smaller importance, which the duke had seized on. France offered her mediation, which was accepted of, for restoring the tranquility of Italy; and by the peace that followed, Vercelli, with the other dominions of his, which he had lost, were restored to the duke, who, on his part, was obliged to give up all that he held in Montferrat and the Milanese. The peace being concluded, the duke ordered the marquis of Bottio's head to be struck off, and his estates confiscated, for having sided with the Spaniards, though he was a subject of Savoy. Scarcely was this war finished, when the court of France persuaded the duke to fall upon the Genoese, for their having bought the marquisate of Zuccarella, which had been taken from the marquis de Caretto, by the emperor, and which the duke said belonged to him by a prior cession

e of the marquis in his favour.

f

THE duke was very successful in the beginning of this war. He gained the battle of Ottaggio over the Genoese, and took from them many of their towns, while the constable Lesdiguières, the French general, took Gavi. The general opinion was, that, if the duke, after this battle, had marched directly to Genoa, he might have taken it; but Lesdiguières is said not to have been proof against the Genoese gold, and it is certain he relaxed in his operations, so as to give time for the Genoese to recover their consternation, till they could be assisted by the Spaniards, who had laid siege to the strong fortress of Verrue, in Piedmont, but were obliged to raise it, and march to the relief of Genoa; which they not only effected, but assisted the Genoese in conquering several places belonging to the duke. A peace then

g followed, by which each party was to re-enter into possession of what it had before the war; and the marquisate of Zuccarella remained with the Genoese, who, however, paid to the duke of Savoy 160,000 crowns for renouncing all his pretensions to the same.

It was the fate of this active but too turbulent prince to govern the most submissive ^a obedient people in *Europe*, who supported him in all his wars of ambition or justice with equal chearfulness. Scarcely had he concluded peace with the *Genoese*, when the elder line of the *Gonzaga* family failed in the person of *Vincent II.* duke of *Mantua*; and *Charles*, on that event, renewed his claim upon the duchy of *Montferrat*. We have already seen, in the history of *Mantua*, how warmly the court of *France* supported the duke of *Nevers* in his claim to that succession. *Charles* was obliged to abandon the country of *Susa*, and went to the relief of *Casal*, which was besieged by *Gonsalvo de Cordova*, the governor of the *Milanese*. When he was intent upon relieving that place, the *French*, making the best advantage they could of the juncture, attacked *Pignerole*, which they took in a very short time; and the loss of that important place broke the duke of *Savoy's* heart, in the year ^b 1629, after governing, or rather reigning, over *Savoy* fifty years. He was indulged with a long life and reign, which, like his character, was chequered with good and bad. He was undoubtedly a prince of great abilities, but too much enterprize. His subjects, though forward to serve him, were not endowed with a military genius that could answer the suddenness, the variety, and boldness, of his operations in the field; and he was but very indifferently served by the foreigners he took into his pay. Notwithstanding all this, and though the most powerful princes in *Europe*, at times, were his enemies, yet the greatest part of his reign cannot be said to have been otherwise than prosperous, if not glorious; though it must be acknowledged, that the *French* being in possession of *Pignerole*, at the time of his death, was a most unfavourable circumstance for his dominions. His attempt ^c upon *Savoy* reflects great dishonour upon his memory; and his insolence towards *Henry IV.* the greatest monarch, and best-natured man of his age, deserved the chastisement it met with. In point of religion, he is said naturally to have been no bigot, and that he was forced by churchmen and priests, to give way to the persecutions which his protestant subjects suffered.

Victor Amadeus I.

He was succeeded by his son *Victor Amadeus I.* who in 1630 wisely agreed to the treaty of *Quevasque*, in *Piedmont*, by which he accepted of an annuity of fifteen thousand crowns for all his claims upon *Montferrat*, and left the family of *Nevers* in full possession of that duchy. To insure the payment of this annuity, he was, by a separate writing, put in possession of *Trino*, *Tricerto*, *Palazzuolo*, and of eighty other places upon the *Po*; so that, in ^d fact, he held the finest part of *Montferrat*. The truth is, the *French*, on this occasion, sacrificed the interest of the *Nevers* family for their own; for they obliged *Victor*, in consideration of what he had got in *Montferrat*, to abandon to them *Pignerole*, *Perusa*, *Angrogne*, and *Lucerne*. It is said by the *French* historians, that the famous father *Joseph*, the confidant of cardinal *Richlieu*, was the main instrument in concluding this treaty; and that, after its conclusion, when he visited the duke of *Mantua*, that prince could not help testifying his discontent at what had been done; and that, on the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* did every thing he could, to avoid ratifying the treaty; but all was to no purpose, because the cardinal was resolved to carry his point, which he did, to the infinite danger of all *Italy*.

A.D. 1637.
Francis Hyacinth,

Two years after the conclusion of the peace of *Quevasque*, the duke took it in his head ^e to assume the title of king of *Cyprus*. The *Venetians* took this amiss, because of their pretensions upon that crown; and, for some time, all correspondence between them and the duke was broken off. Two years after *Victor* and his army joined the *French*, who had been sent, under the marshal *de Crequi*, to the support of the duke of *Parma*, and assisted in the fruitless siege of *Valenza*, the miscarriage of which *Victor* attributed to *Crequi*, who, he said, minded the diversions of hunting much more than he did the operations of the field. Afterwards the duke exerted himself so greatly, to repair the failure before *Valenza*, that he contributed chiefly to the *French* gaining the victory of *Tornavento* over the *Spaniards*, who had almost cut their way to the *French* intrenchments. Next year, he gained a considerable battle over the *Spanish* general *don Martin de Arragon*; but he died soon after, in the ^f same year. He was a prince of spirit and conduct, and leaving a successor *Francis Hyacinth*, who was no more than six years of age, the *Spaniards* took great advantage of the minority, by making themselves masters of *Vercelli* and fort *Brema*. To increase the misfortunes of *Savoy*, a dispute arose about the regency of the duchy, which was claimed by the duchess dowager, the cardinal *Maurice*, and *Thomas Francis*, prince of *Carignan*, who were both of them uncles to the young duke. The duchess dowager depended upon the assistance of her brother the *French* king, while the cardinal, and the prince of *Carignan*, took the party of the *Spaniards*; and it was agreed amongst them, that all the places which should willingly submit to the authority of the two uncles, should belong to their government; but all that should be conquered by the *Spaniards*, by force of arms, should remain in the possession of that crown. While those matters were in agitation, the young duke of *Savoy* died, *October* the 4th 1638, and was succeeded by his brother *Charles Emmanuel II.* who was no more than four years of age. Thus the disputes about the regency continued the same

Charles Emmanuel II.

a as before. The Spaniards seized *Chivas* and *Trino*, and the two brothers made themselves masters of *Chieri*, *Moncalier*, *Pondestura*, *Asti*, *Villa Nuova de Asti*, *Alba*, *Verrue*, *Crescentino*, *S. Agatha*, *Nice*, and *Villa Franca*. The young duke, all this time, remained under the pupillage of his mother; but prince *Thomas*, in the night-time, surprised *Turin*, and the duchess and her son had some difficulty to escape, as they did, to the citadel. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, if a quarrel had not happened between the two brothers and the marquis *de Leganez*, during the siege of the citadel, on the following occasion.

b THE marquis pretended, that, by the articles of the treaty between them and his master, *Turin* and its citadel, when taken, must belong to his catholic majesty. The prince, on the other hand, alledged, that *Turin* was not understood to be comprehended in the treaty, because it was the capital of *Piedmont* and the residence of the duke. This dispute took up so much time, that the siege not going on, the French had time to march an army, under the count *de Harcourt*, which raised the siege of *Casal*, then besieged by the Spaniards, and marching to *Turin*, prince *Thomas* was shut up in that city between the citadel and the French army. The marquis *de Leganez* having orders to forget all animosities, and to relieve the prince, marched to his assistance, but without effect; and the city being reduced to extremity by scarcity of provisions, surrendered by capitulation. Next year, the French took the strong fortrefs of *Coni*, and obliged the two brothers to come to an accommodation with the duchess dowager. By that she was to have the guardianship of the prince, the cardinal was to have the government of *Nice*, and prince *Thomas* that of *Jvrée* and *Biel*, c during the duke's minority. All parties of the ducal house of *Savoy* being now agreed, they joined in a design to force the Spaniards to quit those places, which their own imprudence, or the necessities of the times, had put into their hands. The marquis *de Pianesse* retook the important fortrefs of *Verrue*; and prince *Thomas*, who had by this time reconciled himself with the French court, retook old and new *Asti* and *Trino*, but the citadel of *Asti* still held out. The year following the Savoyards surprized and retook *Asti*, and drove the Spaniards out of *St. Agatha*. It must be acknowledged, that, on this occasion, the duke of *Savoy* had infinite obligations to the French court; nor shall we examine whether they were not owing as much to the jealousy which *Lewis* entertained of the Spaniards, as d to his affection for the duchess dowager.

IN 1649, duke *Charles Emanuel*, though no more than fifteen years old, was declared to be of age. A. D. 1649. Three years after, the Spaniards took *Trino* and *Crescentino*, which last was retaken by the Savoyards the same year, and the other was restored to them by the peace of the *Pyrennees*, in 1658. The duke, by that treaty, having re-established the tranquility of his government, cultivated peace with all his neighbours, never was interrupted but by a slight difference he had with the *Genoese*, which was soon accommodated, through the mediation of *France*, without having any remarkable consequences which it had threatened.

e ALL the rest of this duke's reign was spent in cultivating and improving the internal policy of his dominions. *Turin*, to him, owes some of its most magnificent structures at this day; and he cut the amazing passage through the rock *Mont Viso*. This is an arch 500 geometrical paces in length, and broad enough for two loaded mules to walk abreast, for transporting goods to and from *France* and *Italy*, which, before that time, could not be done without infinite labour and danger. He was equally magnificent in all his other public works, and he is said to have lost his life in the following remarkable manner. Being one day in the menage, or riding-school, the young prince's horse, in going through his exercise, threw him; which accident struck his father with so much concern, that he is thought never to have recovered it, for he died a few days after in 1675.

f HAVING here mentioned *Thomas* prince of *Carignan*, it is proper to give some account of his family, and posterity. He was the fifth son of duke *Charles Emanuel I.* who, as the *Italians* are very fond of epithets, was called *The Great*. He held in *France* the post of grand master, and married the heiress of the house of *Soissons*, by whom he had the following issue. 1st, *Emanuel Philibert Amadeo*, who continued the house of *Carignan*. 2d, *Louisa Christina*, married to *Ferdinand Maximilian* of *Baden*. 3d, *Joseph Emanuel John*, who died without issue. 4th, *Eugene Maurice*, count of *Soissons*, author of that branch of the *Savoy* family, and father of the famous prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who, after that, made so illustrious a figure in the affairs of *Europe*, and was companion, friend, and fellow hero of the great duke of *Marlborough*.

g CHARLES EMANUEL II. never acknowledged any legitimate son but his successor *Victor Amadeus II.* to whom his mother *Joan Baptist de Savoy Nemours* was guardian during his minority. When he grew up he demanded in marriage the infanta of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Cadaval* came to *Nice* with a *Portuguese* fleet, to carry him to *Lisbon*; but all of a sudden he changed his resolution, and the marriage was broken off; and two years after he married

married *Anna Maria* of Orleans, daughter to *Philip* duke of Orleans and *Henrietta Anne* of England. The issue of this marriage, when the succession of the family of *Stuart* to the throne of *Great Britain* was set aside, was nearer in blood to the crown than the house of *Hanover*, but their claim was disregarded, because they were of the Roman Catholic religion. *Victor Amadeo II.* imitated the conduct of *Lewis XIV.* at the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, by persecuting his Protestant subjects the *Vauds*, with all the fury and malice of a bigot; but this inhuman resolution cost a great deal of blood in enforcing it.

THIS duke, however, entered in the grand alliance that was formed against *France*, and by a secret article of the same, it was stipulated, that the *Vauds* should be restored to their antient rights. It being thought by the confederates that his alliance would be highly useful, in checking the power of *France* on that side, they furnished him with considerable supplies both of men and money. Notwithstanding that, the *French* general *St. Ruth* took from him all *Savoy*, while marshal *Catinat* beat him in the two battles of *Staffarde* and *Marsaille*, and conquered from him *Carmagnola*, *Susa*, *Nice*, *Villa Franca*, and *Montmelian*. The duke, soon after, retook *Carmagnola*, and obliged the *French* to raise the siege of *Coni*. To give them a farther diversion, he invaded *Dauphiny*, where he took *Gap* and *Ambrun*, and carried away their bells. This small success was far from drawing the *French* out of his dominions; for they took from him *Casal*, and *Fort St. Bridget* near *Pignerole*. The duke's losses presented him with so melancholy a prospect, that he entered into secret connexions with *France*; and, under pretence of being indisposed, he returned out of *Dauphiny*. Soon after, *France* thought his friendship of so much importance, that she granted him a most advantageous peace, and gave him up *Nice*, *Susa*, *Villa Franca*, *Montmelian*, and *Pignerole*, the fortifications of which were demolished, together with the three vallies of *Perusa*, *Lucern*, and *Angrogne*, with a sum of money, by way of indemnification: nay, so intent was *Lewis XIV.* on forming a strict connexion with the duke of *Savoy*, that, by the same treaty, he concluded a marriage between his grandson the duke of *Burgundy*, eldest son to the Dauphin, and *Mary Adelaide*, *Victor's* eldest daughter. After this, he entered into a new contract with him for driving the imperialists out of *Italy*; and actually besieged *Alessandria* in the *Milanese*.

IN the year 1701, *Philip* of *Anjou*, the second son of the Dauphin, being called to the crown of *Spain* by the death of *Charles II.* married *Mary Louisa Gabrielle*, the duke of *Savoy's* second daughter, and the duke was declared generalissimo of the armies of *France* and *Spain* in *Italy*. But all those repeated marks of distinction and friendship could not fix the duke in the interests of *France*. The *Spanish* succession being disputed by the emperor *Leopold*, the confederates in the grand alliance joined against *Lewis* and his grandson the king of *Spain*. It was easy for the duke of *Savoy* to foresee his danger if he should continue his engagements with *France*; and, after prince *Eugene* had penetrated into *Italy*, he began secretly to negotiate with the allies. This could not be concealed from the penetration of the *French* court, and *Lewis* ordered his generals to make the duke's troops prisoners. Upon this, the duke arrested the ambassadors of *France* and *Spain*, a regiment of *French* horse, and all the *French* who were at *Turin*. This drew from the *French* king the following laconic letter, addressed to him: viz. "Monsieur, since religion, honour, alliance, treaties, and your own hand, are of no force between you and me, I have sent my cousin the duke of *Vendosme* to explain my mind to you, and he will give you four and twenty hours to consider what you have to do." This threatening letter had an effect very different from what the writer intended. The duke was one of the most penetrating princes in the world, and was remarkable through all *Europe* for accommodating his situations to his interests; but on occasion of this insolent letter, he shewed a firmness scarcely to be paralleled in history. Though he lost town after town; though his army amounted scarcely to 12,000 men; though he had scarcely territory to subsist even those, and though he was but ill supported by the imperial court, he could not be brought to abandon his allies. At last, on the 5th of *June*, 1706, the *French* besieged his capital of *Turin*. His duchess and his clergy pressed him to comply with the necessities of his situation. He continued firm against her, and he forbade the others to appear before him. He had, however, the satisfaction to reflect, that the places he had lost had made so good a defence, that they gained time for prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* to advance to his relief. He even declined the civility offered him by the *French* marshal *de Feuillade*, who, by orders of his king, offered passes and a guard to the duchess and his family, to carry them to a place of safety, when *Turin* was besieged. At last, the glory of taking so important a city lost the duke of *Vendosme* and *Feuillade* their command, in which they were succeeded by the duke of *Orleans*. The duke, who had been driven from place to place by the superior power of the *French*, on the 15th of *June*, had the mortification to see his capital bombarded by the *French*, with red hot balls; the *French* king being so exasperated, that he ordered the siege to be carried on with unusual fury. The duke did

Siege of *Turin*
raised.

a did all he could to interrupt the progress of his enemies, by giving them repeated alarms, which retarded their operations for some time; so that the *French* lost above 14,000 men before the place: but they had made themselves masters of the strongest posts, and the ammunition of the besieged was almost exhausted. In this dismal extremity, the duke's cousin, prince *Eugene*, with the rapidity, conduct, and good fortune, that attended all his enterprizes, after surmounting most incredible difficulties, on the 30th of *August*, appeared near *Turin*, and two days after he joined the duke of *Savoy*. The action that followed was one of the most glorious that happened in those years of glory, and has been mentioned in other parts of this work. It is therefore sufficient to say here, that, notwithstanding the junction between the duke and prince *Eugene*, the *French* thought themselves sure of carrying their point. The duke of *Orleans* and the general officers were for marching out of the lines; but the marshal *Marfin*, who served under that duke, but was chiefly trusted by his master, produced an order from the *French* king, that the duke should follow his opinion. Nothing could be stronger than their situation, and therefore nothing more dangerous than the attack. As the confederates advanced, they were exposed to the dreadful fire of forty cannon. Notwithstanding this they proceeded, and at last formed, and marched, without firing, till they came to the foot of the entrenchments. The resistance was equally brave; and it is said that prince *Eugene* was repulsed in two of the attacks he made. In the third, he drew his sword at the head of his battalions, and was amongst the first that broke into the entrenchments. In an instant, c all the confederate army followed his example; and room being made for the horse to advance, the *French* abandoned their defence, and were every-where cut in pieces; so that the duke of *Savoy* entered his capital that very evening. The loss of the *French* in this battle was very great. About 5000 were killed in the battle, besides what were killed in the pursuit. The duke of *Orleans*, who shewed great personal valour, was wounded, as was marshal *Marfin*, who died next day. Near 8000 men, among whom were a vast number of officers, some of them general ones, were made prisoners. Two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, 180 mortars, 7800 bombs, 32,000 royal grenades, 48,000 cannon-balls, with a proportionable number of small artillery and ammunition, fell into the hands of the confederates, with all their tents, baggage, ready money, and horses of d all kinds; so that, upon the whole, the loss which the *French* sustained was incredible, and was an ample proof of the great desire their king had to reduce the city, and irretrievably to ruin the duke of *Savoy*. On the other hand, the defence which *Turin* made, under count *Daun*, a name auspicious to the house of *Austria*, was brave; but in the whole cost above 5000 men, besides 3000 of the confederates, who were killed in the battle. After it the duke of *Orleans* retired into *Dauphiny*, and the duke of *Savoy* not only recovered all the towns and territories he had lost, but enabled the imperialists to drive the *French* out of *Lombardy*.

It happened upon this occasion, that, to the misfortune of *England*, the duke of *Savoy*, and *Holland*, prince *Eugene* was entirely directed by the court of *Vienna*. The *British* ministry, in concert with the *Dutch*, had formed a project for the conquest of *Toulon*, which e might have finished the destruction of *France*. The duke of *Savoy* made the first sketch of this project, and communicated the same to prince *Eugene*, who finding it disliked by the court of *Vienna*, was backward in giving him encouragement to undertake it. The truth was, that court was not so intent upon humbling *France*, as upon aggrandizing itself, by employing its troops in the conquest of *Naples*; and it was thought that the *French* had early notice of the design. The court of *England* was so earnest in carrying it into execution, that the emperor was at last obliged to give way, and prince *Eugene* had orders to assist in it, but with a very bad grace. A large sum of money was furnished by *England*, and the enterprize was supported by a strong *British* fleet, under the command of that excellent admiral, Sir *Cloudesley Shovel*. The duke of *Savoy* and prince Eugene, f on the 11th of *July*, 1707, favoured by this fleet, passed the *Var*, at the head of 30,000 men, and advanced with great celerity against *Toulon*. They had been promised great reinforcements from the imperial court, but were disappointed; and prince *Eugene*, who never appeared hearty in the expedition, had orders from the emperor not to expose his troops too much. Being arrived before the place, they had great success by seizing some of the most important posts in the neighbourhood; but, the duke of *Savoy* pressing prince *Eugene* to advance, the latter at last shewed him the emperor's orders, which amounted to a prohibition, and occasioned a delay that was the ruin of the enterprize. Prince *Eugene*'s backwardness, or rather inactivity, did not damp the duke or the English g admiral from acting with the utmost vigour. The latter bombarded the town, and became master of two forts that commanded the mole; so that many houses were destroyed, some magazines were blown up, and eight ships of the line, most of them capital ships, were burnt or rendered unserviceable. But by this time the *French* had not only recalled their troops

is fruit less.

troops from *Spain*, but were marching with the whole power of their monarchy to relieve *Toulon*. The duke of *Savoy*, finding he was thus in danger of having his retreat cut off, and that the troops in the garrison, who made a sally which cost him a thousand men, increased every day, re embarked his artillery, his sick and wounded, and returned in good order, without being pursued, to *Piedmont*. Thus ended this important expedition, to the great disappointment, though not disgrace, of the *English* and duke of *Savoy*, and is a pregnant proof, among many, how regardless the house of *Austria* is of all interests but its own.

A. D. 1709.

THE unsuccessful expedition against *Toulon* gave the *French* an opportunity, in the mean while, of becoming masters of many places in *Savoy*; so that, when the conferences were held at *Gertruydenberg*, in *May*, 1709, the duke, who was admitted to be a party there, claimed restitution of the whole duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, and all his hereditary dominions, together with the quiet possession of the territory, states, and places that had been ceded to him by the emperor, and his allies, with the sovereignty and sole property of the cities of *Exilles*, *Fenestrelles*, and *Chaumont*, with the valley of *Pragelas* to *Mount Genevre*, and its adjacentcies, which were to be the boundaries between his dominions and those of *France*. The conferences at *Gertruydenberg* proving, for reasons foreign to this history, ineffectual, and the duke having some differences with the emperor, he remained quiet till the peace of *Utrecht*, 1713, when he renewed his claims, with some additional ones. By that treaty he was put in possession of the duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, and all their dependencies. The *French* king likewise yielded to him, in perpetuity, the valley of *Pragelas*, the forts of *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*, with the vallies of *Oux*, *Sezane*, *Bardonache*, and *Chateau Dauphin*. The duke, on the other hand, ceded to *Louis* the valley of *Barcelonetta* and its dependencies; so that the ridge of the *Alps* became the boundary that separated *France* and *Piedmont* and the county of *Nice*; the plains of those ridges being equally divided between them.

BUT as the duke of *Savoy* had not only behaved in the common cause with unexampled firmness and spirit, but was a great means of its success, and as his importance in the affairs of *Europe* was now known to be very great, all parties concurred to aggrandize him. The emperor was in a manner forced to confirm to him the possession of that part of *Montferrat* which had belonged to the dukes of *Mantua*, with the provinces of *Alessandria* and *Valenza*, the territory between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, the *Lomellin*, the valley of *Sessa*, and the *Vigevanasco*. But, to crown all the duke's other good successes, his catholic majesty agreed to resign to him the kingdom of *Sicily*, by which he and his descendants acquired a royal title; and it was agreed, that, in default of succession from the king of *Spain*, that crown should go to the house of *Savoy*, preferably to that of *Bourbon*.

THE cession of the crown and title of *Sicily* was disputed with the duke by the emperor *Charles VI.* who, about the time of the treaty of *Utrecht*, succeeded his brother *Joseph* in the empire, for reasons that have been explained in other parts of this history. The duke, however, took upon himself the title of king of *Sicily*, and entered into possession of that island, which was evacuated by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants were beginning to be reconciled to his government, when he embroiled himself with the clergy, and consequently with the pope, on account of the ecclesiastical immunities. The quarrel went so far, that the archbishop of *Messina*, and the archbishop of *Catanea*, left *Sicily*, after laying their fees under interdicts, and were followed by almost all the clergy of *Sicily*, who flocked to *Rome*; but the viceroy paid so little regard to them, that he made it capital for the *Sicilians* to obey the interdicts.

HIS catholic majesty had made the great sacrifice of *Sicily*, on the express condition of their joining their troops together, to dispossess the emperor of what he still held in *Italy*. It appears as if his *Sicilian* majesty, after getting possession of that island, which was in some measure forced upon him by queen *Anne*, and which he himself had never thought of aspiring to, had repented of his private treaty with *Spain*. His catholic majesty suspected this, and demanded that the prince of *Piedmont* should be sent to *Madrid*, by way of security for the performance; but the demand was evaded by his *Sicilian* majesty on account of the queen's tenderness for her son; but he offered to send him the prince of *Carignan*, his other son. Though this offer was accepted of, yet *Victor* had his reasons for eluding the performance; and the court of *Madrid* was given to understand that the prince had, without his *Sicilian* majesty's knowledge, retired to *France*. Upon which the turbulent cardinal *Alberoni*, who was the prime minister of *Spain*, made vast preparations for conquering *Sardinia* from the emperor, and *Sicily* from that king. The court of *England* interposed in the dispute, and, in conjunction with that of *France*, undertook to prescribe a peace, by obliging the *Spaniards* and his *Sicilian* majesty to comply with the terms they had preconcerted with the emperor. These terms are foreign to this part of our history. They were rejected at the court of *Madrid*; upon which the court of *Great Britain* fitted out

a out a powerful fleet under Sir George Byng, to enforce its mediation. Sir George failed to the *Mediterranean*, where he secured the kingdom of *Naples* to the emperor, but understood by the viceroy count *Dann*, that that of *Sicily* was on the point of being entirely conquered by the *Spaniards*. The marquis *de Lede* had landed there with thirty thousand men, and the *Spanish* fleet still lay upon the coasts. He had reduced *Palermo*, and was then besieging the citadel of *Messina*, after taking the town; but in the mean while the emperor had come to a compromise with his *Sicilian* majesty, who was now willing to agree to the terms of the quadruple alliance, and to admit the imperialists into *Sicily*. Not to repeat too much of what we have said before, the *English* fleet destroyed that of *Spain*, off *Cape Passaro*, and reinforced the garriſon of *Messina* with some imperialists; but the citadel

b was lost. The event was, that the emperor and his *Sicilian* majesty, having, by this time, come to a good understanding, it was resolved, that *Sicily* should be reconquered from the *Spaniards*; and that *Sardinia*, with the title of king, should be given to his *Sicilian* majesty. This compromise was, after some difficulty, executed. His *Sicilian* majesty resigned that title for that of king of *Sardinia*, being too wise afresh to embroil the affairs of *Europe*, or to oppose powers for whom he was no match. This exchange being made, his *Sardinian* majesty applied himself entirely to propagate the arts of peace, and to prevent his being further embroiled in the affairs of *Europe*. In the year 1722 his son, the prince of *Piedmont*, married the princess of *Sulzbach*, who bore him a son on the 3d of *March*, 1723, but she herself died on the 12th of the same month. This prince was called the duke of

c *Aosta*. The expences of the law being very heavy on the subjects of his *Sardinian* majesty's dominions, he this year completed a plan upon which he had been long meditating; and that was to form a new code of jurisprudence, that was to serve as a directory to the law-courts and subjects of his dominions. It was drawn up with the greatest precision, and calculated to make all decisions in matters of law not only more cheap, but more equitable than they had been before. This code is a curious performance; and the observance of it commenced on the 16th of *November*, the same year. But another important care now engaged his majesty's attention. The weak health of the duke of *Aosta*, prevailed on him to strengthen his succession, by giving the prince of *Piedmont* another wife; and he accordingly, in the year 1724, married the princess *Polixena* of *Hesse Rheinfels*, a measure the more necessary, as the duke of *Aosta* died in the year following. After this marriage *Victor Amadeus III.* lived for some years in tranquility. The great talents, both in war and government, which he had discovered, rendered him highly respected amongst the other powers of *Europe*, and, in the subsequent broils that ensued he was equally courted by all parties at variance. But this great prince was not exempted from the infirmities of common life. He began to be tired of the tranquility he had been at so much pains to establish, chiefly through his fondness for the countess-dowager of *St. Sebastian*, with whom he had been for some years enamoured. And, all of a sudden, he resolved to resign his crown in favour of his eldest son the prince of *Piedmont*. For this purpose he convoked, in *September*, 1730, his prelates, his grand chancellor, his ministers of state, the heads of his courts of justice, and his chief officers, both military and civil, and, in their presence, he formally resigned his crown to the prince of *Piedmont*, *Charles Emanuel* his son, who in virtue of the quadruple alliance, became king of *Sardinia*, and succeeded to all his father's other dominions and titles, only reserving to himself a yearly income, some say of one hundred thousand pounds, for his support. The world is well acquainted with what happened upon this abdication. *Victor* retired to *Chambery*, and married the countess, who took upon herself the title of countess of *Scimereve*. But he did not know his own heart. The lady aspired to be a queen, and wakened in her husband a desire to remount his throne, which became so strong, that they tampered with some of the great men, and chief officers of the army, to assist them in their design. This was

f discovered to the reigning king, who was in no disposition to resign his newly-acquired royalty. At first, he endeavoured to dissuade his father from his resolution, but all was in vain; so that the son was obliged to employ force, and he put both his father and the countess under arrest. *Victor Amadeus* did not long survive his disappointment, for he died at *Montcalier*, the 31st of *October*, 1732, at the age of sixty-six years and a half.

A. D. 1722.

A new code formed.

Death,
A. D. 1732.and character
of Victor
Amadeus.

VICTOR AMADEUS was the most extraordinary character, and may be said to have been the most politic prince of his age. Till the finishing scene of his life he had discovered few human frailties, and many great qualities. He considered his near family connections with *France* as tending only to render him a precarious dependant on that crown; and he seems to have been resolved rather to give up all, than to live in that character. The emperor and the kings of *Spain* would have treated him in the same manner; but he studied the interests of all the powers in the great alliance with so much sagacity, that, though at variance with one another after the treaty of *Utrecht*, and though the many calamities his dominions had sustained, left him but little real power, yet they all agreed in

not only giving him a kingdom, though an inconsiderable one, but in extending his dominions on the continent, far beyond those that had been enjoyed by the greatest of his ancestors. We are not to place the difficulties and losses he met with, during the course of a fifty years reign, to his intrigues or ambition, but to the conveniency which the three great potentates of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, found in becoming masters of his dominions. But, after all, it was owing to the friendship and policy of *Great Britain* that he left his son in a respectable condition as a sovereign prince.

Is succeeded by
Charles Emanuel II.

CHARLES EMANUEL II. mounted the throne under some disadvantages, through the want of good faith in the imperial court. He complained, that the emperor had no real design to make good his cessions and engagements, because he retained in his hands all the title-deeds and documents of *Montferrat*, with a view, as his *Sardinian* majesty complained, of evading the cessions he had made. Count *Philip*, the imperial resident at that time at the court of *Turin*, being pressed on this head, had recourse to many excuses (to call them no worse) which plainly shewed his master's insincerity; and the trifling delays made by his court, evinced the same. His *Sardinian* majesty, however, perceiving that the count was favoured by the earl of *Essex*, the *British* ambassador, durst not come to extremities; not to mention, that the great number of persons of the highest rank, whom he had been obliged to imprison on account of his father, had rendered his situation, even in his own dominions, a little suspicious. On the other hand, the marquis *de Vaugrenant*, who was the *French* ambassador at *Turin*, at the same time was carrying on negociations for fixing his *Sardinian* majesty in his master's interest. Some illicit trade which had been carried on about *Avignon* and *Geneva*, furnished the crowns of *France* and *Sardinia* with a pretext to send thither other troops. The death of the king of *Poland*, which happened in 1733, lighted up a war between the king of *France* and the emperor; and his *Sardinian* majesty at last concluded, on the 26th of *September* that year, a treaty with the courts of *Versailles* and *Spain*, whose intention was to introduce the infant *Don Carlos* into *Italy*. By this treaty, which was offensive and defensive, his *Sardinian* majesty obliged himself not only to grant a passage into *Italy*, to the troops of the two crowns, but to join them in certain cases specified by the treaty. It soon appeared that all parties were in earnest. His *Sardinian* majesty avowed his connexions with *France*, and published a manifesto, declaring, that his intention was to curb the insolent power of the house of *Austria*, which was now become odious to him, and to all *Europe*; and to maintain the ballance of power in *Italy*. The emperor was so far from expecting this declaration, that hearing the *French* were preparing to enter *Savoy*, he ordered count *Daun* to offer his *Sardinian* majesty, who was once his ally and vassal, all the assistance in his power to stop their progress; but the answer he received, was, that they did not come as enemies. On the 12th of *October*, the *French* troops began their march by *Briançon*, and the valley of *Barcelonetta*, headed by marshal *Villars*, who was to command them under the king of *Sardinia*; and his troops joined them in the *Vigevano*. We shall not, for the reason so often specified, give a particular detail of this war; but, for the sake of perspicuity, touch on the general heads. His *Sardinian* majesty put himself at the head of the combined troops in the *Vigevano*, and directed his march towards *Pavia*; but so weak and disorderly were the imperialists then in *Italy*, that that city and castle was abandoned by the *German* garrison; and his *Sardinian* majesty took possession of both. *Milan* followed its example: and the king sent nine thousand men to take possession of the city, and to block up the citadel. *Pizzighitone*, though excessively strong, was next reduced; and *Cremona*, with all the *Cremonese*, met with the same fate, about the beginning of *September*. All those, with many other places of importance, fell to the allies, after very little resistance; and, at last, the city of *Milan* capitulated likewise. Upon the conquest of the *Milanese*, his *Sardinian* majesty published an ordonnance, commanding all his vassals and subjects residing there to return home, under pain of confiscation of goods. He then returned to *Turin*, where, after doing some business, he came back to the army. In the mean while the *French* found means to pass the *Oglio*, and to enter the *Parmesan*. The queen of *Sardinia*, at this time, falling dangerously ill, his majesty, who tenderly loved her, again returned to *Turin*; by which means he was not present at the bloody battle of *Parma*, in which the imperialists were defeated, and their general, count *Merci*, was killed. After this battle the prince of *Wirtemberg*, though dangerously wounded, took upon him the command of the imperialists, and made his retreat good to *Reggio*, where their magazines, both of provision and artillery, were erected.

Villars removed by his means.

It was not in the field only, that his *Sardinian* majesty shewed his great genius and judgment during this war; the command of the *French* troops had been conferred on marshal *Villars*, chiefly on account of his great experience and reputation; but courage was all of the great general that was now left him, and a courage too of the most dangerous kind, because it was romantic, and led him to impracticable attempts. His *Sardinian*

- a *Sardinian* majesty perceived and felt the inconveniency of this, and managed matters at the court of *France* with so much dexterity, as to procure the recal of the marshal, who was now above eighty-four years of age, in such a manner as that the old general was no ways disgusted, and died at *Turin* upon his return. He was succeeded in his command by the marshals *Broglie* and *Caigny*, as the duke of *Wurtemberg* was by count *Konigsegg*, one of the best generals in *Europe*. And it was owing to the king of *Sardinia*, that the fortune of the war in *Italy* was not at this time intirely changed. The imperialists had been removed from *Reggio* to the plains of *Carpi*, and took such a position as secured *Mirandola* from danger. On the 15th of *September* he passed the *Secchia* by day break, and surpris'd the *French* marshal *Broglie*, that he escaped in his shirt, and two thousand of his men were cut in pieces; the
- b *French*, at the same time, losing a great quantity of baggage, besides a number of prisoners who were taken.

AFTER this surprize, they were forced to retire to *Guastalla*. And his *Sardinian* majesty now taking the sole command, a most bloody battle was there fought. The *French* being drawn up under that fortification, were attacked with the utmost intrepidity by *Konigsegg*, who did all that a brave general could do, to retrieve the desperate state of his master's affairs; but found himself unable, after making repeated efforts, to break the *French* cavalry. The battle continued for eight hours, with uncommon fury and carnage; his *Sardinian* majesty, all this while, exposing his person in the posts of the greatest danger. At last *Konigsegg*, finding all his skill and courage ineffectual, retreated towards

Commands the armies of the two crowns.

- c *Luzzara*, leaving on the field of battle five thousand of his best troops dead, amongst whom was the brave prince of *Wurtemberg*, two generals, and many of his other principal officers. The loss of the *French* was little inferior; and the *Germans* repass'd the *Po*, and encamping on the banks of the *Oglio*, they prevented his *Sardinian* majesty from taking *Mirandola*. The king of *Sardinia*, having thus saved the armies and interest of the two crowns in *Italy*, continued to employ his great talents in the same cause during the rest of the campaign. The imperial court, notwithstanding its losses, was still intent on prosecuting the war; and when all *Europe* imagined that both armies were about to retire into winter quarters, *Konigsegg's* army was reinforced; so that he found himself at the head of forty thousand men, and he and count *Wallis*, who was joined
- d with him in the command, received express orders from their court to keep the field. This they not only did, but checked the marshal *Maillebois* from attacking *Mirandola*, and forced him to retire under the cannon of *Cremona*, till he should be reinforced by *Don Carlos*.

His success.

- THE state of *Europe* at this time presented every week a different face. The court of *Great Britain* and the *Dutch* were earnest for bringing about an accommodation; but all their endeavours were frustrated by the obstinacy of the court of *Vienna*; which induced his *Britannic* majesty to fit out a fleet, and the states general to make an augmentation of their land forces. His *Sardinian* majesty, by this time, began to have a very different opinion of the views of his allies, and left his interests entirely in the hands of *Great Britain*.
- e His queen died on the 13th of *January*, 1735, and, after performing the necessary duties to her memory, he returned to *Lombardy*, where he kept the imperialists in awe; so that, in a short time, they lost all the *Mantuan*, except the capital, which was blocked up, and in great danger of being forced to surrender for want of necessaries.

- It happened about this time that the court of *England* took great concern in all the affairs of the continent, and had so much influence with the emperor, on account of his
- f *German* connexions, that his *Britannic* majesty sounded the court of *Vienna* on the subject of peace, and found it not so intractable. The *French* wanted, of all things, to have the war finished, and the *Spaniards* had got all they pretended to. By the indefatigable endeavours of the *British* ministry, a congress at the *Hague* was at last agreed on, and all parties were to submit their differences to the arbitration of his *Britannic* majesty and the states general. It was now known that *France* had never been in earnest in settling *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*, and wanted only to acquire *Lorraine* for themselves; that, though the emperor resented, in the highest degree, the losses he had received in *Italy*, yet he was accessible on one head, which was a fresh guaranty of the Pragmatic sanction. In short, the arms of the two crowns had been every where victorious in *Italy*, where *Don Carlos* had been crowned king in *Sicily*; and all that count *Konigsegg* could do, was, to preserve the *Mantuan*, and to make the best retreat he could through the *Venetian* territories, after abandoning the fortified towns of *Ostiglia*, *Borgoforte*, *Goito*, *Castellucchio*, *Orbitello*, and even *Mirandola*, which surrendered, after a brave resistance. But such was the
- g obstinacy of the court of *Vienna*, that those losses seem'd only to exasperate it the more, and to shew a greater disposition for continuing the war. Mean while a plan of pacification had been drawn up in *England*, by which his *Sardinian* majesty was to have three provinces in the *Milanese* ceded to him, and *Don Carlos* was to retain possession of *Sicily*.

Negotiations for a peace.

His acquisitions.

This

This plan being rejected by *Spain*, the emperor would not, and *France* durst not, agree to a it; so that another plan was drawn up, by which his *Sardinian* majesty was to have his choice of two out of three provinces in the *Milanese*, together with four fiefs; viz. *San Fedele*, *Terre di Forti*, *Gravedo*, and *Campo Maggiore*, and likewise the estates of *Langhes*. His *Sardinian* majesty acceded to these preliminaries on the 16th of *August*, 1736, and on the 5th of *March*, 1737, he married the princess *Elizabeth Theresa*, sister of the duke of *Lorrain*, who, by the late peace, became grand duke of *Tuscany*.

WE have, in the history of *Parma*, been so explicit both as to the springs and the progress of the war in *Italy*, which was finished by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748, and as to the motives which prevailed with the king of *Sardinia* to oppose *France* and *Spain*, that we shall here close this history. It is certain that, in the last-mentioned war, he b shewed as much firmness as his father, by persevering in his attachment to the grand alliance; and their fates, after both wars were over, were similar; for though both, in the course of them, received many severe, and seemingly fatal, blows, yet, at their conclusions, each found himself in a better condition than they had been in at their commencement. It is to the honour of the *British* ministry, that they saved his *Sardinian* majesty, in the late war, from entire destruction; and it is equally for his honour, that he persevered to fulfil all his engagements with *Great Britain*, with the utmost punctuality, notwithstanding the greatest offers which were made him by *France* and *Spain*, if he would abandon them. Since the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* his *Sardinian* majesty has applied himself to the arts of peace, particularly those of commerce, and for that purpose he observed c the greatest œconomy in his court, which, notwithstanding, is very splendid. He has not, however, been able yet to succeed in his great scheme of rendering his subjects a trading people, though they are at present far more so than they were twenty years ago. It is possible, some time or other, the distresses of the *Genoese* may enable him not only to effect that, but lay a foundation for making the crown of *Sardinia* a maritime power.

A. D. 1762.

END of the HISTORY of SAVOY.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

- a **A**S individuals are protected in the enjoyment of their wealth and commerce, by the power of the community; so the publick deduces equivalent advantages from the extensive trade and vast opulence of private persons. With respect to commerce, the grandeur of the state, and the happiness of its subjects, are inseparable; though some refined speculatists have endeavoured to refute an axiom that is self-evident. When mankind left their savage state, they naturally became husbandmen and artizans, which were the first steps towards becoming civilized; because the improvement of arts required the full exertion of their intellects. That policy, indeed, is narrow and violent, which aggrandizes the publick by the oppression of individuals. Every thing is purchased by labour, which, alone, is more valuable than the richest mines of gold and silver: the possession of
- b the latter hath rendered nations poor and contemptible; but never was there any instance, where affluence and felicity failed to accompany industry guided by prudence. A superfluity of labour is a real treasure to society, which may at any time be employed, like money, in the publick service. Hence arises the great advantage of foreign commerce, which, by augmenting the labour, in effect increases the grandeur of the state, and the wealth and felicity of the subjects. By its imports it furnishes the materials of industry, and by its exports it gives encouragement for working up divers commodities, not required for domestic consumption. Hence the mind acquires additional vigour, it enlarges its powers and faculties, and the spirit of improvement is pushed to every art and science. Philosophy and the art of war are best understood in those countries, where the mechanic arts have attained the greatest perfection.
- c

General reflections upon the utility of commerce,

- If we consider commerce as essential to industry, and labour necessary to the opulence and happiness of society, we cannot but regard the discovery of the vast continent of *America*, and the infinity of wealthy islands with which it is surrounded, as one of the most important consequences of the happy discovery of the compass, and the improvement in navigation. Without a knowledge of the *West-Indies*, the intercourse with the *East-Indies* would be of little advantage to *Europe*; it might even be pernicious, by draining it of the gold and silver: whereas we now purchase the commodities of the latter, not only with *European* manufactures, but with the silver dug in the mines of *Potosi*. To her possessions in *Chili*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Antilles*, *Spain* owes all her opulence. *Great Britain* hath, by means of her colonies on the continent of *America*, and her islands in the *West-Indies*, raised herself to her present astonishing and much-envied height of grandeur and importance. *Portugal* almost holds her existence on her possessions in *Brasil*: even the barren *Canada* hath been fruitful of blessings to *France*, by promoting her trade and navigation, not to speak of the benefits arising from *Guadaloupe*, *Martinico*, and *Cape-Breton*. The intercourse with *Surinam*, and the *Spanish* main, has brought great wealth into *Holland*. In a word, every nation in *Europe* hath made attempts to obtain some establishment in a country fraught with all these commodities, which the progress of science, of luxury, and refinement, has rendered almost essential to existence; which alone would be sufficient evidence of the utility of the discovery of the justly celebrated *Columbus*, could not the most
- d
- e irrefragable arguments be deduced from reason and philosophy. At this juncture, the colonies may be considered as the vitals of *Great-Britain*, which diffuse their spirits through all the members of the body-politic, by which it exists; they are, indeed, the living fountain whence we draw all our nourishment. The trade to these colonies is in fact a foreign commerce, carried on and conducted under the direction of the mother-country; and accordingly we find, that, in proportion as the several crowns of *Europe* cherish their plantations, they acquire a larger share of maritime strength, establish a more fruitful nursery of seamen, gain a more considerable fund of wealth, and promise fairest for the sovereignty of the ocean. However, to insist on the importance to *Europe* of the gold of *Chili* and *Brasil*, of the silver of *Peru*, the sugar, indigo and coffee of the *Antilles*, the furs of *Canada*,

and particularly of the trade with America.

Design of the
authors.

da, the fish of *Newfoundland*, the tobacco of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, the precious stones, a balsams, gums, drugs, dying woods, and other commodities of the islands and continent of *America*, would be only to repeat what has been hackneyed by every political writer of the last century. It is our province to inquire into the means of this vast discovery, to relate the history of the nations, to trace the progress of the conquest and colonization of *America* and the *West-Indies*, to lay before our readers a minute geographical description of the country, describe its productions, natural and artificial, ascertain the strict limits of each division, and the legal boundaries of the several *European* settlements, explain the connection of the colonies with each other, the peculiar trade carried on by each, and the general commerce of the country; in a word, to give the publick what was never before attempted, a complete political, commercial, and natural history of this fourth division of the globe, called the *New World*, or *Western Continent*, at least as far as is consistent with the nature of our design, and the limits of an *Universal Modern History*. b

BEFORE we enter upon voyages undertaken to this country under the patronage of the court of *Spain*, it will be necessary to mention, that *Columbus* was led to the discovery not only from a consideration of the terraqueous globe, and the relation of certain ship-wrecked modern mariners, but by the idea which several eminent writers entertained of an unknown continent to the westward. In general it was believed, that the land terminated with the *Canaries* or *Fortunate-Islands*; yet several of the most penetrating were persuaded, that an immense tract of land must lie beyond the *Atlantic Ocean*. In one of his dialogues ^b, *Plato* speaks of the island of *Atlantis*; and there is still extant, in the collection of *Greek Poetical Fragments* ^c, a description of it in verse, ascribed to *Solon*, who borrowed the relation from an *Egyptian* priest. To confess the truth, all these hints, taken from *Plato* and *Solon*, have so much the air of poetic allegory, that they cannot be considered of weight sufficient to determine, whether they absolutely entertained any idea of the western continent. The ingenious political tract left by Sir *Thomas More* may furnish an equally good argument to posterity, that his *Eutopia* alluded to some undiscovered country, of which he had a general conception. It is otherwise with respect to the testimony of *Aristotle* ^d, because he not only concurs with a future historian, but descends to particulars. In a book ascribed to this philosopher, we are told, that the *Carthaginians* discovered an island far beyond the *Pillars of Hercules*, large, fertile, and finely watered with navigable rivers, but uninhabited. This island was distant a few days sailing from the continent; its beauty attracted the discoverers to settle there; but the policy of *Carthage* dislodged the colony, and laid strict prohibition on all the subjects of the state not to attempt any future establishment. This account is confirmed by an historian of no mean credit, who relates, that the *Tyrians* would have planted a colony in the new discovered island, which some takes to be *Hispaniola*, but they were opposed by the *Carthaginians* for state-reasons. It was feared lest the natural advantages, which it was reported this country enjoyed, might induce too many of the citizens to desert their native soil, whereby the government would be weakened, industry checked, and the vast maritime power of the republic diminished. Besides it was urged, that this island ought to be reserved as an asylum, to which they might retire with safety, when oppressed by any change of fortune, or public calamity. A passage hath also been quoted from the third act of the *Medea* of *Seneca* (A), in confirmation of the opinion, that although *America* was undiscovered, the ancients had a strong notion of large countries beyond the reach of their present knowledge. In a fragment that remains of *Theopompus* ^e, there is an allegory of a new world, inhabited by two nations of warriors and devotees; and one of the fathers affirms ^f, that beyond the ocean there is another world: however, both *Lactantius* and *St. Augustine* ridicule this notion, and the opinion that the earth was globular: even to the days of *Galileo*, the *Romish* clergy regarded the rotation of the earth on its axis as contradictory to the sacred doctrine. Upon the whole, it is plain that the ancients dreamed something about a new world, and that they transmitted to posterity an imperfect broken account of those regions; but it is equally certain, that the general opinion was, that all the climates between the tropics were uninhabitable; a judgment built on an axiom of their absurd philosophy, that the health and preservation of the animal depended on a due mixture and just proportion of the four elements, which could not happen under the torrid zone, where fire and the emanations of the sun must absorb all

^b In *Tim.* ^c *Poet. Fragm.* edit. Lug. ap. Stephan. ^d *De Mundo.* ^e *Diod. Sic. Hist.* ^f *GREG.* in *epist. S. Clemen.*

(A) ——— Venient annis
Sæcula feris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule ———

MED. act. iii. v. 375.

a the other qualities. To recite the fabulous story of *Madoc*, a *Welsh* prince, and the tale related by *William of Newbery*, of two green children who were found in a field, in the reign of king *Stephen*, would afford the judicious reader as little amusement as instruction; we shall therefore omit these, take it for granted, that the actual discovery of the island and continent of *America* was made in the 15th century, and proceed to a relation of the circumstances of that important transaction (B).

S E C T. I.

b *Containing a general Relation of the Voyages made by the Spaniards in search of America.*

AS we have, in the course of our labours, already given a short history of the life and discoveries of *Columbus*, the famous *Genese* admiral, it will be sufficient to specify in this place such circumstances as are necessary to place in one collective point of view the complete discovery of the islands and continent of *America*. It was in the month of *April*, 1492, that *Christopher Columbus*, after experiencing repeated mortifications and disappointments at the courts of *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, was at length, under the queen's patronage, honoured with the commission of admiral to their catholic majesties, and viceroy of all the islands and continents which he should discover and acquire in the ocean. Immediately he repaired to *Palos de Meguere*, where a small squadron, consisting of three vessels, manned with an hundred and twenty men, was appointed to attend him, and be entirely directed by his orders. On the 3d day of *August* he quitted *Spain*, and after a tedious navigation, during which the sailors mutinied, he fell in with *Guinea*, one of the *Lucayo* islands, on the 12th of *October*. Finding the island well inhabited, the admiral went on shore, and with proper solemnity took possession in the name of their catholic majesties. The natives were thrown into the utmost astonishment at sight of the ships, which they took for sea-monsters, and their admiration was increased by the strange appearance of the *Spaniards*, who landed. They gazed with wonder at their beards, fair complexions, and cloaths; and joyfully received the trifling presents distributed by the admiral. When the *Spaniards* returned to their ships, the *Indians* swimmied after them, expressed their gratitude for the presents by signs and tokens, and seemed extremely desirous to enter into a more familiar intercourse.

Columbus discovers the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola.

AFTER calling the island *St. Salvador*, and learning from the natives, that the gold plates which they wore in their noses came from a large island to the southward, *Columbus* proceeded on his voyage, touched at several other of the *Lucayo* or *Bahama* islands, and on the 27th of *October* arrived at *Cuba*, situated between 20 and 23 degrees of north latitude, and 74 and 87 degrees of west longitude, being near 800 miles in length, and about 70 in breadth, and more at the southern extremity. Having intelligence from the natives, that all the gold came from *Bobio*, an island to the south-east, he pursued his voyage, after making a few general observations, and arrived at *Bobio*, or the land of cottages, on the 6th day of *December*, to which he gave the name of *Hispaniola* (C). He had carried some *Indians* from *Cuba*, and by means of these endeavoured to cultivate a familiarity with the inhabitants of this last discovered island; but they fled with the utmost velocity at their approach, and seemed to regard the *Spaniards* with equal horror and surprize: however, as he had the good fortune to take a female prisoner, whom he treated with great humanity, her report impressed a more favourable opinion of the strangers, and brought about the intercourse so much desired. At first they trembled, and started back upon touching the cloaths of the *Spaniards*; then they laid their hands upon their heads, in token of respect, cast their eyes up to heaven, and regarded them as divinities; a notion that was confirmed by the presents of glass-beads, and other shining glittering trinkets they received. Here *Columbus* was visited by the *cazique*, who expressed great curiosity to see the *Spanish* ships. His retinue consisted of two hundred men, besides his prime minister and counsellors; he was carried on a bier upon men's shoulders, though a robust young fellow, and distinguished with marks of the deepest respect and veneration. On his coming on board he behaved with the utmost dignity and solemnity, ordering all his train to keep at a distance, except two of his counsellors, who sat at his feet. He eat and drank with the admiral, had his mouth examined by his counsellors, shook his head at what *Columbus* ordered to be told him, that he was only the servant of the king of *Leon* and *Castile*, and believed, with the *Indians* of *Cuba*, that the *Spaniards* were supernatural beings. The admiral made

(B) To speculatists, and persons of more leisure, we leave the useless labour of enquiring by what means *America* was peopled. This subject may form an excellent disputation in the academy; but we apprehend

it would be foreign to our purpose as historians.

(C) It is by corruption that we call the island *Hispaniola*, the true original name being *la Espanola*.

some presents of beads, slippers, and cloaths, to the monarch, who was highly delighted a with his reception; and the sailors bartered pieces of broken glass, earthen plates, and other trifles, with the natives for gold rings, which they wore in their noses, and small plates of gold; however, it was soon known that gold was not the produce of the island, but of a country to the eastward. This was the chief object of the voyage; but though *Columbus* was disappointed in the expectations entertained of the value of the island, he resolved to establish a colony that might prove useful to his farther purposes. To effect this design, it was necessary to consult the inclinations of the five sovereigns, among whom the island was divided. Accordingly the admiral had an interview with king *Guacanagari*, exchanged presents with him, and settled a colony, built a fort, and mounted it with cannon, in order to command the more respect. The colony was composed of thirty nine *Spaniards*, b under the conduct of *James de Avana*; the fort was called *Navidad*, or *Nativity*: and *Columbus*, carrying with him several natives of the island, and a sufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his discovery, took his departure for *Spain*, after losing two of his ships, one of which perished by an accident, and the other was carried off by the treachery of *Martin Alonso Pinçon* ^h.

We shall stop to relate a few of the general observations which the admiral made on the island of *Hispaniola*, and the character of the natives. He found the island extremely well peopled, and filled with villages, some of them containing above a thousand houses. His civility to his female prisoner, and her report, soon raised the *Spaniards* high in the esteem of the *Indians*; they flocked to the shore, and great numbers swam, or paddled in their c canoes, to the ship. He remarked they were whiter, handsomer, and more tractable and courteous than the inhabitants of the other islands, after they had been once reconciled to the *Spaniards*. The men were of a middling stature, large boned, and inclinable to corpulence; their nostrils wide, and their foreheads smooth, and uncommonly high. To their nostrils were suspended small plates of gold, which created a suspicion that this metal was the produce of the island. Several of the caziques, whom the admiral visited, wore crowns of gold; and pieces of the same metal, weighing four ounces, were exchanged with the sailors for bits of tin and glass. *Guacanagari* had several princes tributary to him, and if he did not claim the entire sovereignty, he was at least considered as the most potent monarch on the island. The natives shewed great ingenuity, not only in their military weapons, d some of which were admirably pointed, and rivited with fish bones, but in the form and composition of their earthen pitchers, in which they supplied the shipping with fresh water. Nor was their humanity less extraordinary, as *Columbus* experienced, in the assistance they afforded when one of his vessels was shipwrecked. King *Guacanagari* made him a present of a masque, the nose, tongue, and ears of which were of beaten gold, and a girdle elegantly set with seed-pearl; and though he was upon the whole disappointed in his hopes, that *Hispaniola* contained gold mines, he had great reason to believe the island might become valuable to commerce, on account of the cotton, spices, and variety of drugs and timber it produced, though the value of many of these particulars was not then understood. In a word, after he had sufficiently impressed this simple people with an idea e of his friendship, by the civility of his treatment, and with due respect, by the thunder of his cannon, at the report of which they all fell flat upon their faces, he took his leave, and quitting *Port Nativity* on the 4th day of *January* 1492, arrived at *Palos* on the 15th of *March*, sending notice of his return to their catholic majesties.

The second voyage and discoveries of Columbus.

THE discoveries made by *Columbus* filled *Spain* with rejoicing and admiration. He was caressed by the king, queen, and court; the pontiff was made acquainted with the transaction, and he granted a bull, confirming the crown of *Spain* in an exclusive right to the *West-Indies*. The *Indians* and gold were shewn as the greatest wonders in nature, and in a short time *Columbus* was equipped for another voyage, with more extensive powers, and a stronger armament than the preceding. He was now made governor-general and admiral f over all the territories included in the apostolical concession; he was authorised to plant colonies, establish judicial courts, and take any other steps that circumstances might require, and tended to promote the general design of the expedition: a squadron of seventeen ships, manned with two thousand two hundred able-bodied seamen and soldiers, was appointed; mares, sheep, cows, corn, wheat, and a variety of *European* plants, were put on board; a chart of his discoveries and voyage was drawn and kept in the king's cabinet, and every other measure taken that could possibly insure the prosperity of the expedition: after which *Columbus* once more departed on the 25th of *September*. In this voyage he discovered *Dominique*, *Marigalante*, and *Guadaloupe*. His boat put to shore at the latter, which made all the inhabitants take to the mountains; however, the g *Spaniards* had the good fortune to seize upon two *Indians*, from whom they had some use-

^h HERRERA's Hist. of America, Dec. i. l. i.

- a ful intelligence. Among other particulars they were told, that a continent lay to the eastward, at an inconsiderable distance. Here *Columbus* found some pieces of spun cotton and looms, of a very peculiar and simple construction, together with a piece of a ship, which he believed must either have been driven from the *Canaries*, or from *Hispaniola*, where his ship perished in the former voyage; for he could not persuade himself that any *Europeans* had ever before visited those islands. Coasting along the island to the north-west, he discovered, *Montserrat*, afterwards *Santa Maria*, and *Antigua*. In short, he discovered, in the course of this voyage, all the islands to the south-west of *Hispaniola*, to which he gave the general appellation of *Virgins*. On his arrival at this island, he found all the *Spaniards* dead, and the colony entirely destroyed, owing to their own intestine divisions, and the insolence and cruelty with which they treated the natives, which produced a revolt. He visited his old friend *Guacanagari*, and found that prince confined to his bed by a wound he received in defence of the *Spaniards*, which encouraged him to settle a new colony, and build the town of *Isabella*. Twelve of the ships he sent back to *Spain*, reserving only the five largest for his own use; and after having quelled a sedition, he set out with a body of men in search of the gold mines of *Cibao*, the ore of which, at that time, raised great expectations.
- After this he resolved to pursue his voyage, touched at *Cuba*, and came in sight of *Jamaica*; but being forced back by stress of weather to *Hispaniola*, he found the colony at war with the natives, owing chiefly to their own licentiousness and barbarity. King *Caunabo*, one of the sovereigns of the island, had collected a prodigious army, which the *Spaniards* defeated with a handful of men, on account of the terror with which the horsemanship inspired the *Indians*; for they took the horse and the rider for one animal. To conclude, the voyage, in general, proved unfortunate, though *Columbus* exerted every quality of a soldier and politician; such was the factious, rapacious, licentious humour of the *Spaniards*, who endeavoured all in their power to rob the gallant general of the fruits and glory of so many signal actions and important discoveries. He left his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* in quality of lieutenant-governor, and set out for *Spain*, where he arrived after a voyage of three months. Repairing to court, he presented their majesties with the gold dust and ore he had brought with him, and cleared himself of all the aspersions thrown upon his character by the malevolence of his enemies. The farther account of the natives, which he gave to their majesties, was to the following effect. That all the sovereigns, or caziques, lived in palaces at some distance from their towns, where there were a number of extraordinary images made of stone or wood painted. These they called *Cemis*, and honoured sometimes with the particular names of their ancestors. They were worshipped by the people as titular beings; and offerings were made to some of the images for health, to others for affluence, fine weather, prosperous enterprizes, and other wishes: yet they were considered as inferior deities to the sun, which was reputed the chief, or cazique, of the divinities. Each of the sovereigns of the country was also a high priest, which added greatly to their authority, and enabled the monarchs to practise many religious impostures on the understanding of their ignorant simple subjects. Several of the caziques kept three stones, to which they ascribed extraordinary virtues: one, they alledged, promoted the fertility of the soil; another assisted women in child-bed; and the third procured either rain or sun-shine, as the occasion required. When a cazique died, he was embowelled, and dried by the fire, to preserve his body from corruption, which was then interred in a cave, with his military weapons, and store of provision. The wife, likewise, who bore him the greatest affection, was buried with him; and there could not be a more dishonourable proof of female ingratitude, than any marks of reluctance to pay this last duty to her lord and husband. In general, indeed, there appeared a strong emulation among the women for this favour and testimony of the superior regard of the deceased sovereign. A practice frequent at this day among the negroes on the continent of *Africa*, also prevailed among the inhabitants of *Hispaniola*. They strangled all the sick of whose recovery they despaired. After death they imagined they should go to a valley of vast extent, of which the caziques believed they should be sovereigns, and where all imagined they should find their parents, kindred, and friends, be blessed with beautiful women, and an eternal source of uninterrupted felicity. They had physicians among them, who pretended to effect extraordinary cures by the assistance of dæmons. Their idols they believed were immortal, and they persuaded themselves that the dead appeared to the living, which rendered them extremely fearful in the dark and alone. Almost all the men were addicted to beastiality and sodomy, which were the abhorrence of the women, and made them coy with the natives, but exceedingly libidinous with the *Spaniards*; and with respect to the propagation of the species, no regard was paid to any degree of consanguinity, mothers, sisters, and daughters excepted (A).

Account of the natives of Hispaniola.

(A) The *Spanish* historian *Herrera* is very explicit upon this subject. He relates, that the images are made hollow with great art; that the caziques get in-

to the cavity, and pronounce certain words, which the people are persuaded are uttered by the stone divinity. The place allotted for departed spirits they called

WHILE *Columbus* was soliciting the court of *Spain* for the reward of his services, and a proper appointment for the prosecution of his discoveries, his brother *Bartholomew* struggled with a variety of misfortunes in *Hispaniola*. A great number of the *Spaniards* had mutinied, at the instigation of one *Roldan*, the chief *Alcade* or justice of the island, and engaged the governor in a war with the natives. Several battles had been fought, in which *Bartholomew* was generally victorious; though he must have sunk under the superiority of numbers, and the inclemency of the climate, had not two ships arrived seasonably from *Spain* with a reinforcement. The arrival of *Columbus* a third time restored peace and tranquillity, and enabled the *Spaniards* to pursue with vigour the plan of a new settlement and city, begun during *Bartholomew's* government, which was called the *New Isabella*, or *St. Domingo*, because the foundation was laid on Sunday.

Third voyage
of Columbus,
and discovery
of the continent
of America.

THE admiral had long solicited the court of *Spain* for proper assistance to proceed on a third voyage in search of the continent; at length he obtained his request, quitted port *St. Lucas* on the 30th of *May* 1498, and on the 31st of *July* fell in with an island which he called *La Trinidad*, situated near the mouth of the great river *Orinoco*. Here he landed to refresh his men, and received a visit from the cazique, whom he found hospitable and good-natured; that prince having, with one hand, taken a crimson velvet cap off the admiral's head, which he put upon his own, covered the admiral's, in return, with a crown of cotton, encircled with a plate of gold. Sailing from hence he discovered more land to the eastward, which he took for an island, and called it *Isla Santa*, though it proved the continent, and part of the province of *Paria*. Thus the *Spaniards* date the first discovery of the continent from the first day of *August* 1498, whereas the *English* claim a prior date. *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, having obtained letters-patent from the seventh *Henry*, discovered *Newfoundland* in the month of *June* 1496, and continued his course along the coast of *America* as far as the gulph of *Florida*. It, therefore, any title to the possession be founded on priority or discovery, as the *Spaniards* alledge, the right of *Great-Britain* to the main land of *America* must be as indisputable, as that of *Spain* to the *West-Indies*.

NOT to waste time on a controversy of little consequence, at a period when the sword must determine the several pretensions of the rival powers, it is sufficient to our purpose, that the continent of *America* was discovered about this time; that *Columbus* had some intercourse with the natives; that he found the country well cultivated, populous, and adorned with villages; that he eat several *European* fruits, as grapes, apples, figs, and oranges; tasted a liquor greatly resembling green wine, which he imagined was expressed from the grape, and perceived that the inhabitants were not only civil, but industrious and ingenious. In their complexion they resembled the Islanders; their hair was long and flowing, their stature of the middle-size, well proportioned, and robust; and the male distinction of the sex tied up and covered, though the females went entirely naked. They were armed with bows, targets, and poisoned arrows, which they shot with great dexterity: they were not ignorant of the art of spinning and weaving cotton, some ingenious specimens of which they produced, and exchanged for bits of tin, upon which they placed an exorbitant value, calling it *Turey*, or heavenly, upon account of a certain pleasing subtle flavour which affected their acute olfactory nerves. Many were adorned with plate gold collars, which they alledged was the produce of the country, shewing the admiral, by signs, their method of finding this metal. Having received undoubted proofs that he had now touched

Cocayba, in the island of *Saraya*; these spirits were shut up in the day, but let loose at night for their recreation. When a physician attended a cazique, he was obliged to go through all the regimen he prescribed to the patient; he wrought himself up to a phrenzy, uttered some unintelligible ejaculations, and directed his discourse to an invisible spirit; whence we may infer, that priests and physicians both supported their credit chiefly by imposture. If they suspected the physician had not discharged his duty, the deceased was questioned about it, and the medical gentleman punished or acquitted, agreeable to certain answers which they supposed were uttered by the departed spirit. The ceremony previous to this extraordinary inquest was truly ridiculous. The juice of a certain herb, the pairing of the deceased's nails, and the hair of his forehead, were mixed, minced, and reduced first to a powder, and then by adding a large portion of the vegetable juice, to a draught, which was poured into the mouth and nostrils of the corpse: Upon this operation he delivered proper answers to the questions of the bystanders, and then was carried back to his former grave. When the physician happened to be accused,

he was seized by the kindred of the deceased, his arms were broke, his eyes pulled out, and the shocking operation of castration performed upon him, in the most barbarous manner. Happy is it for those sons of *Esculapius*, who now slaughter under protection of the law in civilized countries, that their patients are incapable of rising in judgment against their practice. *Columbus* was told that the natives of this island had an old prophecy, they should be subdued by men of a white complexion, whose swords should beam like the sun, and whose thunder should be terrible; to confirm which, the admiral ordered some cannon to be fired, the balls of which penetrated the wreck of the ship he had lost, to the great astonishment and utter confusion of the *Indians*, who now persuaded themselves that the prophecy was fulfilled. This prophecy had for ages been recorded in a song, which they sung at festivals, accompanied with the musick of an instrument made of a hollow thin piece of wood, that could be heard, when beat, at the distance of a league. This instrument was wholly consecrated to the use of the caziques (1).

a upon the continent, he carried off six of the natives, and returned to *Hispaniola*; discovering in his way a great variety of small islands, on each of which he bestowed names.

WHILE *Columbus* was employed in reducing the *Spanish* mutineers in *Hispaniola* to obedience, and establishing the infant colony upon the best footing, the merchants of *Seville*, excited to the enterprise by the presents of gold and pearls sent home by *Columbus*, solicited leave to attempt further discoveries, as private adventurers. They obtained a commission from the bishop, *John Roderiques de Fonseca*, charged by the court with the care of all affairs relative to the *Indies*, and equipped a squadron of four vessels, under the conduct of *Alonso de Ojeda*, assisted by *John de la Cosa*, a *Biscayan*, and *Americus Vesputius*, a *Florentine*, skilled in cosmography and navigation. On the 20th of May 1499, *Alonso* set sail from the coast of *Spain*, and after a voyage of twenty-seven days, fell in with the continent of *America*: but the particular place at which he first touched is not exactly ascertained, *Herrera* speaking only in general terms, that it was two hundred leagues to the eastward of *Paria*, from whence he coasted two hundred leagues more to *Cape Vela*. The account given by *Ojeda* and *Vesputius* of the inhabitants to the eastward, differs from what *Columbus* related of the natives of *Paria*. Their faces were broad, their complexions of a tawny red, and the activity both of men and women, in all martial exercises, altogether astonishing. They appeared to have no form of government, caziques, sovereigns, or leaders. In war, every man depended upon his own skill, strength, and courage: they animated each other; and when any affront was received, the injured party assembled his friends, laid his grievances before them, and demanded revenge. This was the occasion of all contentions among them; for they seemed to have only a very imperfect idea of property, and none of subordination. Their food was fish or flesh, served up in earthen porringers, or in half-calibashes; they were temperate in their diet, but had no stated hours for meals, that being determined solely by the degree of appetite and inclination. Their beds consisted of cotton hammocks, slung to the roofs of their houses; they were modest in their conversation with the sex, but extremely indelicate in all the evacuations, never retiring out of company upon their natural occasions. In matrimony, no stated rule, either as to consanguinity, or the number of wives, was observed; fancy determined every thing, and love seldom produced quarrels, because property was unknown, and continence on either side neither expected nor required. The women were extremely prolific, and made so little of the pangs of labour, that they bathed and washed immediately after delivery. Their houses were spacious, well built, of a conical form, and common to all, above an hundred persons living in the same habitation; notwithstanding which they frequently migrated south or north, east or west, just as inclination directed, or the heat of the climate required, leaving their houses, which had cost so much pains and labour. Indeed their effects were not burthenome, all their wealth consisting in feathers of different colours, beads made of fish bones, and a kind of green and white pebbles, with which they adorned their neck, lips, ears, and noses. Gold and pearls were despised by this simple people; commerce was unknown; the use of their wives and daughters was freely given to strangers, and the acceptance regarded as a mark of respect and friendship. The sick were carried in hammocks to the mountains, slung to a tree, and furnished with provision for a certain number of days; in which situation, if they chanced to eat and recover, they were received with great rejoicings by their friends and acquaintance. Sometimes they dipped female patients in cold water, placed them before a large fire, brought on a strong diaphoresis, and then covered them warm in bed, by which means they recovered. Phlebotomy was frequently practised in inflammatory disorders, the incision being made in the loins or calves of the legs; and emetics were used in disorders of the stomach, by holding a certain herb in their mouths, which excited vomiting. Human flesh was eat at festivals when they sacrificed their enemies; and this was the only instance in which they discovered a cruel, brutal, and barbarous disposition. As *Ojeda* proceeded westward on his voyage, he observed the face of the country improve, and the inhabitants more acute and lively in their genius. Their towns now exhibited a pleasing prospect. One village, in particular, extremely resembled *Venice* in point of situation (E). It reared itself up out of the water, the houses being built on pillars, and connected by bridges, which the inhabitants drew upon the appearance of danger. Hence it is probable, that this people were molested by some neighbouring powerful nation, which forced them upon this contrivance. Steering along the coast of *Paria*, the *Spaniards* frequently landed, and met with the kindest treatment from the natives, who returned these visits, went on board, and were highly delighted with the sails, rigging, and structure of the shipping, bringing the sailors gold and pearls in exchange for glass beads and pieces of tin, iron, and copper. In a word, after coasting a vast tract of continent, touching several islands, and procuring some valuable commodities, *Ojeda* steered for *Hispaniola*, where he arrived on the 5th of September, to the great detriment of the

Voyage of
Alonso de
Ojeda.

(E) From this circumstance it took the name of *Venezuela*, which some alledge was given by *Columbus*, and others by *Americus Vesputius*.

new colony, his turbulent humour having given birth to a fresh mutiny against *Columbus*. This was the issue of a voyage from which *Americus Vesputius* claimed to himself the honour of discovering a continent that hath ever since been called by his name, in prejudice of the prior right of the great *Christopher Columbus*. a

ALTHOUGH *Ojeda's* voyage was productive of no important discoveries, yet the pearls and gold for which he trafficked along the coasts of *Cumana* and *Maracapaná*, encouraged the inhabitants of *Seville* to solicit leave to make another expedition. The draught made by *Columbus* facilitated *Ojeda's* enterprize; and now the course to the *West Indies* being perfectly understood, nothing more was wanting than to proceed farther to the northward or southward. *Peter Alonso Nino*, who had accompanied the *Genoese* admiral when *Paria* was discovered, pushed a fresh attempt with all his interest, and actually obtained a commission b from the court, provided he would not come to an anchor within fifty leagues of the former discoveries; but being unable to support the expences of the expedition, he had recourse to *Lewis Guerra*, who agreed to equip a vessel, on condition that his brother *Christopher Guerra* should be appointed commander. The terms being accepted, *Christopher* accordingly set sail early in the year 1500, touched, contrary to his orders, on the coast of *Paria*, and having traded with the natives for pearls, to the amount of 150 marks, equivalent to 1200 ounces, he returned to *Spain*, and was accused of defrauding the king of his fifth, and the owners of great part of the cargo.

Guerra's
voyage.

Pinçon's
voyage.

It was about the same time that *Vincent Tannez Pinçon*, who served under *Columbus* in the first voyage, fitted out four vessels at his own expence, set out in quest of discoveries, and was the first who had ventured to cross the equinoctial. *Pinçon* ventured, if we may credit the *Spanish* writers, as far as the latitude of ten south the line, discovered land on the 26th of *February* 1500, and soon after went on shore, and took possession of part of *Brasil*; though it will appear in the next paragraph, that *Herrera* himself acknowledges the *Portuguese* were the first discoverers of this country. c

The Portu-
guese disco-
ver *Brasil*.

NOR to mention the voyage performed by *James de Lesse*, who pursued the same course with *Pinçon*, and was unfortunate, we shall relate the particulars of one more expedition previous to the fourth voyage undertaken by *Columbus*. *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, had equipped a squadron of thirteen sail, carrying 1200 sailors and soldiers, destined for the *East-Indies*, under the conduct of *Peter Alvarez Cabral*. This admiral quitting *Lisbon* on the 9th of *March* 1500, struck out to sea to avoid the coast of *Guinea*, and steered his course southward, that he might more easily turn the *Cape of Good Hope*, which projects a great way into the ocean. On the 24th of *April* he got sight of the continent of *South America*, which he judged to be a large island at some distance from the coast of *Africa*. Coasting along for some time, he ventured to send a boat on shore, and was astonished to observe the inhabitants entirely different from the *Africans* in features, hair, and complexion. It was found, however, impracticable to seize upon any of the *Indians*, who retired with great celerity to the mountains on the approach of the *Portuguese*; yet, as the sailors had discovered a good harbour, the admiral thought proper to come to an anchor, and called the bay *Puerto Seguro*. Next day he sent another boat ashore, and had the good fortune to lay hold on two of the natives, whom he cloathed, and treated kindly, and then dismissed, to make a proper report to their countrymen. The stratagem produced the desired effect. No sooner had the *Indians* heard the relation of the prisoners, than they crowded to the shore, singing, dancing, leaping with joy, and sounding horns of different kinds, which induced *Cabral* to land, and take solemn possession in the name of his *Portuguese* majesty. Hence we may perceive the absurdity and contradiction of *Herrera's* account, who is desirous of ascribing this discovery to the *Spaniards*, by alledging, that *Pinçon* took possession of part of the country south of the river of *Amazons*, as early as the month of *February* this year; and yet acknowledges in part, that the *Portuguese* were the first actual discoverers and possessors of *Brasil*. The truth is, *Pinçon* never produced any authentic vouchers of his having coasted further to the southward than the river of *Amazons*, f from whence he returned, passing along *Terra Firma* and *Paria*, and then steering directly for *Hispaniola*. It is indeed a matter of trifling consequence to which of the kingdoms this discovery belongs; but it is of some importance to discover the blunders into which writers of the best reputation have been seduced by prejudice, and that natural partiality which stimulates them to violate truth for the sake of augmenting the glory of their country.

THESE several voyages were performed during the residence of *Columbus* in *Hispaniola*, where he experienced a thousand mortifications, on account of the mutinous spirit of his people, and the ingratitude of the court of *Spain*. He had transmitted a faithful account of the different insurrections, in the new colonies, to the Catholic king; which were answered by recriminations from his officers, who charged him with tyranny, cruelty, and g avarice; with using the *Spaniards* as slaves, driving the *Indians* to despair, and secreting great part of the gold, pearls, and other valuable commodities, which came to his hands.

a As *Columbus* had enemies in *Spain* as well as the *Indies*, these complaints reached the royal ear, and determined the king to recal him from his government; perhaps, more from motives of policy, than justice. The vast wealth which the admiral amassed was the topic of every conversation, and the court hoped, that, by superseding him, all these riches would flow into the treasury. Accordingly, *Francis Bovadilla* was appointed to go over to *Hispaniola*, in quality of examiner into the mutual complaints, the causes of the frequent mutinies and disturbances, and judge of the conduct, not only of the private men and inferior officers, but of the admiral himself, and his brother, the lieutenant-governor. To enforce his authority, *Bovadilla* had the commission of governor-general, with a number of blank warrants signed by their majesties, and a letter to *Columbus*, ordering him and all his people to obey. He no sooner set foot on the island, than he exerted the utmost power of his authority, demanded all the royal stores, arms, and provisions, seized upon the admiral's effects, ingratiated himself with the *Spaniards*, by the most liberal concessions in their favour, and an eagerness to receive complaints against *Columbus*, and at length put the admiral and his two brothers in irons, without hearing their defence; in which situation he sent them prisoners to *Spain*, under the care of *Alonso de Valejo*; who treated *Columbus* with kindness, and offered to knock off his irons, which he refused, until it should be done by order of their majesties.

WHEN the ship arrived at *Cadiz*, and the king and queen were made acquainted with the indignity put on *Columbus*, to whose services they owed so many obligations, orders were immediately dispatched for his release, and 1000 ducats remitted to defray his expences to court, where he met with a favourable reception, especially from the queen, who had never withdrawn her patronage, tho' she had been persuaded to consent to his removal, and to give some credit to the malicious aspersions of his enemies. He kneeled for some time before their majesties, without being able to utter a syllable; and when he was ordered to rise, he made a pathetic speech, recapitulating his services, enumerating the hardships which he had suffered, and charging *Bovadilla* with the most wanton abuse of his authority, and cruel oppression: upon which their majesties resolved to supersede him; and accordingly appointed *Nicholas de Obando*, knight of the order of *Alcantara*, a person of worth and integrity, to hold the government of *Hispaniola* for the space of two years; to revise all the decrees passed by his predecessor, and reverse such judgments as should either appear to be unjust to individuals, or injurious to the general interest of the island. A promise also was made to the admiral, that he should have a proper appointment for undertaking a fourth expedition, which he earnestly solicited, notwithstanding his old age, infirm state of health, and the mortifications he had sustained in a long course of faithful and important services to the public. However, the execution of this promise was artfully deferred, until the report of the new governor should arrive, when their majesties would be better able to judge of the degree of confidence which they ought to place in *Columbus*.

IN the mean time, the daily reports of the immense wealth of *America*, and the *West-Indies*, that were propagated, raised the ambition and avarice of other adventurers; especially of one *Bastidas*, a man conversant in business, well skilled in geography, of a bold spirit, great integrity, and considerable fortune. *Bastidas*, having obtained a licence, entered into engagements with one *La Cosa*, who had served under *Columbus*, and acquired the reputation of the best mariner in *Spain*, equipped a ship, and set sail from the port of *Cadiz*, in the beginning of *January* 1501, steering the same direction held by *Columbus*, when he discovered the continent. On his arrival, after a prosperous voyage, on the *American* coast, he touched at all the good harbours, trafficked with the natives, whom he found extremely ready to enter upon the most intimate correspondence. When he reached *Venezuela*, he coasted westward, and passed in sight of that shore now called *Santa Maria*, as far as the bay of *Uraba*; keeping on his course, until he arrived at port *Del Retrete*, where afterwards was built the town of *Nombre De Dios*. Thus *Bastidas* discovered about an hundred leagues of the continent, and more than any preceding adventurer; after which he sailed directly for *Hispaniola*, with a considerable cargo of pearls and gold.

Bastidas's voyage.

THE same motives which induced *Bastidas* to this undertaking, stimulated *Alonso de Ojeda* to a second attempt towards a more perfect discovery of the continent. He was accompanied in this voyage by the same *Americus Vespucius*, who claimed the honour of having discovered *America* in his former expedition, and still persisted in arrogating to himself the merit certainly due to *Columbus* (E). They kept the same course held by *Bastidas*,

Second voyage by Ojeda and Americus Vespucius

(E) It is obvious, that all the *Spanish* writers express a strong spirit of rancour against *Americus Vespucius*; not because he disputed the discovery with *Columbus*, who was himself a foreigner, but because he deserted *Spain*, and entered into the service of the king of *Portugal*, on whose account he made two more voyages to the *New World*, as it was then called. *Ame-*

ricus had great address, his voyages were the first ever published on this subject, and the plausibility of his narrative strongly prejudiced mankind in his favour; notwithstanding it appears from our relation, and the dates of the several voyages, that he can with no truth dispute the discovery with *Columbus*.

coasted along the same shores, but were less fortunate; as the voyage was neither productive of wealth nor discoveries; though it furnished the artful *Vesputius* with the means of gaining more credit to his pretensions, by confounding the particulars of both his voyages^b.

Fourth voyage
of Columbus.

At last, after various delays, four ships were provided for *Columbus*, to undertake his fourth expedition; and he set sail from the coast of *Spain* on the ninth of *May* 1502, arriving at *Hispaniola* on the 29th of *June*; where he predicted a storm that proved fatal to great part of the *Spanish* fleet homeward-bound, and to the admiral's two greatest enemies, *Bovadilla* and *Roldan*, before-mentioned. Quitting this island on the 14th of *July*, he held his course along the south side of *Jamaica*, until he made the small island of *Guanaja*; which he found well inhabited, as well as several lesser islands in its neighbourhood. These stood in the entrance to the *Bay of Honduras*, at the distance of twelve leagues from the cape of that name. Here he was visited by a great number of the natives of the continent, in a canoe of vast length, eight feet wide, and constructed with great art, and more ingenuity than he had ever before discovered. After mutual civilities, and the exchange of a few commodities, the admiral dismissed the *Indians*, detaining only one elderly man, to give him an account of the continent, and serve as an interpreter with the natives. Upon the information given by the old *Indian*, he steered eastward, trading as he went along, and making his observations on the people and country. All the *Indians* upon this coast were civil and pacific; they furnished the *Spaniards* with abundance of provisions, and exchanged gold, and other commodities, with great eagerness, for the glittering baubles offered by the admiral. Some went entirely naked, others covered the pudenda, and a few wore short cotton jackets without sleeves, manufactured in a manner that evinced they understood the use of the loom. The figures of different animals were impressed on their bodies by the actual cautery; and persons of the greatest distinction among them wore pieces of cotton cloth, of various colours, wrapped round the head. On festivals, and extraordinary occasions, some painted their faces black, others red, but the greater number streaked, or chequered, with different tints, which they regarded as the standard of elegance and beauty. *Columbus* called this coast *Oreja*, because many of the natives had ears of an extraordinary length, pierced with holes above an inch wide. Nor to dwell upon minute circumstances, a great resemblance was found among the inhabitants of this whole coast, as he advanced; though sometimes they differed in the manner of dressing their hair, in particular ornaments, and certain customs, which it would scarce be worth while to describe and distinguish. We shall only take notice in general, that the more he advanced eastward, the more rich were their ornaments; and as he approached *Porto-Bello*, the inhabitants wore necklaces, to which were suspended eagles of pure gold, of considerable weight, which they bartered without hesitation for glasses, beads, and hawk's-bells (F). By the 17th of *September* he came to the little island *Quiribiri*, opposite to the coast of *Arcari*. On this side of the continent he landed, and found the people very little different from those we have described, only more warlike, being armed with bows, arrows, and swords, made of hard wood. From thence he proceeded to the bay of *Caravaro*, where the inhabitants flocked about the ships, offering large plates and eagles of gold, that hung by their necks, in exchange for *European* commodities. One of these plates, weighing ten ducats, was purchased at the small price of three hawk's-bells. Here the *Spaniards* procured great quantities of the precious metal, and were given to understand, they might fill their ships with it by venturing two days land journey. Having finished all his commercial business, *Columbus* proceeded to *Aburena*; and upon his approaching the shore, the *Indians* presented themselves in a hostile manner; but giving them to understand by signs, that his intention was friendly, they brought him abundance of gold in plates and eagles, some of which weighed twenty-two ounces. From thence he proceeded to *Catiba*, where he purchased seven ounces of gold in plates, for three dozen hawk's-bells; sailing along the coast, for fifty leagues, to the town called *Ca-biga*, and from thence to a fine harbour, to which he gave the name of *Porto-Bello*, on account of its beauty and convenience. This he quitted on the 9th of *November*, and discovered to the eastward several small islands, to which he gave the name of *Bastimentos*, because they supplied him plentifully with provisions. Strong north-east winds obstructing his course, he steered, on the 5th of *December*, to the westward, upon information

^b HERRERA, Dec. i. lib. iv. f. ii.

(F) Their method of burying the dead was different from what had hitherto been observed. In their houses they had tombs, in which were laid the dead bodies, dried, preserved, and wrapped in cotton cloths, over which were laid boards covered with the figures of

beasts, and the image of the deceased. Many of these tombs were adorned with pieces of gold, and the most valuable effects of the country. *Herrera*. dec. i. lib. iv. f. iv.

- a that there were gold mines in the province of *Veragua*; in his voyage to which he encountered such tempestuous weather, and so many disappointments, that he called this part of the country *La Costa de los contrarios*, or *The Coast of Opposition*. On the 6th of January he entered the river *Yibra*, which the admiral called *Belen*, or *Bethlehem*; and discovered another river called *Veragua*, at an inconsiderable distance. His boats went up the former to a town, where the *Spaniards* were informed, that *Veragua* abounded with gold mines. A trade was carried on with the natives, and great quantity of this metal purchased for toys of no value. The admiral was visited by one of the caziques, who brought him some gold, and conducted the *Spaniards* to the mines of *Urira*, where they gathered several pieces of almost pure gold round the roots of trees, without digging.
- b From *Urira* the admiral's brother advanced with thirty men up the country to *Zabraba*, an *Indian* town, surrounded with fields, six leagues in extent, sown with *Indian* wheat. Thence he proceeded to *Catiba*, where he was hospitably entertained by the natives, who supplied him with several plates of gold, some weighing ten crowns, in exchange for those baubles, upon which they put so high a value. It was the abundance of the precious metal which this country afforded, that suggested to *Columbus* the idea of settling a colony on the river *Bethlehem*, and of leaving his brother, with some other *Spaniards*, in the country, until he could return with more numerous forces. Accordingly *Bartholomew*, with eighty men, consented to remain, and immediately set about building a small fort and town in the most commodious situation, which was the first colony ever established on the continent.
- c The utility of this project was manifest; but it met with such obstruction in the execution, that after great progress had been made, *Columbus* was forced to receive the colonists on board, to save them from the vengeance of the cazique *Quibia*, with whom they had some difference. Being thus disappointed in his principal object, that of founding a colony upon the continent, and being greatly reduced in ship-provision, he determined to make the best of his way to *Hispaniola*, and coasting eastward towards *Porto-Bello*, he touched upon the province situated opposite to three islands, called *Las Barbas*, then at *Tortuga*, and the *Caymanes*, and taking his course directly for *Cuba*, landed upon that island, and proceeded for *Jamaica*; which particulars we mention, to evince that *Columbus*, in his different voyages, was the actual discoverer of all the great islands
- d of the *Antilles*, and indeed of almost every island in the *West-Indies*. He found *Jamaica* extremely populous, abounding with animal and vegetable provision, and the inhabitants not only very obliging, but extremely desirous of trafficking. During his residence here, he combated difficulties which would have thrown in despair any other person less firm in adversity than *Columbus*. After spending twenty years in the service of the crown of *Spain*, and other *European* powers, and making discoveries which will eternize his memory, he was now reduced to the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of his declining life among savages. His ships were stranded on the coast of *Jamaica*; the hope of procuring relief from *Hispaniola* was extremely precarious, upon account of the distance, the roughness of the sea, and the extreme slenderness of the *Indian* canoes, which
- e were the only vehicles or means to transmit the account of his situation to *Obando*, governor of the new colony; besides, great part of his crew deserted, and not only threatened his life, but raised disturbances among the natives, which exposed him to perpetual danger, over all which he triumphed by his prudence, perseverance, and valour, arriving first at *Hispaniola*, and then in *Spain*, where he found his royal patroness was dead, and his services coldly received by the court. *Columbus*, chagrined and disgusted, retired to *Valadolid*, breathed his last, and received those honours after death which were denied while he was living (G).

S E C T.

(G) As the reader hath already seen an abstract of the life of this celebrated discoverer, in our fourth volume, we have here touched only upon those circumstances of his voyages which are absolutely necessary to our present subject. We have seen the progressive discoveries of the islands and continent of *America* during the life-time of *Columbus*; and it may not be improper to subjoin a short account of the state of the settlement in *Hispaniola* at this period, and of those difficulties which the admiral encountered while he resided in *Jamaica*. When the admiral was sent back in irons, after his third voyage, he presented so spirited a charge against *Bovadilla*, the new governor, who had not only superseded him in his authority, loaded him with chains, and robbed him of all his effects, but pardoned, promoted, and countenanced all the seditious who had occasioned so many disturbances in *Hispaniola*, that their majesties resolved to recal him,

assigning the government to *Obando*. This gentleman acted with more integrity; he soon perceived that *Columbus* had been injuriously treated, and the colony greatly prejudiced by the arbitrary proceedings of *Bovadilla*, whom he now sent on board the fleet bound for *Spain*, there to answer for his conduct. All his endeavours, however, could not curb the mutinous spirit and licentious humour which had so long been indulged in the colonists. They not only disobeyed their governor, and threw off all restraint, but massacred, enslaved, and plundered the natives with the utmost barbarity. *Amacaona*, a lady of great authority, was cruelly murdered; several of the caziques were burnt in one of the chief *Indian* towns, as they were preparing an entertainment for the *Spaniards*; *Calubananamo*, the principal cazique in the island, was taken prisoner, and hanged, by order of the governor; and other violences, and acts of the most ruinous consequences,

S E C T. II.

Containing a further Account of the Discoveries made on the Continent, and of the Settlements in Castello del Oro and the Isthmus of Darien, which led the Way to the Discovery and Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

Settlement on
Puerto Rico.

BESIDES the voyage performed by *Sebastian Cabot* to the northward, other mariners had made some discoveries under the same parallels; particularly *Gaspar de Cortoreal*, a Portuguese, and *Jacques Cartier*, a Frenchman, in the life-time of *Columbus*. We shall, however, defer the recital of these, until we come to describe the northern provinces of America, to prevent interrupting the narrative of the Spanish discoveries, conquest, and settlements, fraught with the most important and interesting events, which the history of this new world affords. The first colony established after the death of *Columbus*, was in the island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, called *Borriquen* by the Indians, distant about fourteen leagues from *Hispaniola*. *Ponce de Leon* had learned from the Indians, that it abounded in gold; he desired leave from *Obando* to visit the island, obtained his request, was hospitably received by the inhabitants, and shewn two mines extremely rich in the precious metal. *Obando* being superseded in the government of *Hispaniola*, and don *James Columbus* put in possession of the grants made to his father, the colonization of *Puerto Rico* was de-

quences, were daily committed, which obliged the natives to desert the island, fly to their canoes, and take shelter in the island of *Guanabo*, at the distance of eight leagues from *Hispaniola*.

SUCH was the state of affairs while *Columbus* was detained in *Jamaica*, for want of vessels to transport his people and effects to the new colony. Here the admiral struggled with such manifold difficulties, as must have weighed down a soul less elevated and inured to hardship and adversity. It was no easy matter to find persons, daring and intrepid enough, to undertake a voyage to *Hispaniola* in canoes; however, *Columbus* had the good fortune to prevail on *Mendez de Secura*, and *Bartholomew Fiepo*, to risque their lives for the recovery of liberty. They set out, attended by six Spaniards and ten Indians to row, and arrived in ten days at *Hispaniola*, after sustaining incredible fatigue. They delivered their dispatches, and represented the admiral's situation to *Obando*; who promised them assistance, but was extremely dilatory in the execution. The Spaniards, under *Columbus*, grew impatient of delay, discontented and mutinous. *Francis de Porras*, one of his chief officers, put himself at the head of the mutineers, threw off all obedience to the admiral, seized upon all the canoes, with intention of transporting themselves to *Hispaniola*, and leaving him behind; but were frustrated in their design through cowardice, ignorance, and tempestuous temper. A few remained faithful to *Columbus*; but the Indians perceiving the Spaniards divided among themselves, thought to profit by this happy opportunity, of ridding themselves of the strangers, whom they greatly dreaded. They refused to supply him with provision in exchange for his commodities; but *Columbus* soon gained their veneration and esteem by a stratagem. He predicted an eclipse of the moon, which he told the Indians, denoted the anger of the gods at their inhospitality; which raised such terrible apprehensions in them of the punishment which should follow, that they returned loaded with presents to the admiral, beseeching him to pardon them, and deprecate the wrath of heaven. He pretended to comply with their request; and as a proof of his intercession, he bade the Indians observe how the moon would gradually return to her former colour, an appearance which inspired them with great veneration for the God of the Christians, and determined them to side with the admiral against the mutineers. They supplied him plentifully with every necessary which the island afforded, and were instrumental in the victory gained over the mutineers, their reduction, and the imprisonment of *Porras*, taken in the field of battle by the admiral's brother. It was soon after that *Columbus* set out for *His-*

paniola, on the return of *Mendez*, with a ship and cavel, which he had purchased at *St. Domingo*, without any assistance from the governor.

To prevent interrupting the ensuing narrative, it may be proper to mention, that several laws were now issued for the spiritual and temporal government of *Hispaniola*, the only colony yet established in the *West Indies*. The profits arising from the gold and other commodities of the island, proved so considerable, that the Spanish ministry were sensible the colony could not be too much indulged and cherished, though the proper means were often mistaken. The product in gold only amounted at this time to 460,000 pesos, which was sufficient to excite hopes of greater profits, when the method of purifying and refining was better understood, and the colony better regulated. Accordingly, a variety of civil ordonnances passed, an India-house was established at *Seville*, and a bull obtained from the pontiff, for erecting an archbishoprick, bishoprick, deaconries, and other spiritual dignities, in *Hispaniola*, and whatever other parts of the *Indies* the Spaniards should think fit to colonize. For the support of the clergy, all the tithes and first-fruits were established, excepting those of gold, silver, copper, precious stones, and pearls, each of which were the produce of *Hispaniola*, or the adjacent islands. A school was also established for the instruction of the natives, and the clergy desired to exert their utmost endeavours in propagating christianity. Several persons, skilled in navigation, were employed in drawing charts of the islands and continent hitherto known, and for laying down schemes for further discoveries, especially to the southward. Great numbers of people were brought from the *Lucayos* to *Hispaniola*, to supply the room of those who had deserted the island, upon account of the severity of the Spanish government: and don *James*, son of *Columbus*, solicited the king to be restored to all his rights and privileges, in consequence of the grants made to that admiral, or to sue for them by a legal process. This was granted; don *James* entered his plea, claimed to be admiral of the *Indies*, with the same privileges as the admiral of *Castile* enjoyed within his jurisdiction; to enjoy the tenths of all the gold, silver, pearls, and other valuable productions of that country, and an eighth of all the profits arising to the crown, together with a variety of other immunities, specified in the grant to his father. The affair was debated, and a verdict given for don *James* and his heirs, with this restriction, that all business should be transacted in the king's name. *Vid. Herrera, D. i. l. vii. f. vii. & l. viii. f. i. ii. iii. & iv.*

ferred,

a feared, until the return of the former to *Spain*; at which time, *Ponce de Leon* was appointed governor of this island, independent of the new admiral's authority, with full powers to build towns and plant colonies, in the manner he should think most convenient and advantageous to his own and the general interest. Accompanied by two hundred *Spaniards*, and a great number of *Indians*, *Ponce de Leon* set sail for his government; built a town called *Caparra*, and afterwards *Soto Mayor*, and distributed all the natives in tribes among the *Spaniards*, to dig and search for gold, plant cotton, and cultivate the earth. This subjection proved irksome to the *Indians*, and laid the foundation of a general revolt; which, after much bloodshed, was suppressed by the valour of *Leon* and the *Spaniards*, and the fidelity of a number of large dogs, with which they were attended. Of these dogs, several, almost incredible, stories are related. *Herrera* affirms, that they were more formidable to the *Indians* than the bravest *Spaniard*; and of one particular dog he asserts, that he could distinguish whether an *Indian* was well or ill disposed towards his master, and that in regard to his signal services, he had a certain proportion of all the plunder which his master received.

ABOUT the close of the year 1507, *Alonso de Ojeda*, and *James de Nicuesa*, entered upon articles with the court, to plant and colonize a part of the continent of *America*. To the former was assigned all the territories extending from *Cape de la Vela*, to the middle of the *Bay of Uraba*, beyond *Cartagena*; and to the latter, from the middle of the same inlet to *Cape Gracias a Dios*. The first of these grants being made by the name of *New Andalusia*; the other, by that of *Castella del Oro*; though this name be now transferred to the interior parts of *Terra Firma*, and the large province called *New Granada*. The island of *Jamaica* was also annexed to these governments, which don *James* could not but regard as a violation of his right, an incroachment on the grants made to *Columbus*, and an aggravation of the affront he already sustained in rendering *Puerto Rico* independent of his jurisdiction. Young *Columbus* had formed powerful connexions by marrying a niece of the duke d' *Alva*: he had obtained a verdict in the regular course of law, but the king delayed the execution; and it was entirely through the interest of the *Alva* family, that he was now appointed admiral and governor, with the same limited powers as the two last governors; an employment, however, which he accepted, even under these unjust restrictions. He was empowered by the king to furnish all possible assistance to the intended establishment of colonies on the continent, and to encourage every plausible scheme that should be projected, for the colonization either of the main-land or the islands. The establishment of a colony on the little island of *Cubaqua*, called *The island of pearls*, was especially recommended, as the ministry entertained the most sanguine hopes of a profitable fishery in pearls upon this coast, as soon as proper restrictions were laid, and the frauds, now committed by the *Indians*, prevented: nor were the hopes of the court disappointed, for the king's fifth of this fishery soon exceeded fifteen thousand ducats yearly.

Voyages of
Ojeda and Ni-
cuesa to the
continent.

Don *James* no sooner reached his new government, than, forgetting the king's instructions, he consulted only the dictates of resentment, and gave all possible obstruction to the expeditions preparing by *Ojeda* and *Nicuesa*; who likewise differed about the limits of their governments and several jurisdictions. This dispute was accommodated, all the difficulties thrown in the way by young *Columbus* were removed, and the two adventurers set sail from *Hispaniola* for the continent; *Francis Pizarro*, afterwards so celebrated, serving under *Ojeda*. When *Ojeda* arrived at *Cartagena*, the natives were in arms, resolving to dispute his landing, because they had been insulted by *Christopher Guerra*, and some other *Spaniards*, who had lately touched upon their coasts, under pretence of trafficking. Every method was practised to soothe their resentment, and to convince them, that the intention of the *Spaniards* was for their mutual advantage; but all endeavours proving fruitless, the governor determined to try the effects of arms, fell upon the *Indians*, and defeated them with considerable slaughter, and booty in gold and prisoners. This advantage had almost proved fatal to the *Spaniards*; they marched up to a little town four leagues from the sea, and finding the *Indians* had retreated to the mountains, they dispersed themselves carelessly in small parties, in quest of gold and plunder; in which situation they were attacked by the enemy, who wounded and killed them with vast flights of poisoned arrows. The inhabitants of *Yarbaco* fell upon *Ojeda* and the small party with him; he maintained the fight for a long time against a multitude of *Indians*, kneeling upon the ground, covering himself with his target, and making dreadful havock with his sword; but at length perceiving that almost all his men were killed, he made a furious effort, pushed through the thickest of the enemy, and directed his course to the sea, in hopes of reaching the shipping. Seventy *Spaniards* were slain upon this occasion, and among the rest *John de la Cosa*, who supported the expence of the expedition, fitted out the fleet, and now died fighting valiantly, after his body had been covered with arrows, and swollen to a monstrous

size with the malignity of the poison. The long stay made by this party created uneasiness a on board the ships, and several boats were sent out to gain intelligence, and search along the coast, where they found *Ojeda* hiding himself in a tree, faint, exhausted, and emaciated, with fatigue and hunger.

In this situation were the *Spanish* affairs when *Nicuesa* arrived, and not only forgave the injuries he had received from *Ojeda*, upon the recital of his misfortunes, but generously offered him all the assistance in his power, put himself under his direction, until he had revenged the death of his companions, and embraced him with great cordiality, saying, that it would be unmanly to add to the afflictions of the unfortunate, and unworthy of a good citizen to gratify private resentment at the expence of the public service. The two b governors accordingly put themselves at the head of a party of four hundred men, marched by night to *Yrbaco*, attacked the *Indians* unprepared, set fire to the town, burnt and massacred the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; and after having cruelly satiated their revenge, returned to their ships with an immense booty in gold; the share of *Nicuesa's* party alone amounting to seven thousand castellanos.

St. Sebastian
built in the bay
of Uraba.

AFTER this transaction the two commanders separated, *Ojeda* steering for *Uraba* and the river of *Darien*, which he had been informed by the *Indians* produced great quantities of the precious metal. Not being able to find the river, he built a fort, which he called *St. Sebastian*, upon a hilly ground, to defend his people against the attacks of the natives; several houses were erected in the neighbourhood, and thus was laid the foundation of the second town erected by the *Spaniards* on the continent, *Columbus* having before c endeavoured to establish a colony in *Veragua*. Observing that the *Indians* were warlike, and little disposed to admit foreigners among them, he dispatched a vessel to *Hispaniola*, with the prisoners and gold he had taken, to procure in exchange a reinforcement of men, arms, and provisions. This supply was absolutely necessary; but *Ojeda* exposed himself to great dangers by parting with such a number of them as were necessary to work the vessel, and secure the prisoners. The *Indians* of this district were the most sagacious and alert at their weapons of any they had seen hitherto. They shot their poisoned arrows d with such force as pierced the thickest armour, unless it was well lined with cotton; besides they used their wooden swords with great address; hit so exactly, and threw their darts with such violence as really rendered them very formidable enemies. They had no temples for public worship; but we are told they prayed to the devil, because to him they ascribed the power of doing mischief. The credulous *Spaniards* even alledged, that he frequently appeared to them in different hideous forms; a relation which they probably believed upon the credit of the *Indians*. From this being they pretended to receive information, that the dead should be transported into another country; for which reason, the moment a corpse was deposited in the grave, large store of provision was likewise buried to supply the dead in the voyage; and if the deceased happened to be a male, his arms and military weapons were laid by him for his defence. Thus we see that the *Indians* in general entertained a crude wild idea of immortality and a future state. The *Indians* of *Uraba*, besides their skill in war, had also made the greatest progress in the e arts of civil life of any savage nation which the *Spaniards* had as yet beheld. Their houses were neat, and commodiously divided into different apartments; their beds were cotton hammocks slung to the roof; and though they went naked upon account of the heat of the climate, they were no strangers to weaving and spinning, as appeared by several ingenious specimens of piece goods. The small organs of generation were contained in cases of pure gold, or of ivory, while the women covered those parts which modesty requires should be concealed, with fine cotton cloths, wrapped round the loins, and flowing down to the feet. They also wore bracelets, beads, and other ornaments round their arms and necks; and all the women valued themselves upon their beauty, cleanliness, and the smoothness of their hair. The poison used upon their arrows was an animal and f vegetable mixture formed into a paste, of different degrees of malignity, according to the number of ingredients used; so that the *Indians* alledged they could kill with their poison within any limited time, two, three, five, to fourteen days. Their antidotes were the actual cautery, sea-water, and the excrements of the wounded person, applied fresh to the sore; to which they ascribed extraordinary virtues; and it appears that *Alonso de Ojeda* cured himself by fire, and by the use of actual cautery, in the most resolute manner, plates of ignited iron being applied not only to the wounds, but to all the adjacent parts. It is likewise reported that many of the *Spaniards* wounded by these poisoned arrows grew suddenly delirious, and died raving, without any feverish symptoms.

THE new colony had not been long established before *Ojeda* and his people were reduced to great extremities. At first they made some fortunate incursions into the neighbouring territories; but the *Indians* daily increasing in numbers, and in courage, cooped g them

a them at length within the fort, where they almost perished with famine. Happily for them a vessel arrived from *Hispaniola*, with seventy men, who had escaped the rage of their creditors, and determined to settle on the continent. *Ojeda* welcomed them as his guardian angels, brought them provisions, and having strengthened the colony, he resolved to sail for further supplies to *Martinico*, promising to return in fifty days, and allowing his people, in case he failed, to dispose of themselves as they should think proper. This voyage proved exceedingly unfortunate. *Ojeda*, after suffering the utmost distress for want of provisions, was thrown upon the coast of *Cuba*, where he was forced to fight his way through the natives to gain the east side of the island, that he might be nearer *Hispaniola*. His men dropped every day through fatigue and hunger; they traversed vast morasses and forests, living upon such herbs and roots as they met with; half his companions perished; and *Ojeda*, with a few more, arrived at an *Indian* town called *Cuyba*, where they fell down through faintness as if they had been dead, which so much excited the humanity of the *Indians*, that they treated them with the utmost civility and kindness, bringing them abundance of the best provision the country afforded, and furnishing them with a canoe and rowers to send intelligence by one of their number, to the *Spaniards* in *Jamaica*, in which island a colony had been settled under the conduct of *John de Esquivel*. Young *Columbus* made this establishment to preserve his right to the island against the encroachments of *Ojeda* and *Nicuesa*, who had the jurisdiction of *Jamaica* included in their late grant from the crown; and the dispute had come to such a height before these adventurers began their last expedition, that *Ojeda* threatened to put *Esquivel* to death, if he presumed settling in the island; notwithstanding which the generous *Esquivel* was no sooner made acquainted with his misfortunes, than he exerted himself for his safety, and by the humanity of his conduct secured the perpetual friendship of *Ojeda*. He sent a vessel to *Cuba*, brought him and his companions safe to *Jamaica*, and transported them to *Hispaniola*, where *Ojeda* died before the means of relieving the colony of *Uraba* were put in execution.

Such were the distresses of *Ojeda* and his little colony; nor were those of *Nicuesa* inferior. When the two commanders parted company, *James Nicuesa*, in a caravel, attended by a brigantine, under the conduct of *Lopez Olano*, held his course along the shore, in quest of *Veragua*, ordering the larger ships to keep out to sea for the greater security. This opportunity the treacherous *Olano* seized of gratifying his ambition, and gaining the supreme command. Instead of keeping close in company with the caravel, he lost sight entirely, and then holding out to sea for the other ships, gave them to understand that *Nicuesa* was ship-wrecked, and that the chief direction of the expedition belonged now to himself, as lieutenant. As no suspicion was entertained of the truth of this relation, the sailors and officers willingly yielded obedience, and by *Olano*'s order steered for the river *Bethlehem*, where he proposed settling a colony, though the spot had formerly been unfortunate to a similar attempt. The ships being left upon the coast, the lieutenant with the whole crew entered the river in boats, *Olano* contriving this stratagem, as was imagined, to secure the river to himself, and prevent meeting again with *Nicuesa*. His intention was to settle in the country, but he found it might be difficult to prevail upon his people, while the ships remained; they were therefore left in a careless manner, in expectation of their perishing in some hard gale, flood, or other accident. Scarce had the boats advanced a few leagues in the river, when one was overturned, and fourteen men were drowned, which made the sailors so clamorous in the other boats, that *Olano* was compelled to return to the ships, but without abandoning his design. He had left some men up the river, promising to give them speedy supply of necessaries, and with the brigantines he entered the river *Veragua*, where he ordered strict search to be made for gold; but the men concealing the gold, lest their officer should think of settling here, obliged him to return to *Bethlehem*, where he found the little colony greatly reduced in number, ready to perish with hunger, pestered with gnats and mosquitoes, and in the most sickly condition from the moist heat of the atmosphere, and the unwholesomeness of the climate. It was observed that the sick always yielded their last breath at the tide of ebb, and that the bodies of those who were buried in the sand, were as perfectly consumed in the space of eight days, as if they had been fifty years deposited in any *European* soil; from whence the *Spaniards* drew dreadful prognostics. As the ship provision was entirely exhausted, the arrival of *Nicuesa* furnished no relief to the colony, unless consolation was drawn from seeing the number of the wretched multiplied. We may judge of the distress of the whole from a single instance. A mare happened to foal soon after *Olano*'s arrival, and all the *Spaniards* flew like hungry wolves, and devoured the young animal, and even the placenta, which they regarded as the highest luxury, having for several weeks tasted nothing besides roots and other vegetables.

Nicuesa's expedition.
A. D. 1509.

NOR was the situation of *Nicuesa* less deplorable. He sailed up the river with the caravel, and was shipwrecked, not a morsel of the provision being saved. As this accident happened in the night, many of the crew were thrown ashore barefooted and naked, in which condition they travelled over bogs, marshes, mountains, rocks, and through forests, feeding upon vegetables, without knowing upon which side *Veragua* lay, for which they were searching. They likewise found they were beset by *Indians*, *Nicuesa's* favourite servant being killed by an arrow. At last, in course of their wandering, they were shut up by the floods in a desert island, which afforded nothing besides a few roots and shell fish. There they spent near three months in the most piteous situation; their repeated attempts to cross upon floats to the opposite shore being all frustrated. Many were reduced to such a state of debility, that they crawled about upon their hands and feet, in quest of those unwholesome vegetables with which they were forced to gratify the cravings of appetite. Happily however for those who survived their hardships, they owed their preservation to the treachery of four sailors, to whom they ascribed all their calamities. They had run away with the boat, when the caravel was lost, and by mere accident lighted upon the place where *Olano*, with his unfortunate associates, had established a kind of colony. Whether adversity had softened *Olano's* heart, or that he was afraid of the rebellion of the colony, if he refused sending relief to *Nicuesa*, who was known to be living, by the relation of the sailors, certain it is that he sent a brigantine for him, with palmetos, and such other provisions as his wretched situation would afford, which arrived as that commander, and the remains of his crew, were reduced to the last extremity. Their joy on sight of the vessel was inexpressible; but *Nicuesa* prudently restrained it, and moderated their appetite for devouring the palmetos, which might have proved fatal in their faint exhausted condition. When *Nicuesa* joined the wretched settlement at *Betlehem*, he demonstrated that his spirit was not broke with adversity, and that he now owed the preservation of his life to the seasonable assistance furnished by his lieutenant *Olano*; yet justice and discipline required he should be punished for his rash ambition, which not only destroyed the intention of the expedition, but proved fatal to the lives of many, and hazarded the safety of all the adventurers. Without form of trial, he ordered him to be loaded with irons; nor would he hear of his release, until he was forced to yield to the intercession of the whole colony.

NICUESSA perceiving that no hope remained of rendering the colony useful in the spot which *Olano* had chosen, he re-embarked, with design to return to *Hispaniola*; but want of provision obliged him to put ashore a few leagues above *Porto Bello*, where he resolved to make a settlement, saying, Let us stay here *en nombre de Dios*, in the name of God. Immediately he fell to work in erecting a fort, which took the name of *Nombre de Dios*, to protect them against the natives, in which he failed, his people being in a short time reduced from 780 to 100 men, through fatigue, famine, and the unwholesomeness of the climate.

A. D. 1510.

IT will be now necessary we should return to the settlement at *Uraba*, which *Ojeda* left behind, in order that we may clearly understand the fate of the colony at *Nombre de Dios*.— When the fifty days, which *Ojeda* had fixed for his return, were expired, all hopes of relief vanished, and the wretched *Spaniards* gave themselves up to despair. Two small vessels only remained, and these were insufficient to transport their whole number, amounting to sixty men, to any other country, though they were reduced to the most deplorable situation that imagination can figure. After mature deliberation, it was resolved in a general council not to separate, but patiently to wait the decrees of heaven, or until their number should be so much diminished, by sickness, want, and the arrows of the *Indians*, that the vessels could transport all the survivors; a period which was not very remote. The *Spaniards* died so fast, that only hands enough remained to work the two vessels. Accordingly they embarked, laying in all the stock of provision they could, which consisted of four mares they killed and salted, and some palmetoes. *Francis Pizarro*, afterwards so celebrated, who was appointed his substitute by *Ojeda*, commanded the largest, and had the good fortune to join the *Batchelor Enciso*, just arrived in the bay of *Carthagena*, with a ship and brigantine, an hundred and fifty men, good store of live stock, and other provision, destined for the relief of *Ojeda's* colony at *Uraba*, in consequence of a contract with that gentleman, a little before his death. The other vessel was commanded by *Valenzuela*, and perished at sea. *Pizarro* used his utmost endeavours to prevail on *Enciso* to steer for *Veragua*, and join *Nicuesa*; but the *Batchelor* was obstinate in executing his engagements literally; however, as he entered the bay, his ship foundered, and himself with the crew were saved with great difficulty by the brigantines, all the provisions on board being entirely lost. *Enciso* nevertheless insisted upon landing; but he was so roughly handled by the *Indians*, and the country offered so little encouragement, that he was persuaded by *Nunz de Balboa* to sail for the river *Darien*, which he remembered since the voyage

- a voyage he performed with *Bastidas*. *Balboa* described a pleasant town upon the banks of this river, abounding with provision, which proved a strong inducement to the half-famished *Spaniards*; his advice was followed; and upon their arrival every thing corresponded with his account; it however required the force of arms to gain possession of this land of promise, the cazique, with five hundred men, being in readiness to oppose the *Spaniards*. A battle accordingly ensued; the *Indians* were routed, and the town was the reward of the conquerors, who, besides a quantity of provision, and several pieces of manufactured cotton, got a booty of ten thousand pesos of fine gold plates. *Balboa* gained so much reputation by the success of this enterprize, that his ambition was fired, and he aspired at the government of the colony, which all agreed should be established on the river
- b *Darien*, by the name of *Santa Maria el Antigua del Darien*. To effect this purpose, he enlarged his friendships, and concerted a scheme for deposing *Enciso*, under colour, that as they were not within the limits of *Ojeda's* government, they owed no obedience to his representative. Several circumstances contributed to facilitate his scheme, which was soon put in execution. *Enciso* was deposed, and the chief direction of affairs entrusted to *Nunez Balboa*. In this situation the colony might have flourished, had not fresh subjects of dispute arose, and such a variety of separate opinions and interests, as threatened anarchy and destruction. At length it was agreed, that *Nicuesa* should be sent for to govern the colony; a vessel was dispatched to transport him, with all his people, to *Darien*; they found him naked, emaciated, exhausted, and feeble, feeding like a savage upon roots and herbs. The shocking spectacle drew tears from the beholders; but *Nicuesa*
- c was so much elated with his change of circumstances, that he soon forfeited the good opinion of the colony at *Darien*, and was deposed before he had scarce felt the reins of authority, and sent to sea in a rotten caravel, with seventeen men, all of whom perished with the vessel; though some writers alledge, that *Nicuesa* reached *Cuba*, and was massacred, with all his people, by the *Indians*. This resolution of the colony, and *Balboa's* artful conduct, secured him in the administration, by which he was enabled to revenge himself upon the *Batchelor Enciso*, for the share he had in promoting the late dissensions. He therefore charged him with arrogating to himself an illegal authority, and committing treason, by exerting a power under virtue of *Ojeda's* commission, which could only be bestowed by the king. Upon this pretext he secured his person, and confiscated his effects; but at length released the *Batchelor*, on condition that he should take the first passage that offered for *Spain* or *Hispaniola*. Further to secure himself in the government, he dispatched two of his most intimate friends to *Spain* and *Hispaniola*, sending the *Batchelor* under their custody, and a process against him, couched in the most artful and bitter terms.

Balboa becomes chief of the settlement.

- THE new colony at *Darien* began now to flourish extremely, and spread the terror of their arms among the *Indian* nations, with some of which they contracted alliances, to which the accidental discovery of two *Spaniards*, who had deserted from *Nicuesa*, on his
- e first arrival in *Veragua*, and had lived with the *Indians*, and acquired their language, with a knowledge of the country, greatly contributed. They gave the first account of the extraordinary wealth of this part of *America*, especially to the southward, which was afterwards confirmed by a young prince, who offered to accompany *Balboa* to a country where the precious metal was in as great abundance as the *Spaniards* alledged iron was in *Europe*; but he said it would be necessary to be attended with a thousand soldiers, as he should be opposed by mighty monarchs. *Balboa* had contracted a particular intimacy with a neighbouring cazique, named *Careta*, whom he had first taken prisoner, and then released, on the promise of his friendship, and that he would supply the colony with provisions; an engagement which the *Indian* punctually executed. *Careta* was then at war
- f with another cazique, whose name was *Ponca*; and this prince, learning that the *Spaniards* took part with his enemy, fled to the mountains, leaving his country to be wasted, and his treasures pillaged by the allies. By this means the *Spanish* influence became daily more considerable; princes solicited their friendship, and, among others, the cazique *Cemagre*, lord of the adjacent country, who advanced with his seven sons, and grandees, to invite *Balboa* to his city, where he lodged his troops, supplied them with every necessary, and compelled them to accept the best services of the women of the country; the greatest mark of confidence that can be shewn by an *Indian*, and an indissoluble tie of friendship. The *Spaniards* were struck with the magnificence of *Cemagre's* palace far beyond any thing they had beheld in *America*. It was 150 paces in length, 80 in breadth, raised
- g on wooden pillars, inclosed by a stone wall, with rails at the top, so beautifully carved, that the *Europeans* were utterly astonished at the workmanship. Several of the apartments distinguished a rude genius for architecture and the fine arts; but what was peculiarly pleasing to the soldiers, was the great abundance of bread, venison, and pork, which

A.D. 1511.
Proceedings of Balboa.

they found in the storehouse, together with a variety of red and white pleasant liquors, drawn from *Indian* wheat, roots, and the palm. The wealth and generosity of this prince greatly increased their satisfaction. His eldest son, desirous of obliging the strangers by every means in his power, ordered several pieces of gold, valuable for their workmanship and purity, and weighing about 4000 pieces of eight, together with seventy slaves, to be presented to *Nunez* and *Calmenares*, who, he perceived, were the leading men among the *Spaniards*; and it was upon the division of these presents that they quarrelled, and obliged the young prince to express himself in the following terms.—“ The christians
 “ have no occasion to fall out about an affair so trifling as gold; for if they prize it at
 “ so high a rate as to forsake their native country, and disturb peaceable nations, in
 “ search of this metal, I will shew them a province where they may enjoy it to satiety,
 “ at the distance of six suns, or six days journey from hence, pointing towards the
 “ southern ocean; where the natives have vessels little inferior to the *Spanish* ships, with
 “ masts and sails, and where they eat and drink out of this same gold, so much valued.”
 The young prince’s report was confirmed by the testimony of the more grave and experienced *Indians*, which so inflamed the ardor of *Nunez Balboa*, that he resolved immediately to solicit the king for the necessary reinforcement, and to lay before the ministry the inexhaustible source of wealth he had discovered. *Valdibia* was chosen to transact this important affair, and he was also charged with the king’s fifth of the gold found by the new colony, which amounted to 15,000 pieces of eight.

Settlement on
the island of
Cuba.

November.

WHILE this affair was negotiating, and *Balboa* preparing to penetrate further into the country, in order to supply the colony with provisions, which now began to fail, don *James Columbus*, in quality of admiral and governor-general, was taking measures for establishing a colony on the island of *Cuba*. The advantages of this settlement were obvious, because the soil was excellent, the country populous, abounding with provisions, and the most valuable articles of commerce. *James Velaquez*, a person of understanding, temper, and integrity, was chosen to conduct this enterprize, and great numbers of persons involved in debts resolved to share his fortune. No less than three hundred men rendezvoused at *Salvatierra de la Zavana*, and embarked on board some vessels destined for *Cuba*, together with divers *Indians* in their canoes, headed by the cazique *Hatney*, of the province of *Guababa*. It was imagined this prince was disposed to countenance the *Spanish* expedition; but his conduct soon evinced that he had quitted *Hispaniola*, where he could make little resistance, only to assist the inhabitants of *Cuba* in preserving their liberty, and thereby acquiring more weight and authority than fell to his share, in a country wholly subdued, and governed by the *Spaniards*. Accordingly, on the arrival of *Velaquez* at the port called *Palmas*, the cazique stood upon his defence, and encamped, with a considerable body of *Indians*, in the woody grounds, which were inaccessible to the *Spanish* cavalry. Here he maintained his situation for the space of two months, but was at last dislodged by the superior skill and courage of the *Europeans*, who drove him to the heart of the island, and soon after took him prisoner, and burnt him alive; which produced such an effect upon the inhabitants, that the whole province of *Maya* immediately submitted. Civil divisions afterwards arose, which had almost destroyed three parts of the settlement. *Ferdinand Cortez*, so celebrated in history, took part against *Velaquez*, was seized, imprisoned, and on the point of losing his life as a traitor and mutineer. Happily, however, dissension ceased, and the *Spaniards* made daily progress in the reduction of the island, building towns, and laying the foundation of that valuable colony which hath ever since been maintained (A).

IN

(A) The great extent and fertility of the island of *Cuba* were at first the chief inducement for colonizing it; for as yet the *Spaniards* had no idea of the service it might be of to their *American* traffic in gold and silver. It exceeds two hundred and thirty leagues from east to west, though its breadth is unequal. From *Cape de Cruz* to *Port Monati* is reputed forty-five leagues; but this is the greatest breadth of the island, which in some places doth not exceed twelve leagues over. It is finely watered, and agreeably diversified with woods, lawns, and vallies, the whole standing within the tropic of *Cancer*, and the climate rather hot than unsalutary. The cedars produced here are of so extraordinary a size, that the *Spaniards* had seen the *Indians* make canoes of a single trunk able to carry fifty men. The fruits were delicious, the quadrupeds numerous, and the sea and rivers well stocked with fish. A few copper mines were discovered, and some gold; but the precious metal was not found in sufficient abun-

dance to give birth to a settlement, had not the other commodities of the island compensated this deficiency. In a word, it was thought that *Cuba* might soon be rendered the granary of the *Spanish* settlement on the continent and islands, which was the principal motive with the admiral for prosecuting his design of settling colonies in a country which furnished but a small quantity of the commodities upon which alone the *Spaniards* at that time put any value. With respect to the inhabitants, they greatly resembled the natives of *Hispaniola*, in temper, stature, and particular customs. They professed no religion, performed no worship, and built no temples; though their physicians might be regarded as a kind of priests, who pretended to communicate with an invisible spirit, called the Devil by the *Spaniards*. They were called *Behiques*; and the people were deluded by them into the most monstrous superstition and absurdity; it was believed, for instance, that a *Behique* could cure certain dangerous diseases, by blowing

a In this manner were the *Spaniards* making new settlements in the *West-Indies*, while *Balboa* was using every expedient to procure gold and provisions, and extend his influence on the continent. Towards the beginning of this year he had intelligence that a cazique of the province of *Dabayba* was possessed of immense treasures; the offerings made in gold, at a certain temple in his dominions, exceeding belief. This excited his avarice, and produced the resolution of attacking the cazique. Accordingly he embarked with 160 able-bodied men, in two brigantines, and a great number of canoes, ordering *Calmenares*, with a third of this force, to enter a great river, almost nine leagues to the eastward of the gulph of *Darien*. On the first notice of this expedition, *Ceneaco*, the grand cazique of *Darien*, withdrew to *Dabayba*, leaving the intermediate country entirely depopulated, and a prey to the *Spaniards*, by which means they obtained a booty in gold amounting to seven thousand pieces of eight; all which was lost in a storm on their return. Upon this loss *Nunez* again entered the river, joined *Calmenares*, subdued several caziques, and then returned to *Darien*, without procuring any other advantage to the settlement, than that of impressing the *Indians* with dreadful notions of the power and invincibility of the *Spaniards*, and gaining some further information respecting the country (B).

Further proceedings of the colony at *Darien*, and exploits of *Balboa*.

THE report of the young cazique of *Cenagre*, concerning the southern ocean, and the prodigious wealth of certain countries lying along that coast, suggested to *Balboa* the necessity of repeating his instances to the court for farther succours of men, arms, and ammunition. He eagerly desired to enter upon fresh discoveries and conquest, but he was sensible that his force was unequal. For this reason it was determined in a general council of the members of the colony, to send *Calmenares* and *Cayzedo*, two gentlemen of ability and character, to *Spain*, to make the strongest remonstrances to the king, of the great expectations entertained; and to give weight to their negotiation, a fifth of all the gold belonging to the colony was sent as a present; but just as the ambassadors had departed, and *Nunez* was pleasing himself with the hopes of their success, a conspiracy to seize his person was discovered. The colony was divided, and every thing conspired to the destruction of all the sanguine notions entertained by *Nunez Balboa*. One *Alonso Perez* incensed at the distribution of the gold made by *Balboa*, had contrived a scheme for seizing ten thousand castellanoes kept in bank as the common property; this he executed, and divided in such a manner as secured him an equal, if not a superior party. The *Spaniards* had twice formed in order of battle, to destroy each other, when some more considerate persons interposed, and represented the terrible consequences of such a measure, which must leave the conquerors an easy prey to the *Indians*. This produced a cessation of hostilities, and prevented the immediate shedding of blood, but did not effect a reconciliation; it is probable therefore the parties might have proceeded to the most fatal extremities, had not *Christopher* seasonably arrived from *Hispaniola*, with two ships, 150 men, great store of provision, and a commission signed by the treasurer *Passamonte* empowered by the king, constituting *Balboa* captain-general of all the country possessed by the *Spaniards* round the isthmus of *Darien*. *Nunez* was overjoyed with this prosperous circumstance, which, by re-establishing his authority, and placing it upon a more solid foundation than the capricious will of his companions, enabled him to break the conspiracy, and reduce the mutineers to reason, without striking a blow, or shedding a drop of blood. However, his satisfaction was considerably diminished by the accounts he received, that *Enciso* arrived safe in *Spain*, presented bitter remonstrances against his tyrannical conduct and so far gained credit with the court, that his majesty directed a process to be made against *Nunez*, who was ordered to make good all the damages sustained by the *Batchelor*, and to answer the charge in person before the ministry. *Balboa* not doubting upon this intelligence, but he should be superseded upon the arrival of the first ship from *Spain*, resolved to go in pursuit of the treasures mentioned by the young cazique, and the discovery of the *South Sea*, hoping that he might give the court a better impression of his conduct, if he could succeed in performing so essential a piece of service. To carry this design into execution, he began with animating his people, and exciting their ambition by the prospect of immense wealth and immortal honour. When he had roused a spirit of enterprize

A. D. 1513.

ing upon the patient. A general notion of the deluge prevailed, and the *Indians* of *Cuba* affirmed they were the descendants of an old man who built a vessel, in which he put the male and female of all animals, and thereby saved all animated beings from the universal devastation by water. As to the form of government established among the natives of the island, it was monarchical, but not despotic; for the cazique had not power to enslave any of his subjects. *Obiedo* accuses them of a certain unnatural passion; but this is denied by *Acosta*, *Herrera*, and other writers of credit. *Obiedo*, p. 57. *Herrer.* dec. i. l. ix. sect. 2.

(B) It was about this time that *Ponce de Leon*, being superseded in the government of *Puerto Rico*, resolved upon a voyage in quest of discoveries; in consequence of which he fell in with a great number of small islands, some of them before unknown to the *Europeans*, and with the coast of *Florida*, to which he gave this appellation, because it was discovered on *Easter*, called *Pasqua de Flores*, by the *Spaniards*. Here he landed at an inconsiderable distance from *Cape Corrientes*, took possession in the name of his catholic majesty, and erected a stone with an inscription. *Herrer.* dec. i. l. ix. sect. v.

and

Nov. 24.

and emulation, he selected 100 men, of whose strength, valour, and attachment to his person, he entertained the best opinion, 1000 *Indians*, and several fierce dogs, with all which he embarked in two brigantines, and a great number of canoes, and sailed to the territories of the cazique *Carata*, by which he shortened the march considerably. He then proceeded by land to the dominions of the cazique *Ponca*, who hid himself in the mountains, on the news that the *Spaniards* were approaching. *Nunez* sent some *Indians* belonging to his ally *Carata*, to assure *Ponca* of his friendship, which had the effect, and drew that chief out of his retreat, with a present for the *Spanish* commander of 110 pesos in gold, which was all he possessed. As it was of the utmost consequence to leave no enemies behind, *Nunez* entertained him civilly, and dismissed him with presents of hawks-bells and beads, upon which the *Indian* placed a greater value than all the treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*. *Ponca* granting the *Spaniards* a free passage, loading them with provisions, and furnishing them with *Indians* to carry their baggage, they proceeded to the territories of the next prince, whose name was *Quaregua*. This cazique was powerful, and hearing of the approach of the *Spaniards*, he had collected a small army to oppose them; but the sound and fire of the musquetry so terrified the *Indians*, that they scampered about the hills, fully persuaded, that as the white men could command both thunder and lightning, they must be something supernatural. The action was but of short duration, though the carnage was considerable, the dogs making terrible havock among the fugitive *Indians*. Here the cazique was killed, his brother taken prisoner, rich booty obtained in plates of gold, and a dreadful idea of the *Spaniards* impressed on the minds of the inland natives, who hitherto knew nothing of them except by distant report. Leaving behind, in *Quaregua's* town, which had now entirely submitted, several *Spaniards*, who were either sickly, or too much fatigued, to pursue the journey, *Nunez* proceeded to the summit of those mountains, whence he was told he might behold the southern ocean. The distance from thence to *Ponca's* territories was no more than six days march; but it cost the *Spaniards* five-and-twenty days, on account of the roughness of the country, the scarcity of provision, and the weakness and fatigue of the soldiers. At length they reached the top; and *Nunez* no sooner cast his eyes upon the sea, than he fell down upon his knees, and in a kind of prophetic extasy returned thanks to heaven, as if he had foreseen all the happy consequences resulting to *Spain* from the discovery. Having finished this act of devotion, he turned towards the sea, and bid his men behold it as the end of all their toils, repeating his promises of immense wealth, and unbounded reputation, to all who should follow him to that scene of riches and glory. He then drew up a certificate of his taking possession of the *South-Sea*, all the wealth it contained, and the coasts by which it was hemmed in, for his catholic majesty and the crown of *Castile*; the better to confirm which he cut down trees, erected crosses, raised heaps of stones, and cut the king's name on the bark of several trees of different kinds, to the great astonishment of the *Indians*, who could neither conceive the cause of joy in the *Spaniards*, nor the meaning of all these ceremonies.

NEXT he began to descend the mountains, still advancing towards the ocean, and proceeded with great caution towards the frontiers of a potent cazique called *Chiapes*, who marched out to meet him at the head of a formidable army. When the cazique came within a proper distance, the *Spaniards* fired a volley of small arms, the sound of which being reverberated by the neighbouring mountains, made so dreadful a noise, that the affrighted *Indians* deserting their chief, fled to the mountains for shelter, against those dreadful enemies, who they imagined had power over the elements, and could produce storms, lightning and thunder, at pleasure. As to the cazique, he sought refuge in his town, and *Nunez* sent some prisoners he had taken, to assure him that nothing more than provisions, and a free passage through his dominions, was wanted; upon which he thought it better to put himself into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and rely on their generosity, than run the hazard of renewing those belches of fire and smoke. Accordingly he came with a present in gold, amounting to 400 pieces of eight, apologizing for the smallness of the offering, "because, said he, we *Indians* set no value upon the dross, and take no pains in collecting it." *Chiapes* was graciously received, and his presents were returned by what he deemed more than an equivalent, a present of beads, looking glasses, scissars, and hawks-bells, together with some hatchets, the use of which, in cutting down trees, the *Spaniards* shewed him. *Nunez*, and his people, were so well entertained in this cazique's metropolis, that he sent for the sick and wearied whom he left behind in *Quaragua*; but before their arrival he detached *Francis Pizarro* to survey the coast and adjacent country. *John Escoray* and *Alonso Martin* were sent by different routs upon the same business, each being attended with twelve men well armed; and *Martin* was so fortunate as to hit upon the shortest road to the sea, where he no sooner arrived than he went into a canoe which he found upon the shore, and desired his companions to bear witness, that he was the first *European* who entered the *South Sea*. On the return of these parties,

Nunez

South Sea
first seen.

- a *Nunez* made ready to quit the territories of *Chiapes*, who offered to attend him to the next province, together with a great number of his people, loaded with provision and the baggage of the *Spaniards*. When he reached the sea, he took possession in the name of the catholic king, with all the usual formalities, and made public declaration that he would defend the rights of the crown of *Castile* against all opposers. Then he seized upon nine canoes that he met with on the coast; he passed over a river to the dominions of a chief named *Cocura*, who resolving to oppose him drew out his troops, and was going to attack the *Spaniards*, when a single discharge of the musquetry filled his whole army with terror and dismay, which was succeeded by a general rout, and soon after by submission, and a present from the cazique of 650 pieces of eight in gold.
- b *NUNEZ Balboa* had now discovered the *South Sea*, but the wealth which he expected to find among the nations bordering on the coast, fell greatly short of expectation. It was therefore highly necessary to support his credit with the *Spaniards* under his command, by making further attempts. Accordingly he embarked much against the inclination of the cazique *Chiapes*, in canoes, with intention of crossing a bay that run far into the land, and searching the surrounding country for the precious metal. This enterprize had almost proved fatal; for a storm came on, the canoes were in the utmost danger of being overset; and they at last made a desert island, in the middle of the bay, often struggling with great dangers and difficulties. In the night a flood came on, that not only staved the canoes, but covered the whole island, the *Spaniards* remaining for several hours up to the waist in the sea, expecting every minute to be swallowed up. Provision failed them, their spirits were exhausted with the fatigue of standing so long, and all must have perished with famine had not a calm ensued, and the *Indians*, with great address, repaired some of the canoes, which wafted them to the lands of a chief whose name was *Tumaco*. With much persuasion this chief was prevailed on to regard the *Spaniards* as friends, and to assist them with provision. At last he visited *Nunez* in person, with 614 pieces of eight in gold, and 240 large pearls of inestimable value, had not their colour been injured by the fire; by which method the *Indians* always separated the shells, until they had been taught by the *Spaniards*. Observing that the *Spaniards* set a great price upon the pearls, and pleased with the returns they made of looking-glasses, beads, and hatchets, he dispatched some of his people to fish for more; who returned with 96 ounces of beautiful pearls, quite undamaged by the fire; all which the cazique gave to *Nunez*, telling him, that there was an island, at the distance of no more than five leagues, where he might find abundance of pearls of immense size. This information was sufficient to rouse the avarice and curiosity of the *Spaniard*, who began immediately to prepare for the expedition, but was prevailed on by the cazique *Chiapes* to defer it till the summer, when he might cross the sea with less danger, and fish with more success. As he had laid aside the notion of penetrating further, until the season became more favourable, he thought of returning to *Darien*, and making the necessary preparations for a fresh attempt, having received information that the coast extended without bounds to the southward, meaning *Peru*; that there was a prodigious quantity of gold; and that the natives used certain beasts, which the *Indians* described, to carry burthens. These were no other than the *Peruvian* sheep, which the *Spaniards* took to be camels or deer, from the figures of them made with earth by the *Indians* of *Tumaco*; and this we may regard as the second intimation of *Peru* given to the *Spaniards*, who were not yet sufficiently acquainted with the situation of the country, with respect either to latitude or longitude, or the extension of the land, to annex other ideas to those imperfect hints and obscure descriptions. In general *Nunez* collected information sufficient to raise the most sanguine expectations of the immense wealth that must accrue from the summer expedition he meditated. It was agreed on all hands, that the nations both to the south and north of the isthmus overflowed with gold, upon which the inhabitants put no value; so that it was the less likely to become an object of contention. However, the jealousy which the *Indians* in general expressed with regard to foreigners, and the difficulty with which they were prevailed on to suffer the *Spaniards* to enter their country, evinced *Balboa* of the necessity of making all the preparations he could to penetrate, by force, should the caziques offer to oppose his designs.

Intelligence of Peru.

g WITH this view he began his march back to *Darien*, taking leave of the cazique *Chiapes*, who wept at his departure, and leaving under his protection all the sick that could not travel, until they should be perfectly recovered. He now took a different rout, on his return to the north, than what had brought him to the south, in order to examine the country more accurately, and to extend the fame of the *Spaniards* more widely among the *Indian* nations. He soon reached the territories of a prince called *Teaochan*, who conceiving a high opinion of the generosity of the *Spaniards* from the report of the *Indians* who attended them, came out of his town to meet *Nunez*, with the greatest marks of respect

respect and affection, bringing with him a present of a thousand pieces of eight in gold, a curiously wrought, and two hundred beautiful pearls, though somewhat discoloured by fire. He desired the *Chiapese Indians* might be returned, and he would supply the *Spaniards* with a sufficient number of his people to carry their baggage and provision, which he liberally provided. In a word, after refreshing themselves for three days in the dominions of this cazique, *Nunez* and his companions began their march over steep and barren mountains, in ascending which they encountered manifold difficulties. At last, they reached the dominions of a great lord, named *Poncra*, who was no friend to the obliging *Tcaochan*; for the subjects of this latter were perpetually soliciting *Nunez* to make war upon *Poncra*, and lay waste his city. Upon entering the metropolis, they found it abandoned by the inhabitants, though the *Spaniards* obtained a booty in gold, amounting b to three thousand pieces of eight. *Nunez* sent out several *Indians* to search for *Poncra* in the woods, to assure him that he might return with safety to his town; but if he refused, that the *Spaniards* would hunt him with their dogs, and exterminate the whole nation: menaces which produced their effect; for *Poncra*, terrified with the thoughts of being exposed to the dogs, waited on *Nunez* with a present of gold to the value of three thousand pieces of eight. It is not much to the honour of the *Spanish* commander that he violated his faith on this occasion, and suffered *Poncra* to be torn in pieces by the dogs, under pretence that he was forced to comply with the importunity of all the neighbouring caziques, who demanded his death as a testimony of his friendship for them; altho' in fact *Nunez* was actuated to this measure by the obstinate silence of the cazique, who refused to c give him any information concerning the country where he found his gold.

HERE it was that *Nunez* was joined by the *Spaniards*, whom he had left under the protection of *Chiapes*. When they found themselves tolerably recovered, they began their march through the dominions of the cazique *Boneniamia*, who received them with testimonies of the strongest friendship; entertaining them with the best things his country afforded, loading them with provisions, making them a present of 2000 pieces of eight in gold, and escorting them in person, with a large retinue, to *Poncra*; where, taking *Nunez* by the hand, he harangued him in the following words: " Brave and bold man, d " here are your companions, whom I bring to you safe and well as when they arrived " in my territories. He that makes thunder and lightning, and bestows on us the " fruits of the earth, preserve and keep you and them." When he spoke, he fixed his eyes upon the sun, whence the *Spaniards* concluded, that he worshipped that luminary as the fountain of all temporal blessings. It was from *Boneniamia* that *Nunez* had the best intelligence of the state of *Peru*, which he could hitherto obtain; though the want of good interpreters rendered his information still imperfect and defective. After acknowledging the civilities of this friendly cazique, by the present of some trinkets, and other testimonies of regard, the *Spaniards* quitted *Poncra*, after having refreshed themselves in that town for the space of a month, ascending dreadful mountains, and travelling from one hill to another, without a tract or vestige of human foot, and guided only by their compass and the *Indians*, to whom all roads were indifferent. When they were almost e spent with fatigue, they reached a town belonging to the cazique *Bucbebuca*, which they found abandoned by the inhabitants. The *Indians* were sent in quest of the cazique, who was taken, concealing himself in the thickest woods, out of shame and concern that he had no provisions, or any other means of demonstrating his esteem for the *Spaniards*; desiring, however, that they would accept of certain pieces of gold, in token of his regard and friendship: provisions would at this time have been more welcome than gold to the *Spaniards*; but the extreme poverty of the surrounding country convincing them of *Bucbebuca's* sincerity, they proceeded on their march, pining under the united pressure of hunger and fatigue. As they were attended with no beasts of burthen, all the stock, which the *Indians* carried on their shoulders, was consumed in three days, and they were f thus left destitute in a country that furnished scarce any necessaries of life. In this situation, *Nunez* was addressed by ambassadors and presents from the cazique *Chiovoso*; who, after many professions of esteem and friendship, sought his assistance against a potent neighbour, with whom he was at war. The presents consisted of thirty pieces of gold, which weighed above 14,000 pieces of eight; but they were not sufficient to engage the *Spaniards* in an unnecessary quarrel in their present unhappy circumstances, though they acknowledged them with civility, and sent in return some pieces of looking-glass, glass-beads, and hatchets, to the cazique, directing their march to *Pacorosa*, the cazique of which country fled at their approach, but returned on the civil message sent him by *Nunez*, and made that commander a present in gold to the value of fifteen hundred g pieces of eight. The *Spaniards* rested a month in the dominions of this prince, and then set forward for the territories of *Tubanama*, a lord much dreaded for his power and valour. In their present situation it was not thought advisable to enter upon open war with this cazique,

a cazique, notwithstanding *Nunez* was assured, that he would obstruct the passage of the *Spaniards*; recourse, therefore, was had to stratagem, and a resolution pursued of attacking *Tubanama* by surprise, in which they succeeded; the cazique, his whole family, and eighty of his women, being made prisoners. As this prince had governed with great severity, and oppressed all his neighbours, the report of his captivity was no sooner spread, than the people flocked from the adjacent towns to complain of his conduct, and solicit that he might suffer condign punishment. The cazique denied the accusations, which he alledged were founded upon envy and malice; he wept bitterly, threw himself at the feet of the *Spanish* commander, and promised eternal friendship and submission. Perceiving that *Nunez* entertained no resentment, and that he intended setting him at liberty, he presented him with gold bracelets and female ornaments, to the value of three thousand pieces of eight; and next day a present came from the lords his vassals, to the amount of six thousand pieces of eight: but *Tubanama* obstinately refused to acquaint the *Spaniards* whence he drew the gold, fearing they would never quit his dominions should he divulge this important secret. Yet, in despite of the cazique's silence, *Nunez* found, upon searching, that the country yielded gold, and therefore resolved to establish a colony in *Pacorosa's* dominions and *Tubanama's*; not only for working the mines, but for the convenience of carrying on a trade over the isthmus, between the South and North Seas. The only punishment inflicted on the cazique for his obstinacy, was, the carrying away his women and son; though it was thought he freely parted with the latter, to serve him as a spy over the actions of the *Spaniards*. At parting, *Nunez* charged *Tubanama* to collect as much gold as he could, and send it to *Darien*; in return for which, he might always depend on his friendship and protection: the cazique promised every thing, but never thought of the performance of his engagements.

Just as *Nunez* had quitted the territories of *Tubanama*, he was seized with a fever, in consequence of the diligence and activity he exerted through the whole course of this fatiguing expedition; but he would not suffer his own illness to prove any obstruction to the public affairs. The men pursued their march, while *Nunez* was carried in a kind of litter, on the shoulders of the *Indians*, in which situation he arrived in the dominions of the cazique *Cemagre*, his ally, who was now dead, and the chief power vested in his son, the young prince who had given the first information concerning the *South Sea*, and the riches of *Peru*. The *Spaniards* were joyfully welcomed by the young chief, who made *Nunez* a present in gold exceeding two thousand pieces of eight; in return for which, the *Spaniard* gave him a linnen shirt, and some other trifles, which he deemed of inestimable value. After refreshing himself in *Cemagre*, and recovering his health, *Nunez* set out for *Darien*, where he arrived on the 19th of *January*; having received intelligence upon his march, that two sloops, loaded with provisions, were lately arrived from *Hispaniola*, which infused great spirits into the whole company. In this manner ended *Nunez Balboa's* expedition in quest of the *South Sea*; during which he displayed every quality of a great commander, gaining the esteem of his own people, the respect of the *Indians*, forming alliances with all the nations through which he passed, marking every circumstance that could facilitate further discoveries, and promote the design he formed of repeating the expedition, and establishing a commerce between the South and North seas; and returning with immense wealth, without any diminution in the number of his companions, and with great increase of glory and reputation. He now divided the spoils, reserving a fifth for the crown, with so much justice and impartiality, that all were satisfied, and *Nunez* equally admired by the companions of his toil, and the *Spaniards* who remained at *Darien* for the defence of the colony. A. D. 1514.

IMMEDIATELY an account of the success of the expedition, with the king's fifth of the riches brought back, was dispatched to court, which *Nunez* was in hopes would efface all the bad impressions of his conduct made by the suggestions of his enemies. The effect did not, however, correspond with his reasonable hopes; for the news no sooner arrived in *Spain* of the discovery of the *South Sea*, than his majesty appointed *Peter Arias d'Avila* to succeed *Nunez Balboa* in the government of *Darien*, allowing him twelve hundred men to reinforce the colony, and push the discovery; a number which *Arias* increased to fifteen hundred able-bodied soldiers. A bishop, and several clergy, were also sent for the religious government of the new colony, by this fleet, which entered the bay of *Uraba* towards the close of the month of *July*, proceeding from thence to the settlement at *Darien*, where *Arias* and the bishop were received by *Nunez* with all possible respect. It was *Balboa's* intention to give all the assistance in his power to the new governor, and not to obstruct the publick service out of private resentment; but the coldness with which *Arias* met his civility, and the bitter prosecution he commenced against the old governor, soon broke all his resolutions, and rendered the two commanders implacable enemies. To encrease the misfortunes of the settlement, sickness broke out among

Unfortunate
expeditions.

among the troops lately arrived from *Spain*; and provision beginning to fail, it was found a necessary to send back great numbers by the return of the fleet. Nor was this all; the misconduct of *Arias*, and of the persons he employed, raised such a cloud of enemies, as threatened the entire destruction of the colony. One *Ayora* had been sent with a party of 400 men to erect settlements in different parts of the *Isthmus* towards the *South Sea*, and collect as much gold as circumstances would admit. *Ayora* was mindful only of the last part of his instructions. He fell upon the *Indians* without distinction, robbed, pillaged, massacred, and perfidiously violated all the alliances formed by *Nunez*, returning indeed with some booty purchased at the expence of national honour, and the friendship of the *caziques*, so essential to the welfare of the settlement, and the success of the designs formed by the *Spanish* ministry. Several other excursions to the same purpose were made, all of them tending to weaken the settlement, and irritate the natives, for the sake of an inconsiderable quantity of the precious metal. In some of these expeditions, all the *Spaniards* perished, and the particulars of the misfortune were afterwards collected from the *Indians*. *Ayora* had erected a kind of little fort in the *cazique* *Tubanama's* dominions, in which he left a garrison, under the conduct of *Menezes*. The *Indians* kept this handful of men perpetually shut up, and *Arias* found it necessary to withdraw the garrison, and employ the soldiers in some more profitable expedition. *Tello de Guzman* was accordingly ordered with a party to make discoveries as far as he could to the westward along the *South Sea*, and to take along with him the little garrison in *Tubanama's* territories. On his arrival he found the little garrison closely blocked up, and reduced to extreme necessity; but the sight of his troops obliged the *Indians* to retire; upon which the fort was deserted, the *Spaniards* marching in a body to the countries possessed by the *caziques* *Chepo* and *Chepauri*, with whom *Guzman* contracted an alliance. The last-mentioned chief, in particular, treated the *Spaniards* with the utmost hospitality; but while they were entertaining themselves in the most friendly manner, an *Indian* boy entered, and informed *Guzman*, that the town and dominions in which they were feasting were *his* right, of which he was deprived by the villainy of his host, who had been appointed guardian to him by his father. He besought his assistance against the usurper, and promised him abundance of gold, if he would restore him to his dominions. This promise was sufficient to induce *Guzman* to break all the most sacred ties of friendship, hospitality, and solemn treaties. Immediately he ordered his host to be hanged upon the nearest tree, delivered up seven of the principal persons of the court to be tortured and put to death by the boy's friends, without ever enquiring into the truth of the allegations; and then received six thousand pieces of eight in gold, as the reward of his treacherous cruelty. With this booty he proceeded to the place where *Panama* now stands, at that time the residence of a few fishermen, whence it took the name of *Panama*, which in the *Indian* language signifies a place where fish is caught. From this place he dispatched *Albitez*, with eighty men, towards the province of *Chagre*, eighteen leagues distant from *Panama*. *Albitez* arrived at the capital, while the inhabitants were wrapped in perfect security, and fast asleep; but he had too much generosity to seize the opportunity of enriching himself by an act of unprovoked humanity: he forbore all violence, waited with patience until morn, and by this noble action so charmed the *cazique*, that he presented him with twelve thousand pieces of eight in pure gold. So large a sum only served to rouse the avarice of *Albitez*. Upon seeing the money, he asked whether the *cazique* could not spare more, and fill him a large bag, that he presented, with the precious metal? To which the *cazique* replied with astonishment, "That he might fill his bag with stones out of the brook, for he neither had any more, nor could make gold." With this answer *Albitez* departed; but though he was disappointed, he would not suffer any violence to be offered to the inhabitants. Soon after he joined *Guzman*, and both marched to *Tubanama*, where the whole country was in arms to oppose them. The *Spaniards* were under the necessity of fighting their way through clouds of poisoned arrows; they behaved with admirable intrepidity, but sustained such losses, that, before they reached *Darien*, they were reduced to one-third the number with which they set out, and the remainder were almost dead with fatigue and hunger.

A. D. 1515.

ANOTHER party sent under the conduct of *Francis de Valejo* proved still more unfortunate. This officer had been sent against the *Indians* of *Uraba*, who were continually molesting the settlement at *Darien*. Being now within three leagues of the principal *Indian* town, he fell upon the enemy, and no sooner obtained a victory, than his men separated in quest of gold, thereby leaving the *Indians* an opportunity of reassembling. Nor was the occasion lost; the *Indians* united, and poured in their poisoned arrows with such fury, that several *Spaniards* were killed on the spot, and many more wounded, all of whom died raving with the most excruciating torture. In a word, the *Spaniards* were forced to retreat on floats of timber and bundles of reeds, sustained incredible hardships, and all perished, except a few who providentially found their way to *Darien*.

a The unfortunate issue of these two expeditions could not oblige *Arias* to alter measures, the folly of which was demonstrated by fatal experience. On the contrary, he hoped by perseverance to wipe off all former disgraces; and for this purpose detached *Francis Bezerra* with one hundred and eighty men, well armed, to penetrate into the province of *Zener*. *Bezerra* landed on the coast of *Uraba*, his instructions being to put all to the sword whom he met in that province. Here he underwent numberless hardships, and sustained great losses from the flights of poisoned arrows which the *Indians* shot from thickets and bushes. When he arrived on the banks of the river *Zener*, the inhabitants appeared disposed to cultivate peace, which encouraged *Bezerra* to begin his passage over the river in canoes; but no sooner had the *Indians* observed that half the party was landed on the other
b side, than they rushed out of the thickets on both sides, fell upon the *Spaniards* with the utmost fury, and slaughtered them, without suffering a single man to escape to carry the news of the misfortune to *Darien*. The circumstances of this affair were afterwards related by an *Indian* boy, in the service of *Bezerra*, who hid himself in the woods, and travelled by night through bye-paths, until he arrived at *Darien*, half-famished.

ALL this while *Nunez* continued unemployed at the settlement, to the great prejudice of the public service, and dislike of the *Spaniards*, who knew the activity of his disposition, the generosity of his mind, and the prudence with which he conducted all the enterprizes in which he was engaged. It was even expected that he would be recalled, in consequence of the bitter accusation sent by *Arias* to court; and instead of being rewarded for noble
c discoveries and eminent services, have a similar testimony with the great *Columbus* of the gratitude of the administration, by standing trial like a criminal. How agreeable was the disappointment to himself and friends, when they found, upon the arrival of the first ship from *Spain*, that he was instituted *Adelentado*, or lieutenant of the *South Sea*, and that *Arias* was strictly charged to assist and support *Nunez* in his office. The truth is, the court was disposed to listen to the calumnies of *Arias*, had they not been refuted by the undeniable testimony of other colonists, who were eye-witnesses of the many gallant actions performed by *Nunez Balboa*, and whom they recommended in all their letters, as the only person capable of raising the settlement to the most flourishing condition. *Arias* was enraged at this honour conferred upon the man whom he considered as his implacable enemy, and, instead
d of paying any regard to his instructions, used every possible means to thwart the schemes, blast the reputation, and endanger the life of the *Adelentado*. Instead of leaving the care of farther discoveries to *Nunez*, he sent *Gaspar de Merates* with sixty men towards the *South Sea*, apparently with no other intention than to plunder the *Indians*, and incense them so much against the *Spaniards*, that all the *Adelentado's* endeavours to reunite them, and form alliances, should be fruitless, and consequently his utmost diligence to establish colonies, and make conquests across the isthmus, exerted to no purpose; for it was impossible to assign any other motives for a conduct to the last degree absurd and imprudent. But *Nunez* had no remedy, the power of the governor was uncontrollable, and he was forced to vent his grief in letters to the court, charging *Arias* with the most fatal errors, and having
e made all the *Indian* princes the inveterate enemies of *Spain*, by plundering and massacring the caziques with whom he had formed alliances and strict friendships before the arrival of the new governor.

Balboa made lieutenant of the South Sea.

THE misfortunes of *Valejo*, *Guzman*, and *Bezerra*, served only to aggravate *Arias*, and render him desperate; while all those under his government expected every moment to be destroyed by the *Indians*. The panic was so great at *Darien*, that bushes and thickets had frequently been mistaken for hostile armies; the foundery was now shut up, which never happened but on occasions of the most imminent danger, and it was thought necessary to implore the protection of Heaven by public prayers and fastings. *Arias*, alone, was undaunted. He detached *Badajoz* in a ship, with one hundred and thirty men, to *Nombre de
f Dios*, with orders to cross the isthmus to the *South Sea*, reduce the country to obedience, and make war upon all the princes who should refuse obedience to the court of *Spain*, as if the colony at *Darien* had been in the most flourishing situation, and able to support the loss of so many persons, in case he should happen to prove unfortunate. On their arrival at the fort built by *Nicuesa*, the soldiers, terrified with the horrid spectacle of the bones of their countrymen starved to death, raised many difficulties about advancing; but *Badajoz*, with undaunted intrepidity, dismissed the ship, and by cutting off all possibility of retreat-
ing, reduced them to the necessity of paying implicit obedience to his orders; telling them, that the only danger or shame to a soldier was that of not discharging his duty. He then climbed up the steep mountains of *Capira*, and fell, by surprise, upon the cazique
g *Tanonagua*, whom he took prisoner, gaining a booty in gold to the amount of six thousand pieces of eight. Another neighbouring cazique, whose name was *Tataracherabi*, he likewise attacked; but although he had not the good fortune to seize his person, he obtained a booty of eight thousand castellanos. To this was added the ransom paid by *Tanonagua*

Unfortunate expedition of Badajoz.

for his liberty, which amounted to six thousand pieces of eight, and a present brought by *Tataracherabi* in gold, with a design to impose on the *Spaniards*, and engage them in a war with the powerful cazique *Nata*, whom he represented as extreme wealthy, but the sovereign only of a few subjects. The cazique's stratagem succeeded, and the vast flow of prosperity had hitherto attended *Badajoz's* arms, was converted into an irresistible tide of misfortune. He was so fortunate, indeed, as to enter the town of this cazique in the night, and gain possession of his person, women, and treasures; but he found himself next morning surrounded by several thousand *Indians*, who poured in showers of darts and arrows, wounding a great number of the *Spaniards*. According to *Herrera*, this exploit was performed by *Perez de la Rúa*, detached at the head of a party, who had the presence of mind, in this extremity, to threaten the cazique's life, unless he immediately ordered his subjects to lay down their arms, with which he complied, and they implicitly obeyed his commands. Several of the adjacent caziques submitted in consequence of *Nata's* misfortune, and *Badajoz* had collected to the amount of eighty thousand castellanos in gold; but such a spirit of resentment was now raised among all the *Indians*, that the *Spaniards* must rely entirely upon the force of arms, and their valour, in a distant country, and surrounded upon every side by enemies. They had passed through the dominions of the cazique *Cheru*, and were entering those of *Parrizao Pariba*, whom the *Spaniards* called *Paris*, when a present in gold, amounting to fifty thousand castellanos, was sent by the cazique; which, instead of gratifying, only excited the avarice of the *Spaniards*. *Badajoz* imagined, that the prince who could make a present of so much value, must possess vast treasures; he therefore laid a scheme for seizing his wealth, which terminated in his own destruction. Pretending that he would regard the cazique as his friend, he fell upon his town in the night, and collected in gold to the amount of forty thousand castellanos; but the cazique made his escape, laid a snare for the *Spaniard*, surrounded him, and reduced *Badajoz* to the necessity of cutting his way through crowds of *Indians*, with the loss of seventy men slain upon the field, besides great numbers of wounded, few of whom ever recovered. Here commenced the misfortunes of this little party. In the trepidation of flight, *Badajoz* put the wounded into some canoes which he met with, marching along the shore with the rest of the troops; but the tide rising to a great height, the *Spaniards* were surrounded by the waters: some saved their lives by climbing up trees, and great numbers perished. In this situation they were attacked by the cazique *Nata*, who determined to revenge his late disgrace; and his resentment must have been fatal to the *Spaniards*, had not the night separated the combatants, and furnished *Badajoz* with the means of retreat, the sound carrying off the wounded upon their shoulders to a place of security. What the *Spaniards* deemed their greatest misfortune, even in this extremity, was the loss of all the gold they had taken; but a new perplexity now arose. When they arrived upon the frontiers of the cazique *Cheru*, they found him in arms, supported by a numerous body of forces. He had drawn a line upon the ground, beyond which he prohibited the *Spaniards* from advancing on pain of his resentment; but he promised to supply them with provision if they retired, which *Badajoz* thought was most advisable; after which he was accommodated with the best of every thing that the country produced. Having gathered strength by the provision sent by the cazique, *Badajoz*, with a party of *Spaniards*, passed over to an island at some distance, which was celebrated for producing large pearls, and, surprizing the cazique, obtained some gold for his ransom, and then returned to their former quarters; after which he forced his way through the dominions of *Tabor*, an *Indian* chief, who opposed him, and *Pireguetta*, another cazique, who had threatened his destruction; arriving at length in a wretched plight in the territories of *Tubanama* and *Pocorosa*, where he met with the licentiate *Espinosa* and his party, after losing near half his men, and all the wealth he had collected by slaughter, treachery, and the most infamous measures (C).

THAT the reader may not be at a loss to know in what manner the licentiate *Espinosa* came into the territories of the above cazique, we must observe, that upon the intelligence brought by the *Indian* boy of *Bezerra's* misfortune, *Peter Arias* determined to revenge his people, and endeavour to recover those who might have escaped the fury of the *Indians*; but sensible of the famine that prevailed in the colony, and the horror which the *Spaniards* entertained, all thoughts of entering *Uraba*, a country so fatal to many of their countrymen, he fell upon a stratagem to rouse their courage, and animate them to another expedition. He pretended to declare war against the cazique *Pocorosa*, for which the colony

(C) It may be proper to observe, that this year the great river *La Plata* was accidentally discovered. *John Dios de Solis*, celebrated as one of the best navigators in the world, was appointed by the king to go with two ships in search of a commodious passage to the *Spice Islands*. He sailed on the 8th of *October*, and soon made *Rio de Janeiro*, on the coast of *Brazil*, steer-

ing along the shore until he arrived at *La Plata*, which he took to be a sea of fresh water, on account of the vast breadth of the mouth of the river. He went on shore to observe the inhabitants, fell into an ambuscade, and was slain; upon which the ship returned to *Spain*, with a cargo of *Brazil* wood. *Herr. dec. ii. l. ii.*

readily

a readily declared, imagining it would produce great wealth with little danger; and three hundred able bodied men offered the governor their services to attend him on this enterprise. These he put on board some vessels, and sailing westward to deceive his people until night, he then ordered the pilots to tack about, and hold their course for *Uraba*. Before day he ordered *Hurtado* to land with 200 men at *Caribana*, after having in a stern manner declared, that no man should enquire whither he was going, but implicitly obey the orders of his superior officer. The town was attacked, and set on fire, and the *Indians*, who run out scorched, and half burnt, fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and were put to the sword. Those, however, who escaped, assembled in a body; and being joined by a great many men from the adjacent country, handled their bows with so much dexterity, b and let fly such showers of poisoned arrows, that the *Spaniards* were forced to retreat precipitately to their ships, carrying with them some prisoners, who confirmed the boy's relation of the melancholy fate of *Bezerra*. *Arias* perceiving that his men were quite disheartened, stood out to sea, and after a voyage of sixty leagues, landed with all his men at *Acla*, from whence he detached the licentiate *Espinosa* to fall upon *Pocorosa*. In the mean time he employed himself in erecting a fort at *Acla*, in order that the *Spaniards* might have a place of retreat, which he had scarce finished when the bad state of his health obliged him to return to *Darien*, leaving captain *Gabriel de Rojas*.

ABOUT this time he received a letter from the licentiate, soliciting a reinforcement of men, to enable him to revenge the cause of *Badajoz*, punish the *Indians* who had shewn c their enmity to the *Spaniards*, and recover the vast treasure lost in this unhappy expedition. *Arias* approved of the resolution, and detached *Valenzuela*, with 130 men, to support the licentiate, who was ambitious to demonstrate that learning and education only sharpen the edge of valour, and unite conduct with courage. With this reinforcement he began his march against the *Indians* of *Cemagre* and *Pocorosa*, who were were assembled to the number of three thousand men, to oppose his progress; but they no sooner beheld the *Spanish* horses, than they fled in a panic, were pursued by the large dogs, and shockingly gored and mangled. Upon this advantage the licentiate marched to *Cheru*; and the better to surprize *Nata*, he fell upon his town in the night; however, the cazique escaping, collected a body of *Indians*, and attacked the *Spaniards* with great spirit, and infinite resolution, until the appearance of the few horse under *Espinosa* broke their courage, and made b them take to their heels, fearing they should be torn to pieces by those dreadful animals; for they believed the horse and rider to be the same creature. In consequence, *Nata* perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, came and made his submission, while the licentiate sent *Hurtado* to seize the cazique *Escolia*, which he performed. Having now secured a retreat, he advanced to the territories of *Paris*, who attacked him at the head of five thousand men, with so much obstinacy, that the *Spaniards* must have sunk under the weight of numbers, had not the sight of the horses and dogs spread terror among the *Indians*, and obliged them to seek refuge in flight from those animals, which they beheld with consternation. Advancing to the country of the cazique *Quenca*, where he was told e the gold taken from *Badajoz* was deposited, he found the *Indians* in arms; but soothing them with assurances of friendship, he not only recovered eighty thousand castellanos, but established peace with the cazique; after which he went in pursuit of the remainder of the treasure to the province of the cazique *Chicacotia*, where he resided during the rainy season, though he was not so fortunate as to find the gold, the chief object of the expedition.

DURING the whole winter the *Indian* nations had been taking measures for revenging themselves on the *Spaniards*, and entirely extirpating this detested race of mercenary foreigners. Just before *Espinosa* was preparing to begin his march, they assembled to the number of twenty thousand men, attacked his quarters, and fought with more than usual valour and conduct; but the *Spaniards*, who were now accustomed to the *Indian* manner of f fighting, relieved each other seasonably, discharged their fire-arms and cross-bows with so much regularity, plied their swords so vigorously, and covered themselves from the arrows of the enemy, with such address, by their targets, that after an obstinate battle the *Indians* were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued in their flight by 200 confederate *Indians*, who fought resolutely under the protection of the *Spaniards*; a proof of the manifold advantages which must have resulted from *Balboa's* measures, had they been duly prosecuted by the new governor. Having thus defeated all the schemes of the *Indians*, the licentiate set out for *Nata* on the 9th of *July*, and proceeding to the territories of the cazique *Escotia*, detached *Valenzuela* in search of proper materials for building canoes, to the province of *Guerari*. In this country his men suffered greatly by famine, which obliged him to hasten g his return to *Acla*, where he arrived after a tedious march, and fighting several battles, proceeding from thence to *Darien*. Here a division was made of the booty brought back, which so enriched the colonists, that dissipation succeeded; and gaming arose to such a pitch, as to render a law necessary, that no man should hazard above ten pieces of eight within

A. D. 1516.
Espinosa's expedition.

within the space of twenty-four hours ; for besides gold, *Espinosa* brought back two thousand prisoners, who were restored.

IN the course of this expedition, *Bartholomew Hurtado* and *Hernandez Ponce*, who were detached from the main body, with a number of men, proceeded to the northward, and discovered several islands, and a long range of the southern coast, as far as the bay of *Osa*, ninety leagues from *Nata*. Here a nation, called *Chiuchires*, opposed their landing, which obliged them to run fifty leagues down the coast, quite to the bay of *St. Lucar*, now the port of *Nicaya*, in the province of *Nicaragua*. The country was pleasant and fruitful ; but finding that the *Indians* were little disposed to cultivate an intercourse, they returned to join *Espinosa*, who detached *Hernandez Ponce* to settle a kind of colony at *Panama*, on the opposite side of the isthmus of *Darien* to *Porto Bello*.

Balboa's
scheme for
building ships
in the South
Sea.

WHILE *Espinosa* was employed in the manner we have just related, *Nunez de Balboa*, to whom the colony owed the greatest obligations, continued not only unemployed, but detained as a kind of prisoner by the governor *Arias d'Avila*, notwithstanding the instructions of the court, and the commission of *Adelentado*, or lieutenant, with which he had been lately honoured. At last a reconciliation was happily effected, through the mediation of the bishop *John de Quevedo*, who conceived the highest opinion of *Balboa's* merit ; and to insure their friendship, by the strictest ties, the *Adelentado* married the governor's daughter by proxy ; for the young lady was at that time in *Spain*. He now rose in the governor's favour, and was soon appointed to settle a colony at the port of *Acla*, where *Arias* had built a fort, which he left with a garrison under the care of *Gabriel de Rojas*. *Balboa* accordingly set out with eighty men, who voluntarily offered their service, and arrived safe at *Acla*, where he immediately made several necessary regulations, appointing *Regidores* and other magistrates ; built a town, and took all the necessary measures for executing his instructions to build brigantines on the *South Sea*, to pursue the discoveries which he had so happily began. The design was to prepare the timbers at *Acla*, which were to be carried over by land to the river *de la Balsos*, where the brigantines were to be built. To forward the project, *Nunez* procured a reinforcement of two hundred men from his father-in-law ; the timber was cut down, and carried with great labour to the place appointed, to the astonishment of all men, who believed the scheme was impracticable, because there were at that time no beasts of burden in the country. *Balboa* then divided his men into three parties, each of which had its department, the one to bring provisions, the other to build the vessels, and the third to transport the iron-work, rigging, and other materials, from *Acla*. Every thing went on with alacrity, but fortune was not propitious. All the pains hitherto bestowed were lost, worms having destroyed all the timber, which obliged *Nunez* to begin his labour afresh. He set about it without desponding, and had almost completed his work, when a flood of the river carried the vessels off the stocks, and buried them, together with the timber and other materials, in heaps of mud and sand, the people saving themselves with the utmost difficulty. All his constancy now forsook *Nunez*, and he began to sink under disappointments, and the pressure of famine, when one *Francisco Compagnon* offered to cross the river upon floats in quest of provision, the party allotted for this purpose having failed in their endeavours. *Compagnon* did all that industry, perseverance, and courage, could execute, but he was unsuccessful ; which reduced *Nunez* to the necessity of returning to *Acla*, after he had for some weeks subsisted entirely upon a few roots and herbs picked up at random, and eat without any knowledge of their qualities. Here he was joined by the diligent *Compagnon*, who at length surmounted all obstructions, and came attended by a great number of *Indians* loaded with provision, which encouraged *Nunez* the more to resume his project of building ships. The timber was prepared at *Acla*, and transported as before to the river *de la Balsos*, where, at last, the vessels were finished, and launched, with incredible labour, after the workmen had combated all the difficulties which fatigue, famine, and the inconvenient situation could throw in their way. He immediately embarked with as many men as the two brigantines could carry, and sailing to the largest pearl island, employed himself in forming magazines, while the vessels were employed in transporting the remainder of his party. While he staid here he is reported to have received a letter from the archbishop of *Seville*, congratulating him on his discovery of the *South Sea*, and assuring him, that, if he followed the land to the westward, he would meet with warlike nations, who fought in armour, and used spears ; but that if he steered eastward, the country would be found to produce much gold and cattle. This intimation is said to have induced *Nunez* to sail to the continent eastward, with above an hundred men ; he touched upon the coast, and took some prisoners, who told him, that, if he advanced, he might find great abundance of the precious metal. Beyond *Cape St. Michael* the sailors observed a great number of whales, which prevented their putting to shore at *Port Pinas*, as was intended, and to proceed to the territories of the cazique *Chicama*, where *Nunez* debarked his men to revenge the party under *Gasper Morales*, slaughtered in that country.

a country. The natives advanced to oppose the landing; but they were soon obliged to give way before the *Spanish* swords and musquetry; upon which *Nunez* proceeded to the island which he had lately quitted, and ordered timber to be cut down for building two other vessels, sending for more pitch and cordage to *Acla*, and charging the messenger to get certain information whether *Lopez de Sofa* had been actually appointed governor of *Darien*, as was reported.

THE resolution to build two more brigantines, and the new expedition intended, occasioned some suspicion that *Nunez* designed to render himself independent on his father-in-law *Arias d'Avila*; the suspicion was propagated, until it at length reached the ears of that gentleman, who gave easy credit to the report, because he was sensible of having injured *Nunez*. He is likewise said to have received a letter from one *Garabeto*, a soldier; who overheard some expressions dropped by *Nunez*, which he misinterpreted, or designedly misunderstood, with a view of gaining the governor's confidence. However this may be, it is certain that an animosity between the father and son-in-law broke out with more violence than ever, though *Arias* artfully concealed his sentiments until he got *Nunez* in his power; which he effected by writing him a friendly letter, as if he was desirous of consulting him upon something of importance. He was then deeply engaged in fitting out his little squadron; but he immediately laid aside his employment to obey the orders of his superior, set out for *Darien* without suspicion, was imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, all in the space of a few days; for which act of inhuman injustice *Arias* was never brought to any account: on the contrary, he was continued in the government, notwithstanding the proofs of his misconduct, and the signal services of the person whose blood he had wantonly spilled.

A. D. 1517.

Expedition of
Cordova to
Yucatan and
Florida.

IT was previous to this melancholy event, that the scarcity which prevailed at *Darien*, occasioned an edict from the governor, declaring all persons who were desirous of pushing their fortune in other parts of the world, at liberty to depart. In consequence of which, an hundred persons, above the vulgar rank, embarked for *Cuba*, where the new colony was reported to live extremely happily under the government of *Velaquez*. They were well received, and promises given them by the governor, that he would embrace the first opportunity of promoting their interest. Soon after the proposal was made to them of going upon discoveries towards new countries, lying upon each side of the entrance to the gulph of *Mexico*, of which the *Spaniards* at that time had scarce any knowledge. The proposal was embraced: *Hernandez de Cordova*, celebrated for his wealth, valour, and public spirit, offered to command the expedition; fitted out two vessels, with all the necessary stores, at his own expence, and set sail from the *Havannah*, with 110 able-bodied volunteers, on the 8th day of *February*. On the 1st of *March* they saw land, and could descry a large town, about two leagues from the ocean. When they approached nearer the shore, two canoes, full of men, came on board, and were civilly received. The *Indians* were dressed in short cotton jackets without sleeves, and pieces of cloth wrapped round their extremities, sufficient to convince the *Spaniards* that they had made some little progress in the arts; tho' it was apparent that the dress, arms, ships, and beards, of the *Europeans*, were great novelties. Next day the cazique, with twelve canoes filled with men, approached the ships, crying out *Conez Cotoche*, come to my house; whence the *Spaniards* gave the name *Cotoche* to this cape, which lies opposite, and at no great distance from the western extremity of the island of *Cuba*. So pressing was the cazique in his instances, and such was the shew of friendship made by the *Indians*, that *Cordova* yielded to their intreaties, went on shore, and was surrounded by an army of *Indians* that poured out of a neighbouring wood. They were cased in armour of quilted cotton, armed with targets, wooden swords having flint edges, wooden cutlasses, spears, slings, and bows, and adorned with plumes of feathers and a kind of paint, with which they discoloured their faces, and rendered themselves very hideous. They began the attack with terrible shrieks and howling, to which they joined the noise of several unmusical instruments, pouring in upon the *Spaniards* full showers of arrows and spears. *Cordova's* men did not exceed twenty-five; but they made so brave a defence, and plied their fire-arms with so much dexterity, that the *Indians*, affrighted with the dreadful thunder, were defeated, leaving seventeen dead, and several wounded, on the field of battle. Two of the prisoners afterwards became proselytes to the Christian faith, and were baptized by the names of *Julian* and *Melchior*. Near the field the *Spaniards* discovered three houses, built with stone and mortar, which they found to be temples filled with earthen idols with hideous faces, and other terrible ugly images, which they contained. There were the images of women, of men in unnatural lascivious postures, and small idols made of wood, with plates, ornaments, and diadems of gold.

FROM this country *Cordova* proceeded to the bay of *Campeche*, called *Quampech* by the natives, where he watered. When the *Spaniards* were returning to their ships, fifty *Indians* clothed in jackets, over which they wore long cotton mantles, interrogated them by signs, whether they came from the eastward, and what they wanted, inviting them to their town,

at a little distance. The *Spaniards* were disposed to comply with the invitation; and after putting themselves in a posture of defence, entered some temples, which they found decorated with idols of such deformity as almost terrified them, stained with blood fresh shed, as was supposed, from human victims, and filled with crosses and other emblems of the Roman Catholic faith, which occasioned great astonishment. The people flocked round, beheld the strangers with signs of wonder, and often smiled, as if in admiration of the simplicity and uncouth appearance of the *Spaniards*. From the temples issued ten priests, covered with long white mantles, resembling surplices, with long black hair plaited up, and in their hands little earthen fire-pans, upon which they burnt a certain gum they called *Copal*, and perfumed the *Spaniards*, bidding them leave that country, if they valued their lives. They had no sooner given this warning, than they sounded their warlike instruments, which the *Spaniards* taking for a signal for the *Indians* to assemble, retreated to their ships, being pursued only by a few detached parties.

HAVING sailed six days along the coast, the great scarcity of water on board obliged *Cordova* to put ashore in a bay about a league distant from a town called *Polonchau*, where the *Spaniards* observed temples built with stone and lime, in the same manner as the former. Then they were accosted by several armed men, who, after asking divers questions, went back to their houses, and soon returned with great numbers, who began to attack the *Spaniards* with great fury. To attempt a retreat was dangerous, and nothing remained but the utmost exertion of their courage to oppose such a multitude of *Indians*. The whole night was spent in fresh skirmishing; and in the morning *Cordova* perceived that he was hedged by enemies; who were continually increasing, and pouring in showers of stones, darts, and arrows. Near eighty of his men were already wounded; and though they plied their fire-arms and swords with the greatest vigour and address, it was apparent they must soon be overwhelmed in the torrent of *Indians* that rushed upon them from all quarters. The general cry was *Colachini*, or leader; meaning that they should take aim at *Cordova*; which they did so effectually as to wound him in twelve different, *Cemara*^b says, in thirty-three, different places; upon which he determined at all events to regain the shipping; and accordingly broke through the enemy with desperate resolution, got on board the boats, which were ready to sink with their numbers; the *Indians* pursuing with loud cries, and running into the water to wound the *Spaniards* with their spears. In this action *Cordova* had forty-seven men killed on the spot, five more dying of their wounds on board, which occasioned his giving this bay the name of *de Mala Pelea*, on account of the unfortunate issue of the engagement with the *Indians*. Hence he steered for the coast of *Florida*, the crew almost perishing with thirst; and upon his landing to water, was attacked by *Indians* greatly resembling those of *Yucatan*, from whom he extricated himself with an inconsiderable loss, and sailed to the *Havannah*, then called *Port Carenas*, without having made any acquisition of gold, or indeed any discoveries with respect to the native commodities of *Yucatan* and *Florida*, though the voyage was greatly celebrated on account of the earthen and wooden idols, the golden plates, the diadems, the manners, and the arms of the inhabitants, all which convinced the *Spaniards* that important consequences might result from this unfortunate enterprize. The *Indian* prisoners they had taken confirmed this opinion, by declaring that the country produced gold, though further experience has shewn that neither *Yucatan* nor *Florida* produce any mines of the precious metal (D).

A. D. 1518. *CORDOVA* died of the wounds he received from the *Indians* a few days after his return to *Cuba*; but the account of the expedition, which he drew up on his death-bed, and transmitted to *Velaquez*, determined that gentleman to prosecute the discovery; for which purpose he equipped three ships and a brigantine, manned with 250 volunteers, and appointed *John de Grijalva* to command in chief, assisted by *Alaminos*, principal pilot in *Cordova's* expedition. *Grijalva's* instructions were to barter for gold, contract alliances, gain the best account possible of the country, and, some writers add, to settle a colony, if he could with convenience, though *las Casas* denies this last circumstance. The squadron sailed from *St. Jago* on the 8th of April 1518, and in a few days fell in with the island of *Cozumel*, then first discovered, where the *Spaniards* saw a town, several temples built of stone, and one in particular in form of a square tower, with windows, galleries, idols, and

^b HERRER. dec. ii. l. i. c. 3.

(D) A *Spanish* writer, who was upon this expedition, acquaints us, that the name *Yucatan* comes from *Yuca*, of the root of which the *Indians* make *Cazabi* bread, and *Ilutly*, signifying the land where the *Yuca* grows; which was the constant answer made by the natives, when the *Spaniards* inquired after the root.

Hence he deduces the compound *Yucotta*; and by corruption *Yucatan* (1). Other etymologists (2) derive the name from an *Indian* town called *Talaquitlan*, which the *Spaniards* pronounced *Lucatan*; whence comes *Yucatan*.

(1) *Deux. de Castello*, p. 41.

(2) *Herrer. dec. ii. l. i. c. 3.*

- a a large cross erected in the middle; concerning which *Herrera* relates a prophecy that has all the appearance of being fabulous; by which, however, he would account in what manner crosses came to be erected in divers parts of *America* and the *West-Indies*, before the arrival of the *Spaniards*, or the *Indians* had any idea of Christianity. As the natives had fled to the mountains, and all endeavours to establish an intercourse with them proved fruitless, *Grijalva* reembarked, and kept on his course along the coast, being greatly astonished at the great number of white towers, handsomely built of stone, which he saw upon the island and continent. It was this circumstance that occasioned his bestowing the appellation of *New Spain* upon the province of *Yucatan*, which was afterwards extended to all *Mexico*, and indeed the greater part of the *Spanish* dominions upon that side the equator.
- b After sailing for the space of eight days, *Grijalva* entered the gulph of *Mexico* further, and landed at some distance from the capital of *Pontonchon's* dominions; a cazique subject to the emperor of *Mexico*. The *Indians* opposed the debarkation, and an engagement commenced, in which *Grijalva*, with sixty *Spaniards*, were wounded, and three killed, though the *Indians* were in the issue defeated, with the loss of 200 men; after which he took possession of the town, deserted by all the inhabitants.

He then proceeded to the river *Tabasco*, to which he gave the name of *Rio de Grijalva*, and landed with some men. The *Indians* did not oppose the debarkation; but they soon surrounded the boats with fifty canoes filled with armed men, adorned with plumes of feathers. *Grijalva*, unwilling to come to blows, sent the two *Indians* taken by *Cordova*, and

c baptized by the names of *Melchior* and *Julian*, to acquaint the *Tabascans*, that his desire was to establish a friendly intercourse, that might prove mutually beneficial. This produced a parley, which was soon improved into a solid peace, by means of the beads, glasses, and other toys, presented by the *Spaniards*, and conveyed by the *Indians* to their cazique, who ordered all manner of provision to be sent to the strangers. Next day he visited *Grijalva* in person, and without hesitation went on board his ship, giving him as a present a complete suit of gold armour, a wooden helmet plated with gold, studded with stones resembling emeralds; and beautifully wrought, several breast-plates, some of solid gold, and others of wood, plaited thinly with gold, coverings for targets of solid gold, six collars of beaten gold, bracelets, ear-rings, and pendants of the same, all of great value; which

d *Grijalva* acknowledged by dressing the cazique in a sort of fine linen, a coat of crimson velvet, a cap of the same materials, beads and glasses of different colours, scissars, knives, and other trinkets, which the cazique prized above all the gold in *Montezuma's* empire (E); for he was a subject of that great monarch; as will appear in the sequel. What most astonished the *Spaniards* was the ingenious workmanship of the gold ornaments, and particularly of a shield, covered with feathers of beautiful colours, and elegantly disposed; which distinguished both taste and a progress in the fine arts. Many were greatly disposed to remain in a country that exhibited such proofs of wealth and liberality in the inhabitants; but it was apparent, notwithstanding the cazique's civility, that he was not at all inclined to favour a colony, which determined *Grijalva* to embark,

e as he found the people were too powerful to admit of any attempts to establish himself by violence. As he sailed along the shore, the *Indians* were seen on the coast in a warlike posture, with shields of tortoise-shell, which by the reflection of the sun's beams made a brilliant and martial appearance. The country seemed to be extremely populous, quite to the river *Guazacoalca*, and in many places the natives held up flags of cotton, upon long poles, as signals to the *Spaniards* to land; which at last tempted *Grijalva* to send *Francisco de Mentejo* ashore with twenty soldiers; all the cross-bow men and musqueteers, with orders that if he found the *Indians* in a hostile disposition, he should give immediate notice to the shipping. It was afterwards found that an account had been sent to *Montezuma*, and the court of *Mexico*, of the descent made by *Cordova*, of the actions at *Cotoche*

f and *Potouchan*, and of *Grijalva's* touching upon the coast, by means of painted cotton cloths; and that the emperor perceiving the *Spaniards* only wanted gold, had issued orders to his subjects to enter upon an intercourse with them, and penetrate into their ultimate designs. When *Mentejo* approached the *Indians*, they offered him fowls, fish, bread, and fruits of different kinds, and perfumed him with the smoke of burnt *Copal*. These civilities induced *Grijalva* to draw up closer with the ships, and debark, attended by several *Spaniards*, who were curious to inquire into the manners of the people, and full of expectation of sharing in the presents of those savages, who appeared to be equally wealthy and generous, if they might judge from the behaviour of the cazique of *Tabasco*. Accordingly

(E) *Antonio de Solis* censures *Herrera* for giving credit to this account of *Gomara*, an author whom he rejects upon other occasions; yet we must confess we see nothing improbable in the relation, if we suppose that *Montezuma* had given orders to the governors to receive

the *Spaniards* civilly; which is corroborated by the opinion, that all the gold had been sent from the city of *Mexico*, *Yucatan* producing none of the precious metal. L. i. c. vi.

Grijalva was no sooner landed, than he was met by the governors, and received with the most profound respect. An exchange and traffic began, which, in the space of six days, brought the *Spaniards* fifteen thousand pieces of eight; profits that by no means corresponded with the extravagant hopes of the sailors.

CONTINUING his voyage, *Grijalva* met with several islands, to which he gave names from their several appearances. One he called *Isla Blanca*; another *la Verde*; and another he called *The Island of Sacrifices*, because he found that human victims had been immolated at the shrines of certain idols, just before his arrival. Touching at *St. Juan d'Uva*, he marched up with thirty men to a temple filled with idols, and inhabited by four priests clad in long black stoles with hoods, who had just done sacrificing two boys, agreeable to their impious and inhuman superstition. The *Spaniards* were moved with horror and compassion upon sight of the children, whose bodies were ript open, hearts taken out, and offered at the altars of their false divinities. It was from this place that *Grijalva* dispatched intelligence of his discoveries to the governor of *Cuba*, who now was exceedingly incensed that he had not founded a colony, notwithstanding his instructions were express, that he should only trade, and make discoveries, if we may credit *Herrera*. This indeed had been proposed by *Grijalva*, and debated in council, but over-ruled by *Montejo* and *Alonso d'Avila*, who were of opinion that the consequences of a miscarriage might prove fatal to them, as all attempts to build houses and make settlements were contrary to their express orders; which determined *Grijalva* to return to *Cuba*, after he had visited the coasts of divers *Mexican* provinces, before undiscovered, and traded to a considerable value with the natives.

PEDRO DE ALVARADO was the person sent by *Grijalva* with an account of the success of the expedition to *Velaquez*, who was transported at the sight of the gold, and elated with discoveries upon which he hoped to build his fortune, and raise himself to independance on the admiral *Diego de Colon*, his superior in command. A rivalry had long subsisted between these two gentlemen, which was the means of inspiring *Velaquez* with the first notion of *Grijalva's* enterprize, and now confirmed him in the resolution of prosecuting discoveries that in all probability would raise his fortune and reputation above all competition. Perceiving that *Grijalva's* obedience to his instructions proved an obstruction to the progress of his vast designs, he was extremely offended that he had not established a colony in a country where he was so well received, without reflecting that *Grijalva*, in this, obeyed his orders, contrary to his own opinion. Before the return of the commander, he begun to make preparations for another expedition, and had already communicated his intention to the clergy of *Hispaniola*, in order to sanctify it by their approbation, resolving the direction should be committed to a person of courage, distinction, and ability; but withal so obedient and pliable, as to entertain no other ambition than that of promoting the glory and interest of his benefactor and superior; which, says a good writer of those times, was to seek for a commander of great courage, and a mean spirit. When *Grijalva* returned, the voice of the people recommended him to this trust; but *Velaquez* was strongly prejudiced, though he could not be insensible to his merit, when he perused the written account delivered by that officer of his expedition, and heard his modest defence: however, though he determined not to bestow the command on *Grijalva*, it was difficult to fix his choice amidst the number of deserving competitors. *Antonio* and *Bernardino Velaquez*, both nearly allied to the governor, *Balthazar Bermudez* and *Vasco Porcallo*, with other gentlemen of unexceptionable character, were all ambitious of leading an enterprize which opened the prospect of a fruitful harvest in glory and riches; when at length *Velaquez* was influenced by the insinuations of his favourite *Amador de Loris*, the king's treasurer, and the intimate friend of *Hernand Cortez*. *Cortez* was popular, generous, liberal, and intrepid: at this time he acted in the capacity of alcade, had acquired a considerable fortune, and given proofs of his merit; but as he had formerly been at variance with the governor, nothing less than the powerful arguments of *de Loris*, and *Velaquez's* extreme anxiety about the issue of the enterprize, could triumph over the strong opposition made by the other candidates. In the end every difficulty gave way, *Cortez* was nominated to the command; and he pushed his preparations with so much vigour, that, in a few days after he received the command, he was ready to set sail, as the reader may see in the ensuing section.

a

S E C T. III.

Cortez sails from Cuba; touches at Cozumel, arrives in Mexico, and performs a Variety of Exploits.

AS the conquest of *Mexico* is one of the most extraordinary and entertaining events recorded in history, we shall dwell more minutely upon the expedition of *Cortez*, than was deemed necessary in the relation of voyages, which led the way to this vast acquisition to the power of the *Spanish* monarchy. This hero atchieved, by a handful of men, the overthrow of a vast empire. He surmounted difficulties, he encountered dangers, fought battles, and gained victories not inferior to those recorded of the most renowned warriors of antiquity; and happily for his memory, his actions are described by the elegant pen of *Antonio de Solis*, a writer, in our opinion, no way inferior to *Thucydides* or *Livy*, except some few strokes of the marvellous admitted into his relation, which we shall endeavour to remove, by comparing him diligently with other historians who have wrote upon the same subject. To our account of the conquest we shall subjoin an explicit description of the kingdom of *Mexico*, of the manners, religion, government, wealth, arts, and other particulars relating to the inhabitants, many hints of which shall however be disseminated through the course of the historical narration. Account of Cortez.

THAT our readers may not be entirely unacquainted with the birth of this famous conqueror, it will be necessary to mention, that he was a native of *Medillin*, a town of *Estremadura* in *Spain*, and the son of *Martin Cortez* of *Monroy*, and donna *Catalina Pizarro Altamirino*; names which sufficiently bespeak the nobility of his parentage, at least by the mother. He was bred a scholar, and had spent two years at *Salamanca*; but a studious life not suiting his lively and active genius, he obtained his father's permission to engage in the service of his country, and learn the rudiments of the military art, under the celebrated *Gonzalvo de Cordova*, then at the head of a *Spanish* army in *Italy*; but a dangerous illness with which he was seized, just on the point of embarkation, frustrated this design, and turned his views towards the *West-Indies*, where the *Spaniards* were reaping a plentiful harvest of wealth and glory. In the year 1504 he went to *Hispaniola*, being then in the 19th year of his age, and was particularly distinguished by *Obando* the governor, to whom he had been strongly recommended. After gaining the general esteem of the colony, he attended *Velaquez* in quality of secretary to the island of *Cuba*, where he soon established the reputation of an able statesman and commander, a brave soldier, a generous friend, and an agreeable companion. *De Solis* acquaints us, that his person was pleasing, his countenance engaging, his temper amiable, and his conversation discreet; qualities which first attracted the notice, and engaged the affections of donna *Catharina Suarez Pacheco*. His engagements with this noble lady involved *Cortez* in many difficulties, and produced an altercation with *Velaquez*, which had almost proved fatal to his life; though he afterwards recovered the governor's favour. When all differences were accommodated, *Velaquez* not only gave away the bride, but bestowed lands upon *Cortez*, and distinguished him by raising him to the office of alcade of *St. Jago*, an employment usually conferred upon such as had exhibited incontestable proofs of merit. In these circumstances were our hero, when he was appointed to conduct the expedition to *Yucatan* and the coast of *Mexico*, by the title of captain general of the fleet, and of the countries already discovered, or that should henceforward be conquered under his auspices. Sensibly affected with this mark of the governor's confidence, he received the charge with great expressions of respect and acknowledgement; though *Herrera* dates his ambition and ingratitude to his benefactor from this period (A). The preference shewn *Cortez* disgusted all his competitors, and made them seize every opportunity of raising scruples and exciting jealousies in the mind of the governor. They reminded *Velaquez* of the early proofs of ambition and ingratitude which *Cortez* had exhibited; they ripped up all the sores occasioned by their ancient animosity, and put the most invidious gloss on all the actions of this object of their malignity; they accused *Cortez* of

A. D. 1518.

(A) The relations of *Herrera* and *de Solis* are extremely contradictory in this, and a variety of other particulars, notwithstanding they appear to have consulted the same authorities. The former, under the appearance of the strictest impartiality, taxes *Cortez* with the basest ingratitude, by making him the first aggressor, and asserting that he threw off his obedience before *Velaquez* entertained any suspicion of his fidelity, or the least notion of superseding him in the command (1); whereas *de Solis*, the admirer of *Cortez*, and indeed his panegyrist, vindicates the reputation of his hero, and throws the whole blame on *Velaquez*, in the manner recited in the text: at this distance of time we cannot pretend to ascertain the exact truth of asseverations.

(1) *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. ii.

the meanest hypocrisy, the most daring and presumptuous ambition; even in his courtesy and liberality they discovered an artifice, which they alledged was but too obvious to all who were not deceived by the semblance of real virtue. In a word, they insisted that *Cortez* had not effaced the chagrin of his former sufferings and imprisonment, and they wished *Velaquez* to consider this circumstance maturely before it was too late to repair an error that might prove fatal to his honour and to his life, as well as to the public service, and the interests of religion and his country. At first *Velaquez* received these remonstrances as the effusions of malice and disappointed ambition, assisting *Cortez* in his preparations, and taking leave of him in the most friendly manner when he was ready to depart from *St. Jago*. This, at least, is the relation given by *Antonio de Solis*; although *Herrera*, and other Spanish writers, affirm, that *Cortez* stole away privately in the night, upon some intimation that the governor intended to recal his commission; and that upon *Velaquez's* pursuing him in the morning, he manned a boat, met the governor in a posture of defiance, and acquainted him in the most disrespectful manner, that he would pay no farther regard to his orders^b.

*Cortez sails
from St. Jago.*

On the 18th day of *November* the fleet sailed from the port of *St. Jago*, and arrived in a few days at the port of *La Trinidad*; where *Cortez* no sooner published the design of the expedition, than he was reinforced by a great number of volunteers, many of them persons of the best fashion on the island, which furnished his enemies with fresh arguments to impeach his fidelity, and poison the governor's mind with distrust and jealousy. *Cortez* had engaged so many adventurers to share in his fortune by his obliging behaviour, that his disappointed rivals found it no difficult matter to succeed in their design of ruining him with *Velaquez*. The opportunity was favourable, and they pressed their instances with so specious an appearance of disinterestedness, that the governor at length yielded to their persuasion, and sent two couriers, with letters to all his confidants, and express orders to *Francisco Verdugo*, chief alcade of *La Trinidad*, to prosecute *Cortez* in a judicial way, and deprive him of the command. *Cortez* had notice of what was transacting; upon which he immediately assembled his friends and soldiers, informed them of the machinations of his enemies, desired their advice in what manner he should proceed, and to know how far he might depend upon the justice of his cause by the judgment they should pass on his conduct. There needed nothing more to engage the soldiers to make protestations of eternal attachment to his person and fortune. He found them united in his interest, and determined to defend him against so gross an injury, even at the hazard of taking arms, and coming to an open rupture with the governor; upon which he visited the alcade, informed him of the danger to which he should expose himself by obeying orders so iniquitous, disgusting so many persons of distinction as had engaged in the expedition out of friendship to him, and drawing upon himself the indignation of the soldiers, whose affections he studied to gain, the better to promote the public service. He already found it difficult, he said, to restrain their fury within the bounds of obedience; and he could not be answerable for the consequence, should the alcade proceed to the execution of his instructions. *Verdugo* was a person of sense and candor; he was sensible of the injustice of the governor's orders, of the merit of *Cortez*, of the danger which would attend any attempts to supersede him, and of the detriment which the public would sustain from the divisions which must infallibly ensue. He told *Cortez*, that he would not only suspend the execution of his orders, but use his utmost endeavours to dissuade *Velaquez* from his resolution, in which he was joined by all the other gentlemen in the town and fleet, who had any influence with the governor. All of them wrote to *Velaquez*, and *Cortez* accompanied their remonstrances with a letter from himself, complaining, in the gentlest terms, of the governor's distrust, of the confidence he reposed in his enemies, and the facility with which he listened to calumnies raised by disappointed ambition.

*The governor
orders him to
be dispossessed
of the command*

*The governor's
orders disobey-
ed.*

*Cortez ar-
rives at the
Havannah.*

HAVING taken all the measures which he thought necessary to his own security, and sufficient to quiet all the scruples entertained by *Velaquez*, he set sail for the *Havannah*, and was separated from the fleet in a storm, and in great danger of being shipwrecked. All the other ships arriving safe at the place of rendezvous, and no account coming of *Cortez* for the space of a week the adventurers were divided in opinion, some regarding him as lost, others advising that vessels might be sent in search of him, and a few proposing that a commander should be appointed in his absence. Of this last opinion was *Diego de Ordaz*, who, as the friend and confidant of *Velaquez*, thought he would bid fair to be confirmed in this post if he were once nominated by the soldiers. In this project, he was, however, disappointed by the arrival of *Cortez* who was received by the joyful acclamations of the soldiers, and the warmest testimonies of esteem from *Pedro de Barba*, governor of the city. He set up his standard, and was immediately joined by several gentlemen who had already approved their valour, which gave great reputation to the expedition, and facilitated

^b DE SOLIS, lib. i. c. x. HERRERA, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. ii.

a the equipment of the fleet. He sent the artillery on shore to be cleaned and proved, gave orders for a great number of cotten quilts, in the form of great coats, which were called *Escapilles*, as a defence against the arrows of the *Indians*, exercised his soldiers in the use of fire-arms and cross-bows, taught them the several evolutions necessary in action, the method of advancing, retreating, forming into large and small divisions, charging; in a word, all the elements of the military art in the most concise method. Every thing was at last in great forwardness, and the day fixed for the departure of the fleet, when orders arrived to the governor of the *Havannah* to supersede *Cortez*, and send him prisoner to *St. Jago*, with threats and menaces to enforce the punctual execution of these instructions: but *Velaquez* was no better obeyed in this than on the former occasion. Even the very
b courier, who had brought the order, gave *Cortez* notice, and he had informations from several quarters, that a design was on foot extremely injurious to his honour, and dangerous to his liberty. *Cortez* was extremely incensed at this new attempt, because he thought he had given all reasonable security of his fidelity, and furnished no room for suspicion. Convinced of the implacable resentment of his enemies, he now began with less temper to think of providing for himself, and throwing off that obedience, the observance of which might prove the ruin of himself and scheme, so promising to the public emolument. When he reflected upon the indignities he had sustained, he blamed his own patience, and believed that the virtue of obedience might be carried to a criminal excess, as if arising from pusillanimity. This determined him to come to an open rupture with
c *Velaquez*, from whom he had nothing to fear, as he was certain of the affections of his soldiers under his command. His first step was to remove from the *Havannah* *Diego de Ordaz*, whose fidelity and attachment he had reason to suspect ever since he had proposed himself as commander of the expedition. He then shewed himself to the soldiers, and acquainted them with the new persecution to which he was exposed by the virulence of his enemies; upon which they made the same declarations as before, and became so tumultuous, that it was with difficulty he could restrain their flying to arms; nor could all his endeavours silence their clamorous zeal, until *Pedro Barba* protested publicly, that he would not execute his orders, or have any share in so flagrant an act of injustice and oppression, with which the soldiers were immediately appeased, and their menaces converted into joyful
d acclamations. *Barba* shewed the sincerity of his intentions by excusing himself to *Velaquez* for not interposing in an affair of such delicate consequence, remonstrating upon the impropriety of any attempts against an officer so beloved by his people; and representing, in the strongest terms, the commotions excited among the soldiers by the report of the injury intended to their commander; concluding with pathetic admonitions, that *Velaquez* would endeavour to regain *Cortez* by acts of friendship and generosity, and rely upon his gratitude for what could be accomplished neither by threats, force, nor persuasion.

THIS difficulty being surmounted, *Cortez* divided his men into eleven companies, embarking one in each vessel, appointed captains to each, reserved to himself the command of the largest ship, the *Capitana*, bestowed the chief direction of the artillery on *Francisco de Orozco*, a soldier who had distinguished himself in *Italy*; and appointed for his chief
e pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*, the same person who had accompanied *Cordova* and *Grijalva* to the coast of *Mexico*, in the expeditions recited in the last section. He next drew up instructions for all his officers, in which he provided against contingencies with admirable sagacity, stamped an impression of his prudence on the minds of his soldiers, and afforded a happy presage of the success of the expedition, from the wisdom and caution with which it was concerted. On the 10th day of *February* he quitted the port of the *Havannah*, put
out to sea, and was soon overtaken in a storm; during which he displayed every quality of a vigilant able commander, and was the chief instrument in saving one of the ships which had lost her rudder in the tempest. The island of *Cozumel* was the place appointed
f for the rendezvous of the fleet in case of separation; and here *Pedro d'Alvarado* first arrived. This officer had been dispatched with his ship in search of *Diego d'Ordaz*, towards the north coast; but missing his course, he steered for *Cozumel*, and landed near a small town, which he remembered since the voyage he performed with *Grijalva*. Finding it deserted, and that the *Indians* had fled farther into the country, *Alvarado*, imagining that inaction in a soldier was want of virtue, marched with a party of his men to survey the country, and came to another town, which was likewise deserted by the inhabitants. This he pillaged, seizing upon all the provisions he could find, destroying the idols in a temple, and despoiling them of all their gold ornaments, and whatever came in his way that appeared to be valuable, without once recollecting that he was injuring the service, by terrifying the
g *Indians*, giving them bad impressions of the *Spaniards*, and frustrating the design of *Cortez*, never to use violence, where good usage and persuasion could effect the same purposes. With this booty, and a few prisoners, he returned to the place of debarkation, where he was joined the next day by *Cortez* and the fleet. Upon relating his conduct, he was pub-

A second order for seizing and imprisoning him.

He throws off his allegiance to the governor.

A.D. 1519.

Cortez arrives at Cozumel.

lickly censured by the general, and the prisoners were dismissed, after they had been informed by the *Indian* interpreter *Melchior*, of whom we have before made mention, how disagreeable the injuries done them were to *Cortez*, and how contrary to the general intention of the expedition, which was to cultivate friendship and form alliances, with all the *Indian* nations. All the booty taken by *Alvarado*'s soldiers was likewise restored, and some presents were made to the captives, in hopes that their account to their countrymen, of the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, might produce an intercourse.

CORTÉZ now encamped for three days on the coast, lest his advancing further into the country might give fresh disturbance to the natives, before the relation of the captives could work the expected effect. This time he employed in mustering his army, which he found amounted to five hundred and eight soldiers, sixteen horsemen, and an hundred and nine mechanics, pilots, and mariners, including the crew of *Diego d'Ordaz*, who had now joined him in consequence of another message. When the muster was finished, he harangued the army in a lively animating speech, in which he enumerated the difficulties thrown in their way by the malice of his enemies, the happy presage which his triumph afforded, the importance of the expedition, the perils and toils which they must expect to encounter in the pursuit of riches and glory. "I have no design, says he, to diminish the danger of our undertaking. We are to expect bloody engagements, incredible fatigues, and such multitudes of enemies, as will require the full exertion of all your valour; but the glory of conquest will be the greater. You have been accustomed to fight, and to endure hardships in those islands which you have already subdued: our present undertaking is of greater importance; we must pursue it with proportionable vigour, and square our courage and resolution to the difficulty of our enterprize. We are but few in number; but union multiplies armies, and in our agreement consists our strength. We must, my companions, be all of one mind to resolve, and as one hand to execute; our interests are the same, and the glory of conquest shall be equally distributed among the deserving. The valour of each individual must establish the security of all in general. I am your commander, and will be the first to hazard my life for the meanest of my soldiers. Let it be your care to merit my regard, and rather to follow my example than my orders. I find in myself a courage able to execute the most difficult enterprize, and sufficient to undertake the conquest of the whole world: my heart even flatters me with this hope, from I know not what extraordinary impulse, the most agreeable of all presages. In a word, let our professions be succeeded by actions; and let not this confidence of mine be reckoned temerity, since it is so well supported by you, from whom I expect that all deficiencies in myself shall be supplied."

WHILE he was thus exhorting and animating his soldiers with all the eloquence of a *Julius Cæsar*, notice was brought that the *Indians* began to appear at a distance, in small parties, unarmed; which, however, did not prevent *Cortez* from putting himself in a posture of defence, and guarding against being surprised; however, the men were ranged behind the lines, that they might not present a hostile appearance, or discourage the natives from advancing. This gradually drew them on, until some of the more resolute ventured to enter the camp, where they were so kindly received, that they called to their companions to follow their example. The *Indians* flocked now in great numbers, mingled without fear with the *Spaniards*, and beheld every thing with signs of wonder and amazement; though, upon the whole, they appeared to be conversant with strangers, as was highly probable, from an idol kept in this island, extremely revered by the *Indians* of the continent. Next day *Cortez* was honoured with a visit from the cazique, and a present, which he received with profound acknowledgments and testimonies of his great inclination to cultivate a perpetual friendship with so respectable a prince: to which the *Indian* replied, that he accepted the friendship offered, and would preserve it as a man who understood the value of the gift. It was during this visit, that *Cortez* accidentally got intelligence of certain *Spaniards* who were detained prisoners in *Yucatan*, since the former expeditions to that country. He had overheard one of the *Indians*, in the cazique's retinue, repeat the word *Castilla*; and ordering the interpreter to inquire into the *Indian*'s meaning, was told, that his men very much resembled certain prisoners kept in *Yucatan*, who said they were natives of a country called *Castilla*. Upon farther inquiry *Cortez* found, that the captive *Spaniards* were in the hands of certain *Indians* of the first quality, residing two days journey within the province. He expressed his resolution to the cazique of setting them at liberty, and was advised to attempt it by ransom; lest, if violence were used, their neighbours might be compelled to massacre them out of fear or resentment: a caution, which gave *Cortez* a high opinion of the good sense and policy of the *Indian* prince. Accordingly, *Diego de Ordaz* was ordered with his vessel to the coast of *Yucatan*, with a letter from *Cortez* to the prisoners, and presents for their ransom, to which some *Indians* undertook to bring back an answer in eight days; but the time being expired,

a expired, *Ordaz* returned without his business, imagining that he had been deluded and cheated of the presents, and that either no *Spaniard* was detained at *Yucatan*, or that no attempt was made to procure his release. This was the source of real concern to *Cortez*; who, besides the pleasure of setting countrymen and christians at liberty, entertained great hopes from the services of the captives as interpreters, as it was probable they must have acquired the language of the country; but before he had quitted *Cozumel*, he was joined by the *Indian* messengers, who very honourably discharged their commission, though they were retarded by accidents, and brought back with them the prisoner, whose name was *Jerom de Aguilar*. As this person was greatly instrumental in the conquest of *Mexico*, we shall give an abstract of his adventures.

b ACCORDING to *Aguilar's* account, he had lived near eight years among the *Indians*, having been shipwrecked as he was passing from *Darien* to *Hispaniola*, and escaping with twenty more in a long boat, driven on the coast of *Yucatan*, where they were carried to a country of *Caribbee Indians*. The plumpest of his countrymen were sacrificed to their idols, and afterwards feasted upon by the savages, while his own leanness proved the means of his safety. He was cooped up in a cage to fatten against the next festival before which he fortunately made his escape; and after wandering several days, remote from all settlements, without any other nourishment than herbs and roots, fell into the hands of certain *Indians*, who presented him to the cazique, by whom, after some severe usage, and trials of his patience and ability, he was raised to the highest offices, and the command of armies. He had obtained several victories over the enemies of the cazique, and acquired such power and popularity, that at the time the *Indian* messengers arrived with his ransom, he was in a condition to demand his liberty as the reward of his extraordinary services.

Recovers a Spaniard detained prisoner in Yucatan.

WHILE the *Indian* messengers were employed at the court of the cazique, and treating for the release of *Aguilar*, *Cortez* was not idle. He marched with his whole army to take a view of the island; rather with design to preserve discipline, and keep the soldiers in action, than from any apprehension of an attack from the natives, who seemed extremely delighted with the behaviour of the *Spaniards*. He dissuaded his men from offering violence, by representing the poverty of the people, which could afford no temptation to break through the regulations of discipline, and the laws of hospitality. He told them, b that here they were to stamp that impression of their characters, which must strongly influence the success of all their future undertakings, as the reputation they acquired in *Cozumel* would soon be diffused over the continent; and he concluded with observing, that the fame of their integrity, humanity, and generosity, would promote their interest, and extend their conquests, more powerfully than the sword. He suffered them, however, to barter trinkets with the *Indians* in exchange for gold and provisions, by which means the army was abundantly supplied with all the necessaries which the country afforded. *Cortez* likewise visited the temple of the supreme idol; and was astonished to find the architecture not despicable. The idol was a human figure of a terrible aspect; and, indeed, this circumstance of deformity was religiously observed among the divinities of all degrees worshipped by this ignorant people. The island is said to have taken the name of *Cozumel* e from this great idol, so much revered by all the adjacent nations, and particularly in *Mexico*, from which the island is situated only at the distance of a few leagues. The temple was crowded with *Indians*, in the midst of whom stood a priest, distinguished by a part of a covering just sufficient to hide his nakedness, who seemed to be exhorting the audience, and preaching with an emphatic tone and action, extremely ridiculous to the *Spaniards*. *Cortez* took this opportunity of instructing the cazique in such points of the doctrines of christianity, as he imagined were best suited to his capacity. He demonstrated to him the absurdity of his own religion, and made so deep an impression on the mind of this prince, that, instead of returning an answer, he desired to consult with the priest and people. But f it was not so easy to satisfy the mind of the priest, who perceiving that his interest was deeply concerned in supporting the imposture, made loud outcries against all innovation, and threatened the reformers with the vengeance of the gods, if they did not immediately desist from so impious a design: however, the soldiers, overturning the altar, and defacing the idol, the *Indians* began to wonder that the gods did not interpose; they beheld the heavens were still serene, that the promised vengeance was delayed, and soon changed their adoration into contempt for those gods, who, not being able to vindicate themselves, could afford but little protection to their votaries. Upon this the *Spaniards* erected an altar, on which they placed the image of the virgin *Mary*, and fixed a cross at the entrance of the temple, and thinking they had by this act exhibited full proofs of the truths of revelation, departed, leaving the natives in silent astonishment at the wonders they saw wrought. g

By the 4th of *March* the troops being embarked, *Cortez* sailed with his whole fleet directly for the coast of *Yucatan*, and doubling *Cape Catoche*, arrived safe in the river of *Grijalva*, Mod. Hist. Vol. XIV.

Destroys the idols of the islanders.

Tabasco, where he expected to meet with the same kind reception from the *Indians* of *Tabasco*,^a which the *Spaniards* met with in the late expedition. The gold likewise brought from that country made the soldiers extremely earnest in their solicitations for leave to go on shore; and *Cortez* determined to comply, as this he hoped would be the means of establishing a firm alliance with the natives. His intention, however, was only to make a short stay in *Tabasco*, his thoughts being wholly bent in proceeding to the capital of *Mexico*; the account of which given by *Aguilar* and the *Indians* excited both his curiosity and ambition. Skirmishing in the provinces could only serve to weaken his army and diminish the number of his troops, which should be reserved whole and entire for the most difficult enterprize: besides, the reduction of *Tabasco*, and other remote provinces, would contribute little towards the conquest of *Mexico*; the great strength of which was in the capital, and towards the heart of the empire: yet he resolved to gratify the soldiers, and accordingly proceeded to make the best of his way against the current, when a multitude of canoes was observed to line both sides of the river, filled with men completely armed, and giving tokens of hostile intentions. *Cortez* advanced in close order in his boats, ordering that none should fire until he was commanded; and as soon as he anchored within a proper distance, *Aguilar* found that he understood their language, and acquainted the general, that the cries of the *Indians* were menaces and declarations of war, unless he returned to the ships. *Aguilar* was directed to advance in one of the boats, with proper proposals; but he soon returned with an account, that the *Indians* were obstinate in their resolution to defend the mouth of the river, and had even insolently refused to hearken to his proposals. *Herrera*, indeed,^c gives an invidious turn to *Cortez's* behaviour on this occasion, by affirming, that the *Indians* only opposed his landing in a hostile manner, and that they supplied him plentifully with provisions; which is denied by *De Solis*, whose relation is corroborated by the testimony of *Diaz del Castillo*, who was present in the expedition. According to *De Solis*, *Cortez* was averse to a war, because it could bring him no advantage, and must necessarily retard his voyage; but perceiving that he was now engaged in altercation, he thought it might hurt him in the opinion of the soldiers, if he suffered the insolence of the barbarians to pass unpunished. However, after making all the necessary preparations for forcing the enemy, he sent *Aguilar* a second time, with proposals and assurances, that he had nothing in view but friendly intentions and the mutual advantage of both parties, which were answered by a signal to attack. *Cortez* had drawn up his fleet of boats in the form of a crescent, towards which the *Indians* advanced with the power of the current; and when they were within a proper distance, poured such a flight of arrows, as greatly embarrassed the *Spaniards* to ward off, even with the best of their shields and cotton cloths; but having sustained the first charge, they returned it with a vigour which astonished and broke the *Indians*, the canoes retiring with great precipitation, and leaving a free passage for the boats to advance. Many were so terrified with the smoke, fire, and noise of the musquetry, and with the death of their companions, that, imagining the heavens were falling, they plunged into the water. In consequence of this advantage, the boats put to shore, and the troops began to debark in a situation so inconvenient, that the *Indians* recovered their spirits, and renewed the attack, while the *Spaniards* were almost entirely engaged in disentangling themselves from bushes, briars, and marshes, in which they sunk to the knees. The flights of arrows shot by the *Indians* increased the difficulty, and rendered the circumstances of *Cortez* extremely critical; however, his valour and conduct at last triumphed. By his voice and example he animated his men, and without ceasing to maintain his fire, drew up one line, which supported the attack until the rest were formed in battalia, and in a condition to cover the debarkation of the remainder of an hundred men, under *Alonso d'Avila*, to attack the town of *Tabasco*; and as soon as the landing was completed, he fell upon the incredible multitude of his enemies with such impetuosity and address, that they yielded to the shock, allowed him to pass the marshes unmolested, and concealed themselves in bushes and thickets. The party under *D'Avila* had likewise given them the alarm, and contributed to their defeat, as appeared by the swarms who pursued him, and flew to the defence of the city, upon which they imagined he had designs. This furnished *Cortez* with an opportunity of advancing, without fear, to the assistance of the detachment, which he performed with such celerity, that he arrived at *Tabasco* before *D'Avila*, and having joined that officer, gave immediate orders for an assault, before the *Indians* should have time to recover from their panic, or to reassemble their scattered troops. "Let us follow the victory, cried he, before these barbarians forget their custom of flying before us, or our delay give them time to recollect themselves, and recal their scattered spirits." Saying this he drew his sword, and led the attack. The town was fortified with long stakes, fixed deep in the ground, in the manner of pallisadoes, and so joined, that the *Indians* had room to discharge their arrows at certain intervals. It had no out-works; but at the joining of the circle, the extremity of one line covered the opening in the other, and

a and composed a narrow serpentine street, resembling a spiral line, defended by little wooden towers at the entrances. This was an extreme commodious defence against such arms as were used by the *Indians*; and it greatly embarrassed the *Spaniards* too, though it was not proof against artillery, and the refinements in the military art made by *European* nations. Yet no difficulties could resist the ardor of the *Spaniards*; they gained the foot of the rampart under a cloud of arrows that darkened the sky, and kept up so perpetual a fire through the intervals, that the *Indians* deserting their posts, gave the soldiers an opportunity of cutting open a passage in the wall and pursuing to the very heart of the town, where the *Indians* used their last efforts; but after a short resistance were defeated and dispersed, *Tabasco* being yielded as the reward of the conquerors. Nor would *Cortez* pursue them into the woods, that he might give his army time to recover from their fatigue, and the enemy an opportunity of suing for peace. In this action fourteen *Spaniards* were wounded, but none slain; whereas the slaughter of the enemy was considerable, and their wounded supposed to be still more numerous, though they carried them off; it being a point of honour with the *Indians*, not to suffer those who have been maimed in action to fall into the hands of the enemy. However, the reduction of *Tabasco* was of no other value than that it furnished the troops with abundance of provision, the *Indians* having removed their families, and most valuable effects, before the assault commenced (B).

Reduces the capital, and defeats the Indians in divers engagements.

c THIS night the *Spaniards* took up their quarters in three temples, situated near that part of the town where they last engaged; and *Cortez* kept as strict watch as if he had experienced veterans to deal with, and a general who knew how to profit by every opportunity. Next day the country appeared deserted, and round the whole circle of the horizon not a single human figure appeared. The adjacent woods were searched, and found to be equally solitary and abandoned; yet *Cortez*, apprehensive of some stratagem, did not think it advisable to discontinue his usual caution. The very extraordinary silence that reigned over the whole country raised his suspicions, which were farther confirmed by the desertion of *Melchior*, the *Indian*, whom he carried with him to serve for an interpreter. In this uncertainty he detached *Alvarado* and *Francisco de Lugo*, each with an hundred men, to examine the country more narrowly, with directions, if they found an army in the field, to return with all expedition to their quarters, in order to avoid engaging with unequal numbers. d After little more than an hour's march, *de Lugo* was surrounded by a multitude of *Indians*, who attacked him on all sides with so much fury, that he was forced to draw up his men in a square, presenting a point every way; but as the enemy were continually increasing, he must, in the end, have sunk under the weight of numbers, had not *Alvarado*, upon hearing the noise of fire-arms, come seasonably to his relief. *Alvarado* fell upon the rear of the *Indians* with great impetuosity; and they, surprised at this sudden assault, soon opened him a passage to *de Lugo*, and retreated. Still, however, there was a numerous body that opposed the retreat of the *Spaniards* to their quarters, as they had been ordered. Taking breath, therefore, they then attacked the enemy with so much resolution, that they broke their way through, although continually exposed to their arrows, and sometimes e almost borne down with numbers. Whenever the *Spaniards* faced about, the *Indians* retreated; and the moment they saw the soldiers again begin their march, renewed their attack with the same astonishing celerity. At last *Cortez*, who had been advertised of *Lugo's* distress by a *Cuba Indian* dispatched by *Alvarado*, came up with the remainder of the forces; and he was no sooner discovered by the enemy, than they halted, giving the two captains leisure to join the main body. They divided into small parties, yet still maintained a hostile appearance; though *Cortez*, not caring to waste his strength in skirmishes, retreated to his quarters, to take care of the wounded, of whom there were eleven; a number of great importance, considering the slender strength of the whole army. Upon examining the prisoners who were taken upon this occasion, it was found, that the *Indians* grounded f their obstinacy upon the assurances of the deserter *Melchior*, that the *Spaniards* were but a handful, that they were not immortal, and that their fire-arms, which they mistook for thunder, were less dreadful than they imagined. It was upon the strength of his asseverations they had ventured to attack *de Lugo*; and *Cortez* afterwards learned that the barbarians, whom *Melchior* had persuaded to take arms, having a second time failed in their attempt, revenged themselves on the adviser of the war, by sacrificing him to their idols. The prisoners also related, that all the caziques of the adjacent provinces were summoned to the assistance of the lord of *Tabasco*, and that next day a very powerful army was to be assembled, of which the body which fell upon *Lugo* was only a small detachment.

(B) In the recital of this affair, *Herrera* differs, as usual, from *De Solis*, not only in the particulars of the action, but with respect to the conduct of *Cortez*. If we may credit him, the *Spanish* hero behaved treacherously, surprising *Tabasco* while he was treating of peace with the *Indians*: but he seems either to be prejudiced against *Cortez*, or at least to have borrowed his relation from the enemies of that extraordinary personage. Dec. ii. lib. ii. c. iv.

Upon this intelligence *Cortez* called a council of his principal officers. He laid before them the difficulties in which they were engaged, the preparations of the *Indians* to destroy them, and the inequality of their own number; concealing nothing from them of what the prisoners had declared. He then expatiated upon the glory of overcoming such multitudes, their own experience and valour, the nakedness and simplicity of their enemies; but, above all, he insisted upon the ill-consequence that might flow from discovering any symptoms of fear at the menaces of those barbarians, the report of whose triumph might spread as far as *Mexico*, to the great prejudice of their reputation; a matter of the last importance, as they must expect to conquer that vast empire more by reputation of invincible valour than by dint of arms. In his opinion, therefore, they ought either to abandon all thoughts of the enterprize against *New Spain*, or proceed no farther till they had established peace with the *Tabascans* upon the most honourable conditions, or wholly subdued the province. This, however, he urged was only his own opinion, which he would willingly submit to the sentiments of the council. There appeared so much modesty, discretion, and good sense in the general's speech, that all unanimously agreed, it was then impossible to quit their present situation until they had chastised or conquered the inhabitants, without giving the natives unfavourable impressions, which might blast all their future projects. This resolution justified *Cortez* in his measures; and he accordingly proceeded to make the necessary preparations for giving the enemy a warm reception next morning. The wounded were carried on board, the horses landed, the artillery got in readiness, and such spirits were infused into the troops, as presaged a happy issue to the expected engagement. Committing the infantry to the care of *Diego de Ordaz*, *Cortez* marched with the few horse in his army in the front, keeping pace with his artillery, which moved heavily and with great difficulty, because the ground was boggy and uneven. In the morning, mass was performed with great devotion; a religious ceremony which *Cortez* never omitted, from a conviction that piety, instead of invigorating, inspired resolution and valour, by rendering the soldiers less afraid of the terrors of death. He advanced to the place where, according to the information of the prisoners, the enemies forces were to assemble. This was at the distance of two miles from his quarters; but perceiving not the vestige of a human creature, he proceeded a mile further, to a place called *Cintla*, and there discovered at a distance the most numerous army he had ever beheld, stretching so far from right to left, that the eye could not take in both extremities. Their weapons were bows and arrows, the bow-strings being made of the tendons of beasts, or twisted thongs of deer-skin, and their arrows armed with bones ground sharp, or pointed fish-bones; for the *Indians* were all unacquainted with the use of iron. They used also long darts, which they managed according to occasions, either as a pike or javelin. Their swords were so long and heavy, that they were wielded by both hands, made of wood, and edged with flints, as we have elsewhere mentioned of the natives of *Yucatan*. Some had large clubs, pointed with flints, and great numbers used slings, with which they threw stones with amazing strength and dexterity; but the slingers formed a separate corps, detached from the main army. As to defensive arms, which were only wore by commanders and persons of distinction, they consisted of quilted cotton armour, breast-plates and shields of wood or tortoise-shell, adorned with plates of gold or copper. All painted their faces in the day of action in the most frightful manner, with design to render themselves terrible, as *Tacitus* remarks of a certain people in *Germany*; observing, that an impression in the eye is the first step to victory; or, in his concise manner, *Nam primi in omnibus præliis oculi vincuntur*. Their heads were adorned with high plumes of feathers, which made them look taller, and gave them a very martial appearance. To animate the men, they had different kinds of unusual warlike instruments, with which they likewise made signals for attacking, and sounded retreats; such as flutes made of cane, large shells, and a kind of drums made out of the trunks of trees, and so hollowed, as to yield a very harsh disagreeable sound upon being beat with a stick. The *Indians* had scarce any order of battle, except that a corps for the relief of the main army was always reserved. This was the only precaution taken, there being neither lines formed, divisions made, nor posts assigned. Every man fought where he thought proper, and the whole engaged in such a tumultuous manner, that they run down each other, and frequently sunk under their own weight and disorder. Their first onsets were furious, and accompanied with cries, intended for the double purpose of animating themselves and dispiriting the enemy. The troops of every province were led by their proper cazique; and although there was a kind of subordination established, it was generally laid aside in battle, every man relying chiefly upon the strength of his own arm, his valour, and address.

Indian weapons, and manner of fighting.

Such was the army that rushed like an inundation upon the *Spaniards*, and seemed to cover the whole face of the country. Their attack began upon the foot, while *Cortez* had been taking post on an eminence, where his fifteen horse and the artillery could do most execution,

a execution, by playing upon the enemy's flank, and sweeping off crouds at a single discharge. The *Indians* first shot their arrows, and then closed in with so much impetuosity, that the *Spaniards* not being able to attack them with their fire-arms and cross-bows, had recourse to their swords, while the cannon made dreadful slaughter from the eminence, destroying whole companies as they pushed on in crouds. Yet were the *Indians* so obstinate, that, instead of retreating, they threw handfuls of dust in the air to conceal their slain, and advanced with redoubled fury, insomuch that *Diego de Ordaz*, who commanded the infantry, and behaved with the utmost gallantry, must have yielded to the infinite superiority of numbers, had not *Cortez* seasonably fallen upon the rear of the enemy with his horse, breaking through the thickest crouds, flashing with his sword, and trampling under the feet of his horses those naked wretches, who were seized with a panic upon the first appearance of so extraordinary an animal; taking the horse and rider for the same creature, agreeable to the poetical idea the ancients entertained of the *Centaur*. *Diego* observing the disorder and panic of the enemy, called forth all his strength, and pressed in with so much vigour, that this vast multitude fluctuated like the rolling of the sea from the van to the rear, and at last broke and dispersed, leaving eight hundred slain upon the field, a multitude of wounded, whom they were not able to carry off, and more prisoners than the *Spaniards* thought proper to seize, contenting themselves only with a few to set a negotiation of peace on foot, and demonstrate to their countrymen, from the usage they received, that the *Spaniards* harboured no unfriendly designs against the *Tabascans*. Of the *Spaniards*, two soldiers were killed, and seventy wounded, but not dangerously. Upon the whole, this was the greatest victory ever obtained by the *Spaniards* in *America*; and the more extraordinary, as it was gained by a handful of men over an army of forty thousand barbarians, ignorant, indeed, of the art of war, but extremely obstinate and brave. It justly raised the reputation of *Cortez*, who during the action displayed courage, sagacity, address, activity, and every other quality of a great commander. In a word, the defeat of such a multitude of *Indians* appeared so extraordinary, that the writers of those days thought they must have recourse to a miracle to gain belief, and therefore relate, that *St. James* the apostle appeared mounted upon a white horse, and fought desperately for the *Spaniards*.

d NEXT day after the battle, *Cortez* ordered the prisoners to be brought before him, among whom were some persons of distinction. They discovered in their faces symptoms of the strongest fear, imagining they were to be sacrificed to the gods, agreeable to the inhuman practice of their own country. How great then was their surprise to find themselves treated with the utmost respect, and set at liberty, with presents, as if they had actually done some extraordinary service to *Cortez*, who told them, "that he knew how to forgive as well
e "as to conquer." The humanity shewn upon this occasion soon appeared to be true policy; for a few hours after the prisoners had been released, crouds of *Indians* came to the *Spanish* quarters, laden with wheat, fowls, and other provisions, designing thereby to facilitate that negotiation which the cazique of *Tabasco* was trying to establish. Next day an embassy came with proposals of peace; but *Cortez* refused giving audience, because he was informed by *Aguilar*, that the persons employed in this commission were of the meaner sort; whereas it was customary with the *Indians* to send men of figure and distinction upon embassies. He bid the interpreter acquaint the *Indians*, "That if their cazique was desirous
f "of his friendship, he must solicit it with more respect and decency:" believing that punctilio was necessary, and a scrupulous regard to his own dignity essential to keep up that exalted idea of his person and character, with which he had endeavoured to inspire the *Indians*. It appeared in the sequel that *Cortez* was right in his judgment. Strangers estimate men in proportion to the value they put on themselves. The cazique apologized for his error, and repaired it by sending thirty persons of better quality, adorned with plumes of feathers and jewels, and followed by a numerous train, with presents of all manner of provision, who solicited an audience with great formality: *Cortez* granted their request, and, attended by all his principal officers, received them with great state and gravity. The ambassadors advanced with profound submission; and having perfumed *Cortez* with burnt *gum anime*, a resin exuding from the tree called *Jetaiba*, and other fragrant scents, they delivered their instructions, apologized for the last attack, expressed the cazique's great regard for *Cortez*, and intreated that a peace might be granted upon such terms as the *Spanish* general should think proper. *Cortez*, after representing to them the imprudence of the cazique's conduct, the vanity of all attempts to oppose the *Spaniards* by force of arms, the mutual benefit which would result from a friendly intercourse, and his sincere desire to cultivate the esteem of the *Tabascans*, granted their request, and, after making some presents of bits of glass, beads, and other trifles, dismissed the embassy, highly delighted with the success of their commission, and filled with sentiments of the deepest veneration for *Cortez*, whom they deemed little inferior to a divinity. On the day following the cazique in person, at-

tended by a numerous train, honoured the *Spaniards* with a visit, and made him several presents of pieces of fine cotton, beautiful plumes of feathers, and some plates of low gold, more valuable for the workmanship than for the metal. He was much caressed by *Cortez*, and the visit passed in ceremonies, compliments, and protestations of reciprocal friendship, all transacted by means of the interpreter *Jerom de Aguilar*. All the persons of quality in the *cazique's* retinue were treated with similar respect by the *Spanish* captains, and nothing appeared but signs of peace and joy, which they expressed by their countenances and embraces, to supply the want of language. When the *cazique* took his leave, he gave *Cortez* a proof of his sincerity, by ordering all his subjects to return with their families to *Tabasco*, and use their utmost endeavours to prove serviceable to the strangers, and accommodate them with whatever they required. Some other testimonies of mutual regard passed, and the *cazique* made *Cortez* a present of twenty women skilled in dressing meat and baking bread of *Indian* wheat, among whom was one of superior quality and beauty; who was afterwards baptized by the name of *Marina*, and proved highly serviceable to the *Spaniards* in the course of the conquest (C).

Cortez leaves Tabasco, and arrives at St. Juan d'Ulva in Mexico.

AFTER this *Cortez* embarked his troops, the pilots pressing his departure, and set sail on the *Monday* succeeding *Palm-Sunday*, following the coast to the westward, and arriving in a few days at *St. Juan d'Ulva*, where two canoes, called in that country *Piraguas*, filled with men, came out to visit the fleet. The *Indians* spoke a language which *Aguilar* did not understand; but fortunately *Donna Marina* was no stranger to their tongue, and she told the interpreter that those *Indians* spoke *Mexican*, and desired audience of the general in the name of the governor of that province. *Cortez* ordered them to be brought on board, and admitted to his presence; when they acquainted him, "that *Pilpatoe* and *Teutile*, the one governor, and the other captain-general of their province for the great emperor *Moteczuma*, had sent them to enquire with what design the commander of that fleet came upon the coast, and to offer him what succour and assistance might be requisite to enable him to continue his voyage." They were respectfully received by *Cortez*, who presented them with some baubles, and then replied, "That he came in a friendly manner to treat of some affairs of the last importance to their prince and all his empire; for which purpose he desired an interview with the two governors, and hoped he should meet with the same hospitable treatment shewn to some of his countrymen the year before." *Cortez* then inquired minutely concerning the grandeur and wealth of *Moteczuma*, the extent of his dominions and form of his government; and having obtained all the satisfaction it was in the power of the *Indian* ambassadors to give him, he dismissed them, extremely pleased with their reception. Next day he landed with several companies of soldiers, and ordered the horses and artillery to be forthwith brought ashore, intending to fortify a camp in case of a sudden attack. Fascines were cut for making entrenchments, and barracks built to shade the soldiers from the intenseness of the sun's beams; while the cannon were so disposed as to command all the surrounding country.

His transactions with the Mexican governors.

TEUTILE received *Cortez's* message with great marks of respect, and immediately sent a detachment of *Indians* to assist the strangers in their work, and supply them with all manner of provision, by which means the *Spanish* soldiers were soon under cover in commodious habitations, very ingeniously wove with the boughs of trees, and covered with palm-leaves, by the *Mexicans*. It was reported by the *Mexican* workmen, that general *Teutile* was at the head of a considerable body of forces, with which he had been employed in establishing the emperor's authority in some parts of this province lately conquered, and that *Pilpatoe* was supreme civil magistrate: however it was perceived, notwithstanding all the external appearances of hospitality, that the great care taken to supply the *Spaniards* with necessaries, and to oblige by every possible method, was not unmixed with selfish considerations, artifice and fear, supposed to arise from the report of their success at *Tabasco*. The forces of this province were inferior in number to those lately defeated; it was therefore the policy of the governors to have recourse to civilities, in order to oblige where they were sensible they could not resist. In a few days the two governors came with a magnificent attendance to

(C) As we may find frequent occasion to mention this lady in the course of our relation, it will not be improper to make the reader acquainted with her parentage and adventures. According to *Antonio de Solis* she was daughter to the *cazique* of *Guazawalea*, a province of the kingdom of *Mexico*, bordering upon that of *Tabasco*. By an accident which is variously related, she was carried away in her youth to *Xicatongo*, a strong place on the frontiers of *Yucatan*, kept by a *Mexican* garrison. There she was bred in a poor method, ill suited to her birth, until by a fresh accident,

either by sale or captivity, she became the property of the *cazique* of *Tabasco*, who presented her to *Cortez*. Of course she understood not only the *Mexican*, but *Yucatan* language, and thereby proved highly useful as a check upon *Aguilar*. Besides, she soon acquired the *Spanish* tongue, and indeed distinguished an admirable quickness in attaining languages. The account of this lady given by *Herrera* is somewhat contradictory to the above; but we chuse to follow *de Solis*, who has copied *Diaz Castillo*, an eye-witness of all that had been transacted in *Mexico* (1).

- a visit *Cortez*; and he received them with equal state in the midst of his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being over, *Cortez* desired the interpreters to acquaint the governors, that, before he informed them of the motives of his voyage, he must comply with the duties of his religion, and recommend to the God of all other gods the success of his proposition; upon which the *Indian* chiefs were conducted into a part of the barracks where an altar and cross had been erected, and which had been reserved for the purposes of a chapel. Here mass was celebrated, the *Indians* gazing and listening with an air of astonishment and devotion. When divine service was concluded, the governors were conducted to the general's quarters, where they were entertained with all the abundance and pomp which circumstances would admit. The repast being over, he told them in a firm tone of voice, by his interpreters, "That he came hither to treat with the great emperor *Moteczuma*, on the part of *Don Carlos* of *Austria*, monarch of the East, concerning affairs of great importance, not only to his own person and condition, but likewise to the welfare of all his subjects; for executing which it was absolutely necessary for him to appear before his royal presence; to which he hoped he might be admitted with all the civility and respect due to the greatness of the king his master." This request produced an extraordinary effect upon the governors; they changed colour, and seemed extremely concerned; but before they returned an answer, *Teutile* ordered a present which he had provided to be brought in, and immediately twenty or thirty *Indians* appeared laden with provisions, fine cloaths, beautiful feathers, and a great box, in which were several pieces of gold plate curiously wrought. This present he delivered with a good grace; and perceiving it was well received, he ventured upon making the following reply. "That the small present now offered was made by two slaves of the great *Moteczuma*, who had given orders to entertain such strangers as might appear upon his coasts with the utmost civility;" adding, "that *Cortez* must immediately think of pursuing his voyage, it being no easy matter to speak with the emperor; and that they hoped he would regard as an obligation their having thus undeceived him, before he had lost time, and been taught by experience of the difficulty of his pretensions." This answer was such as *Cortez* expected from the hesitation of the governors; to whom he ordered the interpreters to declare, "That sovereigns never refused audience to the ambassadors of other princes; neither could their ministers, without very positive orders, take upon themselves to oppose so reasonable a demand: That it was their business in this case to acquaint *Moteczuma* with his arrival, for which he was willing to allow the time necessary for the going and return of a courier; but he insisted upon their informing the emperor, that he came fully resolved to gain admittance into his royal presence, and positively determined not to leave his country with dishonour to the monarch who had entrusted him with his commands." The governors seemed to be confounded with so bold a determination; but instead of opposing it, they contented themselves with intreating the general not to move from his present quarters until the return of a courier from the emperor, offering to supply him with whatever might be necessary for the maintenance and convenience of his army.
- c ALL this while it was observed, that some painters, who had come in the train of the *Mexican* chiefs, were deeply engaged in painting the ships, soldiers, arms, artillery, and every other peculiarity of the *Spanish* camp, upon cotton cloths prepared for the occasion. *Diaz de Castillo* affirms, that all the different objects were distinguished in landscapes ingeniously disposed, and that all the portraits of the principal officers strikingly resembled the originals. To render the pieces more intelligible, and point out particulars, certain characters were placed over certain figures, to explain their signification; whence it may be inferred, that although the *Mexicans* could not convey all their ideas without the aid of painting, and having recourse to the images of material things, yet they were not wholly unacquainted with the use of letters, and the signs and elements, invented by other nations as types of their ideas. The characters set over the images prove that something was meant to be explained; whence in our opinion it necessarily follows, that the *Mexicans* were in some measure possessed of the art of carrying on an intercourse by arbitrary signs, which had no immediate relation to their sentiments. *Teutile* had given orders to have these pictures drawn for the emperor's better information; nor did *Cortez* oppose it: on the contrary, he went to see the artists at work, greatly admired their ingenuity, and exercised his men, to impart, as he said, greater life and vigour to the painting. He ordered his soldiers to their arms, mounted his horse with his captains, and began a sham battle, which was matter of equal admiration and pleasure to the *Indians*. The regular evolutions of the soldiers, and docile spirit and ferocity of the horses; the fire, smoke, and thunder of the musquetry, and the tremendous roaring of the cannon, produced such an effect upon the barbarians, that some fell down upon the ground with fear and astonishment, others fled with great velocity, and those of more courage and presence of mind seemed wrapped up in silent wonder, not devoid of terror and trepidation. However, they were encouraged by

Insists upon an interview with *Moteczuma*.

Ingenuity of the *Mexican* painters.

by the assurances of the general, that these were only military diversions, designed to make arms appear the more terrible where they produced such effects even when used for entertainment; and the painters again fell to work, inventing new figures and characters to supply what was wanting in their former descriptions. Some delineated the *Spaniards* in arms, drawn up in form, and performing the several evolutions; others painted the horses in their exercise and motion with astonishing exactness and strength of colouring. The artillery was represented by fire and smoke, and even some idea of the thunder conveyed by the similitude of lightning, and a kind of undulating tremulous appearance of the surrounding objects, that discovered great execution and invention in these barbarous artists. *Castillo* is extremely minute in his description of these historical paintings, but he is charged by *de Solis* with running into hyperbole; for which reason we shall avoid transcribing all the curious observations he makes upon this subject; and only relate, that, when the painting was completed, *Cortez* presented the governors with some small *Spanish* jewels, and several other curiosities, which he desired might be sent as a testimony of his esteem and reverence for *Moteczuma*.

Moteczuma sends a present to Cortez, but declines the interview.

Cortez perseveres in his resolution.

WHEN the couriers set out with these dispatches, the governors took their leave, and halted with their retinues at a small distance from the *Spanish* quarters, to consult upon the necessary measures until the return of the emperor's commands. In consequence *Pilpatoe* pitched his camp in a convenient spot of ground for observing the motions of the *Spaniards*, under pretence that he was desirous of superintending the services of his people, and providing all the requisites for the due entertainment of *Cortez* and his army; a piece of dissimulation at which *Cortez* found it necessary to connive, that his troops might not be disappointed of provision. In seven days *Moteczuma's* answer came, and was brought to *Cortez* by *Teutile*; though *Castillo*, and after him *Herrera*, alledge, that a splendid embassy, consisting of an hundred noblemen, was dispatched by *Moteczuma*; a thing impossible in so short a time, as is agreed upon by all writers. It is certain that the emperor sent a rich present, which loaded the shoulders of an hundred *Indians*, and was composed of various kinds of fine cotton robes of elegant manufactures; plumes of feathers, mixed and disposed with so much taste, that, without the assistance of artificial colours or the pencil, they formed ingenious pictures in imitation of nature; a great number of bows, arrows, and targets of curious materials and workmanship; two large plates of a circular form, the one of gold, finely embossed, representing the sun, and the other of silver, representing the moon; a considerable quantity of jewels, pieces of gold, precious stones, gold collars, and pendants adorned with emeralds and rich pearls; bits of gold, imitating the appearance of frogs and insects; grains of virgin gold as they came from the mines, of extraordinary sizes; and other ornaments of greater value, which excited astonishment in the *Spaniards* at the immense wealth of this empire, and the genius of a people whom they regarded as barbarous. Having dazzled the eyes of the *Spaniards* with the splendour of this invaluable present, *Teutile* desired the interpreters to acquaint *Cortez*, "that the great emperor *Moteczuma* sent him these trifles in return for his present, and as a proof of the friendship he entertained for the king his master; but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it indeed possible at that time, to grant his request of passing to the court of *Mexico*." And *Teutile* endeavoured to palliate this refusal, by urging the badness of the roads, the variety of savage nations who would take arms and obstruct his journey, and the present posture of the empire, with a multitude of other difficulties, which were evidently feigned only to conceal some deeper motive of the emperor's conduct. But *Cortez*, who was not to be diverted from his designs by specious pretexts, answered *Teutile*, after returning his acknowledgments for the emperor's magnificent present, "That it was not his intention to be wanting in respect or obedience to *Moteczuma*; but that he would not return with dishonour to his prince, or forbear persisting in his request with all the earnestness due to the reputation of a crown, honoured and respected by the greatest sovereigns in the world." Upon this point he expatiated with so much zeal, heat, and eloquence, that the *Indians*, afraid to disoblige if he persisted in the emperor's commands, only replied, that he would importune *Moteczuma* a second time, and exert his utmost influence to gain a point in which the general imagined his honour was concerned. Accordingly couriers were again dispatched, with a present to the emperor more valuable than the former, *Cortez* acquainting the *Indian* chief, that he would expect the emperor's answer, without stirring from his present station; though he should be very much concerned if his imperial majesty's delay should oblige him to go nearer the court, for the greater conveniency of soliciting his request.

As soon as the *Spaniards* discharged this business, they found leisure to examine *Moteczuma's* present with more accuracy, and their reasonings and inferences upon it were very different. Some estimated the emperor's power by this proof of his wealth, and thence drew unfavourable presages concerning the event of the expedition; while others promised themselves the greatest advantages, and anticipated in imagination the prodigious riches they

- a they must acquire from the conquest of such a country, and the pillaging of a capital so replete with treasure. A few scrupled not to tax *Cortez* with rashness, for attempting with a handful of men to subdue so powerful a monarch; but the majority admired his valour and constancy, regarding the downfall of *Mexico* as certain, and their own fortunes and fortunes, by interposing his authority; but he thought it necessary to divert the attention of his soldiers from inquiring minutely into his conduct, by keeping them in constant employment and exercise; for which purpose he dispatched *Montejo* with two vessels to run along the coast for a more commodious harbour for the shipping, and station for the camp, under pretence that the ships were greatly exposed to the north winds, and the soldiers b tortured with musquitos, and scorched with the sun-beams, whose heat was doubled by reflection in a sandy gravelly soil. The rest of the men he kept in constant employment, either by military exercises, cleaning their arms, and preparing such materials as he imagined might prove useful in the progress of his designs.

MEAN time the whole court of *Moteczuma* was thrown into confusion and perplexity by the repeated instances of *Cortez*, and the firmness with which he insisted upon an interview with the emperor. In the first transports of his fury, *Moteczuma* declared he would sacrifice all the strangers to his vengeance, for presuming to dispute his will; but on cooler reflection his courage sunk, and his anger yielded to fear, grief, and despair. The account which the paintings gave of the fire, thunder, and horses of the *Spaniards*, inspired c him equally with astonishment and terror. All his ministers and relations were summoned to attend the council, and public sacrifices were made in the temples, which immediately diffused a tremor over the whole empire. The superstition of the people greatly contributed to extend the consternation more rapidly and universally. Several prodigies, or rather natural phenomena, which their ignorance construed into dreadful omens, were said to have appeared about this time, and occasioned a general despondence. One was a comet of extraordinary lustre, that resembled a pyramid, and vanished at sun rise. Another was a kind of meteor, or exhalation, which was converted into the figure of a fiery serpent with three heads, that rose in the West about mid-day, and run swiftly until it was lost in the clouds. One of the *Mexican* temples caught fire, by what means could never be heard, d and was entirely consumed in despite of all the assistance which could be furnished. The very stones were supposed to burn, and liquify in a manner deemed altogether supernatural. The great *Mexican* lake overflowed its banks without any visible cause, with a kind of bubbling, resembling boiling water; but no uncommon heat was perceived. Many affirmed that they heard lamentable voices in the clouds, which predicted the overthrow of the monarchy; and the priests cherished the superstitious fear of the people, by making the idols utter such oracles as best suited their purposes (D). Portentous signs like these, occurring just at the period when a foreign invasion happened, had such an effect on the spirit of *Moteczuma* and his council, that, on the arrival of the second message from *Cortez*, they e gave all up for lost, and regarded the empire as already doomed to destruction, though the most powerful in the new world. They deliberated, debated, and consulted, but always broke up with divided sentiments. Some were for opposing the strangers by force of arms, interpreting the omens as warnings to resist the impending danger; while others out of fear extolled the valour of the *Spaniards*, the force of their arms, the irresistible strength of their horses, and the terror of their lightning, of which the *Tabascans* had fatal experience. Between these opinions *Moteczuma* at length determined to steer a middle course, chusing not to offend *Cortez* either by a direct attack, or to acknowledge his own perturbation, by admitting him to his presence. He therefore sent him another present, and at the same time commanded him immediately to quit his dominions, hoping by this means either to engage or to terrify him into obedience, determining, if neither succeeded, f ed, to raise a powerful army, that there should be no cause to apprehend the same ill fortune that attended the spirited endeavours of the *Tabascans*: nor were these hopes presumptuous, considering the wealth and power of this great monarch.

The court of Mexico in great consternation.

Another present sent to Cortez.

At this period the empire of *Mexico* was in the zenith of its glory, having under its dominion almost all the provinces which had been discovered in *North America*, governed either immediately by *Moteczuma*, or by caziques, governors, viceroys, or tributary princes, all of whom acknowledged his sovereignty. In length it extended five hundred leagues from East to West, and near two hundred in breadth from South to North, containing

(D) *Antonio de Solis*, in despite of his natural good sense, appears not only to give credit to some prodigies that have all the appearance of fable, but attributes them to the cunning and address of the devil. It would furnish but little entertainment to a sensible reader to transcribe the great variety of omens related by all the

Spanish writers, some of which may be explained from physical principles, and others charged upon the ignorance of the people, the policy of certain ambitious individuals, or to the frauds of the priests, or the credulity of the *Spaniards*.

Account of
Motezuma's
parentage and
character.

within this compass some of the most fruitful, populous, and wealthy provinces in the world. It grew from small beginnings to this height of power in little more than the space of 130 years, though the foundation and progress of the monarchy are not well known, and depend chiefly on the fabulous tradition of the inhabitants (E). In general, it is supposed, that the *Mexicans*, who are naturally a warlike people, were gradually extending their sovereignty by force of arms over the adjacent nations. At first they were governed by a prince of a warlike disposition, who inured them to arms, implanted in their breasts a sense of military honour, and inspired them with the desire of making conquests: afterwards they formed themselves into a more regular monarchy, vesting one of their number with the legislative and executive power, and bestowing upon him the title of king. The person upon whom their choice fell was the most celebrated in the country for his valour and strength; for fortitude and bodily powers were the only qualities at that time in esteem among a fierce, martial people. Where merit was equal, they bestowed the crown on the blood-royal; but more regard was paid to courage than hereditary right, which had occasionally been set aside. Bloody wars had been waged for the regal title; but these, instead of ruining the people, served only to extend the boundaries of the empire. At first justice supported the *Mexican* arms, and the efforts made to vindicate their liberty against the oppression of the neighbouring nations proving successful, whetted their ambition, and made them equally desirous of trade and of conquest. Their power gradually encreasing, justice was laid aside, tyranny took place, and the sovereign held in bondage not only the provinces which he had reduced, but all his subjects in general.

SUCH was the situation of *Mexico* at the present juncture. *Motezuma*, a prince of the blood, had distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour during the reign of his predecessor. At his return to court from the wars, he found his reputation so considerable, that he ventured to aspire at the sceptre, and regarded himself as in actual possession of the crown from the moment he first conceived that ambition. This, however, he restrained within the limits of prudence, and instead of attempting to dethrone the reigning monarch, fixed his whole attention upon securing a proper interest against the next election. Policy and cunning were admirably blended with affability, the reputation of valour, and great modesty. He always shewed the greatest obedience and veneration towards the sovereign, as if he was desirous of teaching his fellow-subjects the duty and respect due to so exalted a character, yet with a view of gaining all the influence of the monarch towards rendering his own succession the less difficult. He affected such composure in his discourse and actions, and so much gravity in his countenance, that, before he ascended the throne, the name of *Motezuma* was said to have been extremely characteristic, and expressive of his disposition, as in the *Mexican* language it implies a solid, grave temper, which some writers have translated surly, severe, and cruel. *Motezuma* also obtained the reputation of being extremely religious, an excellent bait for the vulgar, who judge by appearances. To render his piety the more public, he built an apartment in the most frequented temple, to which he retired in sight of the people, to offer up his pretended devotions. In a word, he became so popular, that, on the death of the king his predecessor, he met with scarce any opposition in ascending the throne, to which he was called by almost the universal acclamation of the people; tho' he made a shew of refusing the offered dignity, only that he might be courted to comply with his own desires. No sooner was he possessed of the imperial diadem, than his natural pride broke forth with a violence proportioned to the long restraint imposed on it. The first action by which he manifested the violence offered to his natural disposition while he continued in a private station, was the dismissal all the servants of the court, who were usually composed of the middling class of people and the vulgar; instead of whom *Motezuma* ordered that he should henceforward be served only by the nobility and their children; believing it an indignity to imperial majesty to be approached by plebeians. The meanest employments in the kitchen were now filled by the quality of the country; while *Motezuma* shut himself up in his palace from his people and even his ministers, except on extraordinary occasions, imagining, that like a divinity he should be revered in proportion as he became less familiar to the eyes of mortals. He regarded melancholy and retirement, says *de Solis*, as a part of majesty; and those who were so fortunate as to be admitted into his presence, were forced to pass through such an infinity of ceremonies and prostrations as greatly exceeded the adoration due from one man to another. Fully persuaded that the lives and happiness of his subjects were entirely in his disposal, he exercised horrid barbarities merely to evince his power, and became the terror as well as the idol of his people. Taxes were levied on

(E) At the close of the conquest of *Mexico* by *Cortez*, we propose to treat of the establishment of the monarchy, the ancient inhabitants of the country, the series of princes, the rise and progress of the capital,

together with the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the people, touching only at present upon such points as are necessary to elucidate our narrative.

the

- a the heads of all the *Mexicans*, without regard to the public necessity, and with no other view than to demonstrate that all belonged to the prince; and these were exacted with so much severity, that the poorest beggar was not exempted from bringing something to the treasury, though it perhaps was thrown by the insolent officers in their faces. In such a situation it cannot be expected that loyalty and attachment to the prince were the familiar qualities of the *Mexicans*; on the contrary, they detested *Moteczuma*; but in general their disaffection transpired only in low murmurs, which did not reach the ears of the monarch. A few more remote provinces indeed ventured to rebel, and those of *Mechoacan*, *Tlascala*, and *Tebeaca* had never been conquered; but the vast power of the emperor soon reduced to obedience all those who had ever acknowledged his sovereignty; and as to the three provinces we have specified, *Moteczuma* said it was not politic to conquer them, as he should then be in want of prisoners to sacrifice to the gods.
- b

WHEN the *Spaniards* arrived on his coasts, this prince was in the 14th year of his reign, and every thing as we may see ripe for a revolution, the more easily to be executed as the prince who was the best general in his dominions had declined, from a jealousy of the royal authority, to command his own armies. Some other circumstances likewise contributed to accelerate the ruin of *Moteczuma*, as we shall have occasion to mention; it is here sufficient to observe, that *Cortez* was no sooner acquainted with the character of the prince, the disposition of the people, and the situation of the empire, than he penetrated with a glance of his eye into all the consequences, and now already deemed himself the conqueror of *Mexico*, though we shall see that there were still manifest difficulties to encounter. He was revolving the whole scheme of the revolution, when *Montejo* returned with the ships dispatched to find a better harbour for the shipping, and encampment for the forces, after having coasted a considerable way to the northward, and discovered the town of *Quiabitslan*, situated in a fertile soil, with a fine harbour, and all other conveniencies wanted for the fleet or army. *Cortez* was preparing to remove thither, when *Moteczuma's* answer arrived, or rather command to quit *Mexico*, the harshness of which was softened by some valuable presents. General *Teutile* waited upon him with the usual ceremonies, delivered the orders of the court, and retired before *Cortez* could reply; but was called back, and told, "that one of the principal points of the *Spanish* embassy was to enforce a tenet of the Christian doctrine, to oppose the errors of idolatry, and propagate the true faith and only means of eternal salvation; and that coming over to so remote a country upon a business in which religion and conscience were interested, he could not refrain from continuing his efforts, and persevering in his applications, until he should be favoured with an audience, since he came with pacific motives, as was apparent from his slender retinue, from which no suspicions could arise." Upon these words *Teutile* started up hastily, and told him with an air of confusion and resentment, "that hitherto he had been treated with the utmost kindness by the great *Moteczuma*, and shewn all the civilities required by the sacred laws of hospitality; but he must lay the fault upon his own imprudent obstinacy, if he should henceforward meet with a different behaviour." Having uttered which, he hastily departed, without the ceremony of taking leave, or hearing any reply from *Cortez*; upon which that general, with admirable presence of mind, turned round with a smile to his people, saying, "We shall see the effects of this challenge; already we have had experience of the prowess of the *Mexicans*; and for the most part it is observed that threats are the effects of fear; and these presents from *Moteczuma*, may therefore be regarded as proofs rather of his weakness, than of his generosity."

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IMMEDIATELY *Cortez* gave an order to double the guards in case of an attack, keeping himself the whole night in a posture of defence. In the morning it appeared that all the *Mexicans* had withdrawn themselves, even those persons employed in supplying the camp with provisions, which occasioned some murmurings among the soldiers, that were artfully improved and cherished by the enemies to *Cortez*, and the friends of *Velaquez*. They dropped hints, reflecting upon *Cortez* as rashly ambitious, the absurdity of pretending to maintain himself with a handful of men against the whole force of a potent empire, and the probability that they must all fall sacrifices to his wild projects; insinuating the necessity of returning to *Cuba* to refit the fleet, augment the army, and lay a proper foundation for the greatness of the enterprize; remonstrances to which purpose ought to be made to the general. Intimations of this seditious humour soon came to the ears of *Cortez*; and nothing could be more masterly than the manner in which he stopped all the designs of his enemies, and converted them to his own advantage. He employed his friends to inquire privately into the sentiments of the army in general; and when he learnt that a majority were for seconding his projects and pursuing the enterprize, he suffered himself to be addressed by the malcontents, and even heard with the utmost patience a warm remonstrance from *Diego Ordaz*, insisting upon the necessity of returning to *Cuba*. *Cortez* even carried his dissimulation so far as to seem convinced with the arguments

Mutiny in the Spanish camp quelled by the address of Cortez.

ments offered by *Ordaz*, and in consequence published his declarations for preparing every necessary for the voyage ; and went so far as to reimark great part of the troops : but no sooner was this resolution spread through the army, than a clamour arose among the soldiers, gained by the general's interests, who loudly complained that he had deceived them by promises of wealth and glory, which he was now going to abandon just as the path was made certain. They declared against returning to *Cuba* ; adding, that if *Cortez* had not courage to prosecute the schemes he had projected, he might return with all those that were of the same pusillanimous opinion ; for they could easily find a general. The clamour increased, and was so dexterously managed, that it brought over many who had been persuaded or forced to engage in the contrary faction ; and the more readily, as there was something noble in the resolution of attempting the conquest of an empire, and that success would most assuredly produce immense wealth and eternal glory to the adventurers. At length those who had formerly declared for returning to *Cuba*, were now the most earnest to remain in *Mexico*, inasmuch that the general's friends undertook to speak to *Cortez*, to suspend the execution of his order for sailing. Accordingly, before this ardor cooled, they went attended with a great number of soldiers to the head-quarters, and acquainted the general that his resolution to return had almost occasioned a mutiny among the troops ; they complained of his having relinquished his projects without consulting his officers ; they represented the dishonour of abandoning a great undertaking on the first appearance of difficulty ; they reminded him of the censures incurred by *Grijalva* in a former expedition, for neglecting to make a settlement in the country he had discovered : in a word, they repeated as their own, with the greatest heat and zeal, the very words which *Cortez* had privately dictated ; while he listened with attention, and seemed to be drawn involuntarily into the very measures which he had proposed ; making his apology as if he had been wrongly informed that the army in general expressed a desire of returning to *Cuba*. He now acquainted them that he would stay with the utmost satisfaction, as he found there was a spirit of honour that prevailed in the camp ; but they must know he would not take soldiers against their inclinations, and therefore he would give all those leave to return who had not courage to encounter difficulties in the pursuit of fame and fortune.

No sooner had *Cortez* uttered this resolution, than the air resounded with acclamations ; some were really rejoiced, others put on the appearance of gladness to prevent the infamy of being thought cowards, and none was so hardy as to presume opposing the making a settlement in *Mexico* ; by which means *Cortez* once more reconciled the troops to their duty, and effectually crushed for that time the endeavours of his enemies to ruin his reputation and fortune.

Ambassadors to
Cortez from
Zempoala.

Just as this affair was happily terminated, ambassadors arrived at the camp from the cazique of *Zempoala*, desiring the alliance of *Cortez* and the Spaniards as brave men, the fame of whose magnanimous actions in *Tabasco* had reached his dominions. This was a further inducement to the soldiers to continue firm in their resolution of pursuing the enterprise, and *Cortez* did not fail to improve the circumstance to his own advantage. The *Zempoalan* embassy was received with the utmost civility and respect, and *Cortez* gave the ambassadors to understand, that he accepted with pleasure the proffers of friendship and alliance made by their master ; considering it as a providential event, that these proposals should arrive just as the *Mexicans* had withdrawn themselves, and while his people were on the point of mutinying, as it would establish his authority with the latter, and render him more able to resist the attacks of the former. It augmented his satisfaction when he found that the cazique of *Zempoala* was the declared enemy of *Motezuma*, whose sovereignty he refused to acknowledge, and that his dominions lay in his way to *Quiabitslan*, the town discovered by *Montejo*, to which *Cortez* proposed removing his camp. He also learned from the ambassadors, that *Motezuma* was a cruel tyrant, equally feared and detested by his own subjects ; that several provinces in the neighbourhood of *Zempoala* were ripe to throw off the yoke ; and that the cazique their master, in particular, desired nothing more than an opportunity of cementing a powerful league against the emperor.

HAVING dismissed the *Indian* ministers with presents, and assurances that he would soon pay the cazique a visit, he began forming his people into a regular corporation, and appointing magistrates, as a necessary previous step to his settling a colony, though the troops were to be quartered in the province of *Quiabitslan*. Accordingly he summoned a council of his principal officers, and made the following civil promotions, which we specify, that the reader may be informed of the particular departments executed by the chief persons employed in this expedition. *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco Montejo* were appointed alcaides ; *Alonso d' Avila*, *Pedro* and *Alonso d' Alvarado*, together with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, were constituted regidores ; and *Juan d' Escalante* and *Francisco Alvenez Chico*,

a *Chico*, were raised to the dignities of chief alguazils and procurators-general. Several other inferior officers were likewise made, and all enjoined by a solemn oath to the strict distribution of justice and discharge of their duty. What reasons induced *Cortez* to settle a colony on his present quarters, which were extremely inconvenient on account of the situation, we know not; the *Spanish* historians only relate, that here he began building houses with great diligence, and laying the foundation of the new settlement, to which he gave the name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, taking the first appellation of *Villa Rica* in remembrance of the gold seen in that country, and the latter of *Vera Cruz* from the *Spaniards* having landed there on *Good Friday*, or the *Friday* of the cross (F). Upon the first meeting of the newly-formed council, the general, who appeared in the character of a private person in civil affairs, desired admittance to make a proposal which concerned the public good, and was of the last consequence to the colony. He then informed them of the necessity there was to constitute a general, in order to preserve the obedience of the troops, on whom depended the security of the colony. He told them that he was not unacquainted with the defect in his own authority, as his commission had been revoked by *Velaquez*; he said that to them it belonged to apply the proper remedies, and as they represented the king's person, to enlarge and confirm his powers, if they judged him worthy of that honour, or else to bestow the command on some other person better qualified, to whom he would cheerfully submit for the common service. "I from this moment," added he, "resign all right that may accrue to me from possession, and surrender into your hands the title by which I have held it, that you may deliberate with all possible freedom upon the election. As my whole study is to promote the success of this expedition, I can assure you I can cheerfully, and without offering myself the least violence, take up a pike with the same hand which lays down the truncheon, and act with the same alacrity in the mean capacity of a soldier, as in the important post of a general; for if in war men learn to command by obeying, there are also certain cases in which the having commanded evinces the necessity and propriety of obeying."

Colony of Villa Rica founded.

HAVING said this, he threw upon the table his commission, kissed the truncheon, and delivering it into the hands of the alcaides, retired to his barrack. *Cortez* well knew upon whom the choice would fall, because he had taken his measures before he put matters to the hazard; he therefore gave himself no concern about the deliberations of the council, well knowing they must be favourable to him, and of consequence give him much greater authority with the soldiers who were sensible that at present he held his employment entirely by their courtesy. The event was just what he expected; the council unanimously voted his re-election, and gave him his commission in the king's name, until such time as his majesty's pleasure should be known; and they immediately communicated the new election to the soldiers, either to make trial how far it was agreeable, or else to stamp their own act with the general approbation. The rejoicings were extraordinary, and the council was thanked by the whole body of the army for their judicious proceedings, altho' in fact the whole was concerted by *Cortez*. After which a deputation waited upon the general, to acquaint him with the appointment of the magistrates. From all these circumstances we may collect that *Cortez* was not only a great soldier and able general, but a sound politician, perfectly acquainted with the human heart, and the means of rendering himself respected and honoured.

Cortez establishes his authority among the troops.

HOWEVER there were not wanting some persons, dependants on *Velaquez*, who endeavoured to give an invidious turn to this transaction, taxing *Cortez* with cunning and ambition, invalidating the authority of the council, and sneering at the folly of those who suffered themselves to be deceived by so poor an artifice; but they soon had cause to repent their temerity. *Cortez*, invested with his new authority, determined to apply remedies in time to the seditious humour, which if not speedily checked might poison the whole mass of the soldiers. Instead therefore of having recourse to remonstrances as on former occasions, he resolved to avail himself of his power, and to use rigor where patience might prove ruinous. Accordingly he ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velaquez de Leon*, to be seized, carried on board the fleet, and clapped in irons, which struck their adherents with such terror, that all immediately returned to their obedience. The prisoners he likewise forgave at the intercession of his friends, upon their submission; and by this one well-timed act of severity, not only nipped sedition in the bud, but by his clemency and affability so effectually gained the friendship of the mutineers, that they stuck afterwards to his fortune in the worst extremities, and shewed themselves the bravest soldiers and most faithful friends in his army.

(F) This name may literally be translated *the rich town of the true cross*. Since the building of the town of *Vera Cruz* on the river *Zempoala*, the old settlement has been called only *Villa Rica*.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the Progress of the Spaniards in the Conquest of Mexico, their Wars with the Inhabitants of Tlascala, and afterwards their firm Alliance with that Republick.

CORTEZ having laid the seeds of that colony which was afterwards to spring up with so much vigour, and established his own authority upon the most solid basis that circumstances would permit, now entered upon measures for removing the fleet and army to *Quiabitslan*; for which purpose it was necessary to send a party in search of provision, which grew extremely scarce in the settlement. *Alvarado* was detached with a party for this purpose, and he soon returned with great quantities of *Indian* wheat, fowls, and such other provision as the country afforded, after having penetrated as far as *Cotasta*, without having pillaged a single town or cabin. On his return every thing was disposed for the march of the troops. The fleet set sail, and *Cortez* with the army proceeded by land, taking the road of *Zempoala*, and sending out scouts to examine the country. On his arrival on the frontiers of the province, he found all the houses and villages deserted, which created suspicion that the cazique's overtures of friendship were insincere. Only the temples were left in their former situation, with their idols, instruments for sacrificing, a few mangled limbs of human victims, and certain religious books, made of long skin, or varnished cloths, folded in such a manner that every doubling formed a leaf, and written with that kind of imagery, cyphers, or hieroglyphics, used by the painters of *Tentile*. For the space of two days *Cortez* marched through this suspicious solitude, expecting every moment to be attacked, when he was at last accosted by twelve *Indians* laden with provisions sent as a present by the cazique of *Zempoala*, with a second invitation. This gave him some encouragement to proceed, though it did not entirely efface the doubts which he entertained about the cazique's fidelity: however in the present circumstances a retreat might be attended with bad consequences, by giving the soldiers dreadful ideas of the power of the enemy, or at least a contemptible opinion of their general's courage. On the third day they approached *Zempoala*, and were met by twenty noble *Indians*, who complimented *Cortez* in the cazique's name, and apologized for their master not doing himself the honour of paying his respects. These conducted the *Spaniards* to the town, which was the capital of the province, bearing the same name: the cazique came to the gate to meet *Cortez*, supported, on account of his monstrous grossness, by several noblemen, made them a short and polite compliment; and soon gained the esteem of the *Spanish* soldiers, who at first gave way to their mirth, occasioned by his overgrown size, and ridiculous appearance. After receiving the thanks of the general, he ordered the officers to be shewn their quarters in a large commodious square, in which were many handsome apartments. Those of *Cortez*, in particular, greatly surpassed any thing the *Spaniards* had ever beheld in *America*. But they could engage him to stay only one night, as he was in haste to establish his head-quarters in *Quiabitslan*; however, before his departure, the cazique made him another visit, and to render it the more acceptable, brought a rich present, and had a private conference with *Cortez*, in which he complained of the tyranny of *Moteczuma*, and the desire which many provinces had to throw off their bondage; but that they were biassed by the vast power of the emperor, and not very unanimous among themselves. He intimated his wishes that *Cortez* would assist in recovering the liberties of the *Mexicans*; but said it was not his design to engage him in so difficult an enterprize, by the trifling civilities which it was in his power to bestow; nor would it be consistent with the laws of friendship to sell at so great a price his insignificant services. *Cortez* discovered a mixture of art and generosity in this harangue, which he answered by giving the cazique the highest opinion of the *Spanish* nation and justice; telling him, that he was under an indispensable necessity of proceeding to *Quiabitslan*, where the oppressed and injured might apply for his protection. This he desired the cazique would communicate to his friends, assuring them that *Moteczuma* would cease to tyrannize, while he undertook their defence; a speech favouring strongly of the romantic spirit of chivalry, unless we consider that *Cortez* actually performed all that he promised.

CORTEZ took his leave, extremely satisfied with his reception at *Zempoala*, and the disposition in which he found the cazique; whence he drew presages favourable to his great design. On his arrival at *Quiabitslan* he found the town deserted, though naturally strong; upon which the *Spaniards* took immediate possession. In the temples they found a few priests, whom they gained by presents and civilities, and from these they had notice that cowardice had occasioned the cazique to abandon his town; and that the nobility,

*Arrives at
Zempoala,
and contracts a
friendship with
the cazique.*

- a though more courageous, had been influenced by his example: however, that as soon as they were informed of the friendly intentions of the strangers, they doubted not but they would return to their habitations; which accordingly happened, for on the same night some families ventured to come back, and next day the town was fully inhabited. Not long after the cazique waited upon *Cortez*, and with him the chief of *Zempoala*, who undertook to apologize for his conduct, and the diffidence he had expressed of the *Spaniards*. They voluntarily introduced their complaints of *Moteczuma*, and testified their sincerity by the tears they shed in relating his cruelties, and the bitterness of their resentment. They pathetically represented the misery of the people, and dishonour of the nobility; and the cazique of *Zempoala* added, by way of climax, that, besides raising his wealth out of the calamities of his subjects, *Moteczuma* even invaded their houses, and tore from them their wives and children, staining with their blood the altars of his gods, after having sacrificed them first to purposes more cruel and abominable. Scarce had the cazique finished the recital of his grievances, when three *Indians* came in, with all the marks of horror and surprize in their countenances, and whispered something to the caziques, which made them quit the apartment in great confusion, without the ceremony of taking leave. It was presently known that six of *Moteczuma's* commissaries for collecting his tributes, had entered the town with great retinues, and were then passing before the *Spanish* quarters. It was this which had thrown the caziques into so much disorder, for they trembled at the severity of those officers, dreaded the indignation of *Moteczuma*, and were grown so pusillanimous, by the habit of suffering, that they even respected the rod of tyranny, and prostrated themselves before those scourgers of their liberties. *Cortez* went out with his captains to see the procession, which was a spectacle altogether new to the *Spaniards*. The commissaries were carried in litters on the shoulders of *Indians*, attended by a great number of servants, and inferior officers, who cooled their masters with fans made of beautiful feathers. Their dress was magnificent, being composed of fine plumes, pendants of gold and jewels in their ears, noses and lips, with cotton mantles adorned with gold and precious stones. They passed *Cortez* without paying him any marks of respect; which so irritated the *Spanish* soldiers, that they would have chastised the haughty officers had they not been restrained by the general, and proceeded to the town-house, where they summoned the caziques, and severely reprimanded them for presuming to conduct strangers into their towns, who were enemies to the great *Moteczuma*, and by way of atonement demanded, besides the usual tribute and service, twenty *Indians* to sacrifice to the emperor's gods.
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WHEN notice of this inhuman sentence was brought to *Cortez*, he sent for the caziques in the most private manner, and telling them that he could penetrate into their most secret thoughts, and found they were disposed to yield obedience to the cruel sentence passed by the officers. He therefore charged them not to suffer such abominations, or any longer to comply with the shocking demands of tributes in human blood; but, on the contrary, to assemble their people, seize upon their commissaries, and leave the *Spaniards* to maintain what was done by the advice of their general. The boldness of the order terrified the caziques; at first they positively refused to execute it; but on *Cortez's* repeating his orders, in a resolute tone, they assembled their towns-men, and seized upon the commissaries, to the great joy of the people, who were delighted at this spirited exertion, and the punishment which they expected to see inflicted on those instruments of tyranny and barbarity. It was the intention of the caziques to execute them in the most ignominious manner; but finding that *Cortez* was averse to this, they desired at least to sacrifice them to their gods, as if this was treating the prisoners with very particular lenity. However, to prevent bloodshed, *Cortez* ordered a *Spanish* guard upon the ministers; and as he did not approve entirely of commencing hostilities against *Moteczuma*, nor thought in advisable on the other hand to desert that party of malcontents which was forming, he resolved to keep a middle course, suspend the effects of the resentment shewn by the caziques, and, without deserting his friends, make a merit with the emperor of having saved his officers from the intended punishment. With this view he ordered two of the prisoners to be brought to him with the utmost privacy at midnight; and after receiving them with affability, he told them, that he was studious to save their lives, and restore them to liberty; and as they received their favour solely from his hands, they might assure *Moteczuma*, that he would endeavour to procure the release of the other prisoners, and to convince the caziques of their fault, in refusing obedience to the sacred orders of their prince. As for himself, he was desirous of peace, and of shewing his reverence for so great a prince, by paying the due respect to his ministers and officers. The *Indians* were highly sensible of the obligation; and after returning their thanks, set out under a *Spanish* guard, which saw them safe beyond the frontiers of *Quiabissan*, where they thought themselves out of danger of being retaken by the caziques. But *Cortez* carried his artifice still further.

He seizes upon the Mexican commissaries, and gains great reputation.

ther. Next morning, when the caziques acquainted him, in the utmost horror and confusion, that two of the prisoners had escaped, he pretended to be extremely incensed, and severely reprimanded them for their want of vigilance and circumspection, ordering that the remaining prisoners might be sent aboard the fleet, as if he would charge himself with their imprisonment; by which he not only gained the confidence of the two chiefs, but likewise opened the way to favour with *Moteczuma*, by charging his officers to treat the prisoners with all possible kindnesses.

IN this manner did *Cortez* pursue his schemes with the most refined policy; the good effects of which became immediately apparent. The justice, valour, and affability of the *Spaniards*, were reported through all the neighbouring provinces. The caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabitslan* acquainted all their friends and allies of the happiness they enjoyed under the protection of the strangers, being freed from imposition, and secured in their liberties, by a people equally valiant, just, and generous. It was spread abroad that the gods had come down to *Quiabitslan*, darting lightning at *Moteczuma* for his impiety; and this report gained so much credit that it greatly facilitated the projects formed by *Cortez*. Above thirty caziques from the mountains, the lords of a rustic people called *Totonagues*, paid their respects to the general, offered their troops to assist him in any enterprise, and surrendered themselves wholly to his obedience, swearing fidelity and vassalage to the king of *Spain*. This was an important acquisition, as these caziques ruled over rough warlike nations, the inveterate enemies of *Moteczuma*, and capable, according to *Herrera*, of bringing an hundred thousand men into the field.

Town of Villa Rica founded,

and the blunders of authors corrected.

It was now probably that *Cortez* laid the foundation of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, though we have dated it earlier, upon the authority of the *Spanish* writers, who are by no means consistent in their relation. *Antonio de Solis* alledges, that he founded the colony before he set out for *Quiabitslan*, not only appointing magistrates, but building houses, and fixing the name of the settlement; whereas in another place he alledges, that hitherto the new corporation travelled with the army; and that *Cortez* now pitched upon the plain between *Quiabitslan* and the sea, for the residence of the colony; because the land was fertile, abounding in wood and water, and very contiguous to a good harbour, none of which conveniences were to be met with in the former situation. The workmen were distributed according to their several professions, and the *Indians* assisting with equal diligence and dexterity, the houses began to rise, and the compass of the town was marked by a strong mud wall, which formed a sufficient defence against the weapons of the country. This was the *Villa Rica* which some writers place more to the eastward, and among others *de Solis*, though he afterwards contradicts himself; or else we must conclude what is not at all improbable, that the former settlement was relinquished upon his discovering a place more commodious for a colony. The principal officers of the army laboured with the diligence of the meanest soldiers; and *Cortez* even applied his hands and shoulders to the most servile occupations, by way of encouraging the people by his example, and shewing them, that whatever promoted the public good was honourable and praiseworthy.

WHILE he was thus busied in the arts of peace, an embassy, composed of *Moteczuma's* two nephews, assisted by five ancient caziques, as counsellors, and attended by a magnificent retinue, arrived with presents from *Mexico*. The emperor, upon hearing of the reception given to the *Spaniards* by the chiefs of *Zempoala* and *Quiabitslan*, was so highly enraged, that he gave orders to raise a numerous army, to take signal vengeance on the perfidious caziques, and sacrifice the *Spaniards* to his gods; for while his anger continued, he doubted not but he should without difficulty be able to seize upon *Cortez* and his whole army. However, upon the arrival of the commissaries released by *Cortez*, the scene instantly changed, and those orders were revoked. The prisoners expatiated upon the valour, courtesy, and generosity of the *Spanish* general, whose views were wholly pacific, and respect for the great *Moteczuma* as profound as that of the most faithful of his subjects. This appeased the indignation of the haughty sovereign, and made him resolve once more to try the effects of a negotiation recommended by presents; and to give more weight to the embassy, he appointed the young princes, his nephews, to wait upon *Cortez*. The present was delivered to the general, together with the emperor's thanks for the civilities shewn to his officers. Complaints were made of the rebellious spirit and presumption of the caziques; and *Moteczuma's* wishes expressed that *Cortez* would interpose for the release of the other inferior officers; the speech concluding with *Moteczuma's* earnest request, that the *Spaniards* would withdraw their protection from their rebellious chiefs, relinquish the fruitless hope of being admitted to the royal presence, and make the necessary preparations for evacuating the *Mexican* dominions. This last point was the main object of the embassy, and the princes laboured it with great zeal and address, but to little effect, as *Cortez* had already fixed his resolution. He received the ambassadors with great respect; but

An embassy from Moteczuma.

a but before he gave his answer, had the four prisoners brought into his presence, and returned them to *Moteczuma*, telling the ambassadors, that he hoped the error of the caziques was fully repaired by the restitution which he now made; that he found himself under the necessity of protecting them, in return for the many civilities bestowed on him. He exhorted the ambassadors to admonish their prince to restrain his officers from demanding more from the subjects than was required by the sovereign himself, and adding to the oppression of heavy taxes the barbarity of human sacrifices: he assured them, that neither the caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabitslan*, nor those of the mountains, who were entirely at his devotion, should act in any thing prejudicial to the royal authority; and that for the rest he would explain himself when he had the honour of being admitted
b into *Moteczuma's* presence, assuring the ambassadors, that no dangers or difficulties could terrify *Spaniards* who were accustomed to seek glory amidst the greatest hazards. This he delivered in so firm a tone of voice, that the ambassadors did not choose to reply, though they appeared to be dissatisfied. He gave them some presents, and dismissed them, in full confidence, that, notwithstanding their disappointment with respect to the principal object of their journey, they could not but make their report favourable to the character of the *Spaniards*. Besides, the equality upon which he treated with *Moteczuma*, gave him great credit with the *Indians*, who were persuaded that only a deity, with so slender a force, durst presume to oppose so mighty a prince, who was even glad to purchase his friendship with presents, although he disdained to bend his knee to his idols; and these sentiments
c were confirmed by the prodigies and omens which had made so deep an impression on this credulous simple people.

PRUDENCE and penetration were indeed no less necessary to *Cortez* than valour; he was obliged to guard against the snares laid by his friends, as well as to oppose the open attacks of his enemies. Of this there now appeared an instance. The cazique of *Zempoala* was the inveterate enemy of the chief of the neighbouring province of *Zempazingo*; and he thought this a proper opportunity of taking vengeance, and enriching himself with plunder. He told *Cortez*, that a body of *Mexicans* were quartered in *Zempazingo*, and that they desolated his fields, and ruined his country, on account of his attachment. *Cortez* believed the feigned relation, and accordingly marched with a corps of *Spaniards*
d and *Indians* to attack *Zempazingo*; but finding the town deserted, and meeting with some priests, the deceit was discovered: he reprov'd the cazique of *Zempoala* for seducing him by falsties, to be the mean instrument of his private revenge, and the tool to gratify his avarice: he contracted a friendship with the cazique of *Zempazingo*, reconciled the two chiefs, and gained the esteem of both parties, by the equity and steadiness of his conduct. On his return to *Zempoala*, the cazique endeavoured to efface his fault, by a present of eight of the most beautiful virgins in his province. One of them was his niece, and her he presented to *Cortez*, desiring he would take her for his wife, and distribute the rest among his officers; an honour which *Cortez* declined, on account of his religion, taking this opportunity to persuade the cazique to abjure idolatry, and embrace the Christian religion: a point which he laboured to little purpose, although he proceeded so far as to
e pull down the images in the temple, erecting crosses in their stead, and the other emblems of the Roman catholic religion. Upon this circumstance all the *Spanish* writers expatiate with great zeal, praising the piety of *Cortez*; though, for our own parts, we cannot reconcile christianity with the ambitious schemes he had projected, and the unjust attack made upon the dominions of a prince with whom he had no quarrel. Indeed whatever the piety of *Cortez* might have been, it is certain that the propagation of the gospel was by no means the motive of the *Spanish* court for extending her conquests in *America*; and the vast treasures brought from thence into *Spain* evince, that the pious subjects of the most catholic king laboured more assiduously in the gold and silver mines of *Mexico* and
f *Peru*, than in the vineyard of salvation. Our intention is not, however, to demonstrate the injustice of these conquests, which point we leave to divines and political casuists, but to shew the absurdity of the *Spanish* writers in general, who run out into the most extravagant encomiums upon the piety and true catholic zeal of the *Spanish* leaders of those expeditions, made purely from motives of national interest, and private avarice or ambition.

UPON the return of the *Spaniards* to their new settlement at *Vera Cruz*, they were joined by *Francisco de Sancedo*, who left *Cuba* with one officer and ten men, to join *Cortez*, and attach themselves to his fortune. This supply gave great pleasure to the general; but it was considerably abated by the intelligence which *Sancedo* brought, that *Velaquez*, governor of *Cuba*, was still the enemy of *Cortez*, and had pursued his resentment with such application and diligence, that he remonstrated to the court upon the desertion of *Cortez*, and obtained a commission from the king, appointing him lieutenant not only of the island of *Cuba*, but sole director of all the discoveries and conquests which should be made on
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Cortez receives a slender reinforcement of Spaniards, and dispatches messengers to Spain.

the continent, with power to bestow employments, and equip expeditions, in whatever manner he should think proper. It was necessary for *Cortez* to vindicate his own conduct to the court, and efface any bad impressions which might probably remain from the misrepresentations of *Velaquez*. He likewise thought it incumbent upon him to have his commission immediately from the king, and wholly independent on *Velaquez*; for which purpose he determined to dispatch *Portocarrero* and *Montejo* to *Spain*, with an account of his proceedings. He laid his intention before the town of *Vera Cruz*, and obtained a letter, signed by all the magistrates, giving a short relation of the success of the expedition, the provinces already brought under the obedience of his catholic majesty, the settlement made at *Vera Cruz*, the riches, fertility, and great plenty of this new world, the progress made by the gospel, and the dispositions that were making for bringing the powerful empire of the tyrant *Moteczuma* under subjection, by means of his own disaffected subjects. In this letter were mentioned the violences offered by *Velaquez*, with a full vindication of the measures taken by *Cortez*, the strongest encomiums upon his conduct, his valour, prudence, clemency, justice, and every quality that constitutes the general and statesman. Great praise likewise was bestowed on the courage and constancy of all the other captains and soldiers engaged in the expedition; and his majesty was intreated, in the name of the town and magistrates of *La Vera Cruz*, to confirm the authority of *Cortez*, and cherish, by his countenance, an infant colony, that promised to produce the greatest wealth and honour to his royal diadem. To this letter *Cortez* added another from himself, in which he entered more minutely upon his justification, and gave strong assurances of his well-grounded expectation of bringing the empire of *Moteczuma* under his majesty's obedience. With these dispatches were sent all the gold, jewels, and other presents and effects, which the colony had acquired since their arrival in *Mexico*, either by gift, conquest, or traffic, the soldiers cheerfully giving up their shares, that the offering made by their general might appear with the more splendor. The best ship in the fleet was got ready for this voyage, and the two envoys set sail for *Spain* on the 16th of *July*, with strict injunctions to pass through the channel of *Bahama*, if possible, in order to avoid being intercepted by *Velaquez*, and at no event to touch upon any part of the island of *Cuba*.

A.D. 1519.
He discovers a
conspiracy.

SCARCE had *Cortez* finished this important business, when he was alarmed by the discovery of a conspiracy to destroy the whole scheme, by giving intelligence to *Velaquez* of the course of the ship, and the contents of the dispatches. *De Solis* alledges, that the project was laid, to seize upon the ship, and carry her off, with all the dispatches, to *Cuba*. Be this as it may, *Cortez* had no sooner made discovery of the contrivance, than he seized upon the conspirators, two of whom were, after a regular trial, condemned to death, and two others to be whipped. All the rest were pardoned, except the chief mariner, who was sentenced to lose one foot, as a just punishment, which however would not disable him from the service. *Herrera* alledges, that the licentiate *Juan Diaz* was engaged in this conspiracy; but that *Cortez*, out of respect to his function, did not proceed against him; though *de Solis* vindicates the character of this gentleman: a point indeed of little consequence to the *English* reader.

CORTEZ having now discharged himself of all that appeared necessary towards confirming his own power, procuring the good of the colony, and promoting the success of the expedition, turned his thoughts towards employing his soldiers upon some greater enterprize than had hitherto been undertaken; but he first resolved to destroy the fleet, to cut off all possibility of retreating, and to convince the soldiers that their only security consisted in their valour and perseverance. This scheme he communicated to some of his friends, by whom it was approved. It was then referred to the council, and obtained their approbation; and the measure was so well conducted, that even the mariners and pilots were satisfied with the prudence of the resolution, upon a presumption that the ships must necessarily sink for want of repairing. Accordingly all the ships were burnt, *Cortez* only reserving the rigging, and a few boats for fishing; a bold action, the merit of which *Castillo* claims to himself, by alledging that he had first suggested it to *Cortez*. Immediately measures were concerted for advancing farther into the country; preparations were made for the march, and a general muster was taken of the army, which was found to consist of five hundred foot, fifteen horse, and six pieces of cannon; a very inconsiderable force, with which to enter upon the reduction of a vast empire. Of this slender corps an hundred and fifty men and two horses were left for the defence of the settlement, under the conduct of *Juan de Escalante*, an officer in whose valour and abilities *Cortez* placed the greatest confidence. The cazique of *Zempoala* had provided 200 *Tamemes*, or *Indians*, accustomed to burdens, to carry the baggage; and had besides augmented the army with a body of troops, out of which *Cortez* picked 400 men that appeared the most strong and desperate, among whom were near fifty of the principal nobility of the province. To the

a cazique he recommended, in the strongest terms, obedience to *Escalante*, governor of *Vera Cruz*, who would not fail to protect him from all insults and injuries during his absence, provided that his behaviour merited favour and regard.

He begins his march for Tlascala.

Just as the troops were beginning their march, *Escalante* sent advice to the general, that a squadron had been seen off *Vera Cruz*, without caring to come to, though he made them signals of peace. Such intelligence was not to be disregarded; accordingly *Cortez* set out from the army for the settlement, and found, upon his arrival, that one of the vessels had come to an anchor, and some men were landing, who approached without any symptoms of fear. It soon appeared that one was a notary, and the rest witnesses of his notification to *Cortez*, that *Francisco de Garay*, governor of *Jamaica*, had, by virtue of the king's commission, equipped a squadron, consisting of three ships and two hundred and seventy men, under the command of *Alonso de Pinada*, to make discoveries, and that they had already taken possession of the lands near the river *Panuco*, where it was intended to establish a colony, about twelve or fourteen leagues to the westward. *Garay* therefore required that he should not attempt to make any settlements that way. To which *Cortez* answered, that he was a stranger to forms of law; but if the captain would favour him with an interview, every thing should be adjusted in the manner most beneficial to the public, as they were both subjects of the same prince, and mutually obliged to promote his service. On the notary's refusing to go back with this message, and insisting, in a disrespectful manner, upon a direct answer, *Cortez* ordered him and his companions to be seized, and had afterwards the good fortune to take prisoners three more of the ship's crew, who enlisted without scruple, in his service, as did the notary and his companions; a reinforcement of some consequence at a time when seven *Spaniards* were become so valuable. Upon this he returned to *Zempoala*, giving himself no uneasiness about *Garay's* attempts, and congratulating himself that it was no armament sent by *Velaquez* to obstruct his projects. He began his march with a body of *Spaniards*, in the van, and another of *Indians* in the rear; the charge of the artillery being committed to the strongest of the *Tamenes*, and the baggage distributed among the rest, passing through several towns belonging to the mountaineers, in all which he was kindly received, and combated every obstruction, which scarcity of provision, inclemency of weather, bad roads, mountains and precipices, could throw in his way. The cold was excessive, and the showers of rain hard and frequent, insomuch that the soldiers, deprived of the means of shelter, kept on marching to avoid being chilled to death. *Cortez* at last gained the top of the mountains, just as a struggle began to appear between the strength and resolution of his soldiers; from whence he could discover some villages at a little distance, to which the army proceeded with alacrity, and met with refreshment, that soon effaced the memory of all their past labours. They were now on the borders of *Zocotblun*, a large and populous province, the cazique of which resided in the capital of the same name with the province, situated in the valley, at the foot of the mountain. *Cortez* gave him notice of his arrival by two *Zempoalans*, and received an invitation from the cazique to lodge in his city, where, however, upon his arrival, the soldiers met with such indifferent entertainment, as satisfied the general that he was invited rather from motives of fear than affection. When the cazique visited him, it was apparent that he was the mere tool of *Motexuma*, employed to inspire his enemies with dread, by exaggerating his power. *Cortez* penetrated into his designs, and frustrated them, by acquainting the chief, that he was sufficiently informed of the emperor's power; but though his intentions were pacific, he did not fear the whole strength of *Mexico*, as one of his men was able to cope with whole armies of such troops as *Motexuma's*. "I shall never," says he, "draw my sword without just provocation; but once drawn, every thing shall be put to fire and sword, and nature will assist me with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning. I come to abolish human sacrifices, and to vindicate the cause of a tremendous Being, who is shocked at the barbarous superstition and ignorant idolatry of *Motexuma*, which you reverence as part of his grandeur." The impression which this bold speech made on the cazique was perceivable; he not only accommodated the soldiers with better lodging and provision, but shewed an awful respect towards the meanest *Spaniard*, as if he believed him his superior; for what could he imagine of a handful of men, who set at defiance what he believed to be the greatest power on earth, but that they were something supernatural? As a difficulty arose about the route which *Cortez* should take, the cazique recommended *Chotula*, because the country was fertile, and the inhabitants, who were more disposed to commerce than war, would grant him an undisputed passage; whereas he with great earnestness dissuaded him from the road of *Tlascala*, as the people were of a bloody warlike disposition. This advice, however, was opposed by the *Indians* that attended *Cortez*. They affirmed that *Chotula* was a very populous city, the people of which were insidious and treacherous; besides that, it was generally filled with *Motexuma's* troops. As to the *Tlascalans*, they affirmed, he had nothing

Encounters difficulties.

thing to fear, since they were bound by the strictest ties of amity and alliance with the *Zempoalans* and *Totonokes*, and waged continual war with *Moteczuma*. What they said was agreeable to the general's own sentiments; and chusing rather to confide in approved friends than in the cazique, who appeared so much attached to *Moteczuma*, he gave orders for the army to march strait for *Tlascala*, on the frontiers of which he soon arrived. Then he halted at a town called *Xacozango*, upon hearing that the province was in arms; but the design was kept secret, in order to gain a more intimate knowledge of the strength and disposition of the people.

At this time *Cortez* learned that the province of *Tlascala* was populous and extensive, its frontier being about fifty leagues. The country was rough and mountainous, the towns were built on eminences difficult of access, and the inhabitants brave, hardy, and accustomed to arms. At first the government was monarchical; but the independent spirit of the *Tlascalans*, not brooking subjection to an individual, threw off the yoke, and after living for some time in a state of anarchy, formed themselves into a regular commonwealth, under the direction of a senate and certain magistrates, whose jurisdictions were limited to certain towns. The republic was now in the zenith of her power and glory, having for a series of years foiled all the power of *Moteczuma*, and established liberty on the most solid basis, in consequence of alliances formed with several provinces for their mutual defence. In particular the *Tlascalans* were strictly confederated with the *Otomies*, a people deemed savage even in this barbarous country, fierce in war, and cruel in conquest. This information determined *Cortez* to address the *Tlascalans* with an embassy, to request a free passage through the territories of the republic; and he chose for this employment the *Zempoalan* nobles, who had advised the road of *Tlascala*, that their credit might be interested in the issue of the negotiation. Four *Zempoalans*, perfectly instructed by *Cortez*, set out to execute their commission, dressed with all the badges of embassy usual among the *Indians*, and entering the city of *Tlascala*, were lodged in the *Calpisca*, the apartments destined for the reception of foreign ministers, and next day admitted to an audience of the senate. The members of this assembly were ranged on low chairs, made of one piece of wood, called *Xopales*. At the entrance of the ambassadors, they rose up and welcomed them with a kind of reserved civility, and important gravity. After paying their respects to the senate, the *Zempoalans* walked leisurely up to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled down, and waited for leave to speak; which being granted, the orator of the embassy delivered himself to the following effect, as reported by *Antonio de Solis*. " Noble republic, potent and valiant *Tlascalans*, the cazique of *Zempoala*, and the lords of the mountains, your friends and confederates, send you health; and wish you abundant crops, and the death of your enemies: they give you to understand, that certain invincible men are arrived among them from the east, who seem to be divinities; for they sail upon great palaces, and command thunder and lightning, the peculiar arms of heaven. They serve another God, superior to our gods, who detests tyranny and sacrifices of human blood. Their captain is ambassador from a very potent monarch, who, from motives of piety, is impelled to reform the abuses of our country, teach us the knowledge of the true God, and rescue us from the oppression, tyranny, and cruelty of the bloody *Moteczuma*. Having already delivered our provinces out of bondage, and placed us in a state of liberty, he desires to pass through your republic in his way to *Mexico*, and to be informed in what the tyrant has offended you, that he may add your cause to the others which justify his undertaking. We know his valour, justice, generosity, and pacific intentions, and therefore come in the name of the caziques your allies, to request and exhort that you will admit these strangers as the friends and benefactors of your confederates; and on the part of their captain, we can assure you, that his dispositions to the republic are friendly, and that he only demands a free passage through your country, after you shall be persuaded of the sincerity of his goodwill, and that his arms are the instruments of justice, reason, and religion, which vindicate the cause of heaven; mild and good in their own nature, and terrible only to the wicked." Having finished their harangue, the four retired to their seats, and were answered by the eldest senator in the name of the rest, " that the proposition of the *Zempoalans* and *Totonokes* was grateful to the republic; but that the answer to the captain of the strangers required mature deliberation:" with which answer the ambassadors retired to the *Calpisca*, while the senators shut themselves up to discuss the propriety of granting the demand made by *Cortez*.

On this point they were soon divided in opinion, whence ensued very warm disputes. Some were for attacking the strangers, and destroying them as enemies to the country in general; others were for granting their demand, and attaching them by civilities to the republic; while a third party steered a middle course, and advised giving them no molestation, provided they continued their march without entering upon the dominions of *Tlascala*.

He sends an
embassy to
Tlascala.

Divisions in
the senate of
Tlascala.

- a *Tlascala*. After abundance of altercation, *Magiscatzin*, one of the oldest senators, and a person of great authority, desired to be heard. He mentioned the tradition of their ancestors, and the revelations of their priests, that a race of invincible men, of divine origin, who had power over the elements, should come from the east, to subdue their country. He compared the resemblance which the strangers bore to the persons figured in the tradition of *Mexico*, their dominion over the elements of fire, air and water; he reminded the senate of their prodigies, omens and signals, which had lately terrified the *Mexicans*, and indicated some very important event; and then declared his opinion, that it would be rashness to oppose a force apparently assisted by heaven, and men who had already proved, to the sad experience of the *Tabascans*, that they were invincible. In a word, he ballanced the danger of a refusal against the advantages which might result from granting the request of the strangers; and declared his opinion, that they ought not only to be allowed a free passage, but distinguished by all the respect and honour which the republic had power to bestow.

- THE sentiments of this sage met with great applause, and all the senate were inclined to follow his advice, when *Xicotencal*, a young senator of great spirit, valour, and reputation in arms, rose up, and answered him in the following words, which we quote on the authority of *de Solis*, as a specimen of the national character, because it seemed to convince the auditors. “Grey hairs,” said the youthful orator, “are not always infallible in their decisions, as being more inclined to cautious reflections, than to hardy enterprizes. I pay all due respect to the authority and opinion of *Magiscatzin*; but you will not think it strange, considering my age and profession, if I have notions less refined, and politics more daring. When we talk of war, we are often deceived by that which we call prudence; for whatever resembles fear is not virtue, but a passion. It is true, there is an expectation among us of those oriental reformers, which is kept up by a prophecy that is slow in its completion. It is not my inclination to discredit a tradition that has become venerable by the consent of ages; but tell me, I pray you, what security have we that these are the promised strangers? Is it the same thing to come from the east as to come from the celestial regions, which we consider as the birth-place of the sun? The fire-arms and great embarkations which you call sea-palaces, may be the effects of human industry, which are admired for their novelty; and perhaps they may be the delusion of some enchantment, like the deception of the sight, which we call cunning and juggling in our diviners. Was what they did in *Tabasco* any more than their defeating an army superior to themselves in number; and shall this be thought wonderful in *Tlascala*, where greater actions are daily performed by natural means? May not the great benignity they have used towards the *Zempoalans* be an artifice to gain the people? at least I shall deem it a suspicious sweetness to please the palate, and cover the internal poison, as it is perfectly consistent with what we already know of their pride, avarice, and ambition. These men, if they be not in fact some monsters thrown up by the sea on our coasts, rob our people, live at discretion, guided by no other law than their own will, and given up to the delights of this country, despise our constitutions, and endeavour to introduce innovations equally dangerous to religion and government. They destroy our temples, as appears from their conduct at *Zempoala*, pull in pieces our altars, and blaspheme our gods; and is this the race you call celestial? If the *Zempoalans* and *Totonosques* have received them into their friendship, it was without consulting our republic; consequently we are under no ties by the laws of nations. They advance under no other protection than the want of reflection, which deserves to be punished as presumptuous. These prodigies and signals, so magnified by *Magiscatzin*, rather persuade us to treat them like enemies, as being constant harbingers of calamities and miseries. Heaven, with its prodigies, does not give us notice of what we wish, but what we are to fear; for those felicities never come accompanied by terrors; nor does heaven light comets to lull us to sleep, but to awake us to a sense of our danger. My opinion therefore is, that we assemble our forces, and crush them at one blow, for they come into our power, marked by signals in the heavens, purposely that we may look on them as oppressors of our country, and revilers of our gods; and that establishing the reputation of our arms upon their punishment, the world may perceive that it is not the same thing to be immortal in *Tabasco*, and invincible in *Tlascala* (A).”

THE speech of *Xicotencal* was echoed with loud acclamations; it soon effaced every trace left in the minds of the audience by the more cautious advice of *Magiscatzin*; it was congenial to the warlike humour of the people, full of fire, spirit and resolution, and

Xicotencal's Speech.

Resolution of the senate to oppose Cortez.

(A) The authors have inserted this speech as a masterly piece of elocution, which the reader may, if he thinks proper, ascribe to the imagination of the Spanish historian. At any event it may serve to convey an idea of the disposition of the warlike-spirited *Tlascalans*.

He defeats the
Tlascalans in
several engage-
ments.

therefore received as more honourable. It was from this consideration resolved, that *Xicotencal* should assemble a body of forces, to measure his strength with the strangers, without engaging or hazarding the whole power of the republic. If he overcame the enemy, the reputation of the republic in arms was preserved; and if he should be defeated, there was room to treat of peace, by laying the blame upon the *Otonies*, and declaring it was a disorder occasioned by their ferocity. In consequence of this determination, the *Zempoalan* ambassadors were detained, which raised suspicions in the mind of *Cortez* that the embassy was ill received, and obliged him, after staying eight days in his encampment, to draw nearer to the city of *Tlascala*. With his army drawn up in good order, he passed a strong wall which joined two mountains, and had been raised at a vast expence of labour by the ancient inhabitants against the invasions of their enemies. It was happy for *Cortez* that the *Tlascalans* had not thought of defending this post, either because they chose to give battle in the open plain, or had not so soon expected his approach. He had not marched far beyond the wall, when a party of the *Tlascalans* was discovered with plumes, which denoted that an army was in the field. These he drove before him by a detachment of six horse, obliged them to join another party, and then reinforcing the advanced detachment, charged the enemy with such vigour, that they began to retire, when five thousand *Tlascalans* rushed with loud shouts from the bushes in which they had concealed themselves, just as the infantry seasonably came up to support their slender body of cavalry. The enemy attacked with the utmost fury; but they were so much disconcerted with the first discharge of the fire-arms, that they retreated in confusion, and furnished the *Spaniards* with an opportunity of pursuing them with great slaughter. *Cortez*, however, suspecting that this could not be their whole force, and that it was rather a stratagem to draw him in than a flight, reunited his corps, and advanced with the utmost caution, in order of battle, to an eminence, from whence he discovered the whole *Tlascalan* army, composed of near forty thousand men of different nations, under the command of *Xicotencal*, general of the republic. The experience which the *Spaniards* gained at *Tabasco* prevented their being discouraged with the vast superiority of the enemy; they marched down the hill with perfect composure, formed on the plain, brought down their artillery without hurry or confusion, and disposed every thing for attacking the *Tlascalans*, with the strongest assurance of victory. *Xicotencal* had indeed shewed his dexterity, by disposing his troops into such a manner as to surround the *Spaniards*, which he had no sooner effected, than he contracted the circle with incredible diligence, and rained showers of darts, stones, and arrows, which almost covered the little army of *Cortez*. Being sensible, however, by the terrible slaughter of his troops, of the inferiority of the *Indian* missile weapons to the fire-arms of the enemy, he closed, in order to try the effects of his pikes and swords. In this particular the *Indians* were not more upon an equality; they fought with great courage and impetuosity, but they fell in heaps, either by the sword, or the volleys discharged among them from the artillery. It was their policy to conceal their slain and wounded; yet it was apparent their numbers were diminished, and their fury abated, for they fell back to a greater distance, though they still continued the engagement. *Cortez*, who had all this while fought in the form of a square, presenting a front to every side, now consulted his officers, whether he ought not to force his way through the enemy, to a place where he might extend his line, and fight to more advantage? which they approving, he formed his men into a column, pushed on with irresistible fury, and after an obstinate engagement, entirely broke and routed the enemy, chiefly by means of the horses, animals so wonderful and dreadful to the *Tlascalans*. In the pursuit, one *Nicron*, a *Spanish* horseman, engaged himself too far, was surrounded, and taken prisoner by the *Indians*, after they had killed his horse, and cut off the head of the monster, which was placed as a trophy on the point of a spear, and carried in triumph to the senate, though *Nicron* had the good fortune to be rescued by his companions. By this accident the *Tlascalans* were encouraged to rally, and renew the charge, which they begun with redoubled vigour, that might have proved fatal to the lives of many *Spaniards*, had it continued; but fortunately *Xicotencal* had ordered a retreat to be sounded, on discovering that most of his officers were slain, apprehending that he should not be able to govern such a multitude of soldiers by his own authority. Thus the *Spaniards* remained masters of the field, tho' the *Tlascalans* likewise claimed a victory, only because they were not completely defeated, and they had taken what they deemed an inestimable prize, the head of a *Spanish* horse, which was greatly admired, and sacrificed with the utmost solemnity in one of the temples. On their side the slaughter was very great, but not certain as to the number, the killed and wounded having been carried off the field with the utmost diligence; while *Cortez* sustained no other loss than that of one horse, and nine soldiers who were wounded, and prevented for a few days from doing duty.

a THE field being now open, *Cortez* marched to a village in the way to *Tlascala*, of which he took possession without opposition, and then refreshed his soldiers with abundance of provision, which the enemy had left behind; but it was obvious that the road to *Tlascala* would still be disputed, and that the republic, by no means, acknowledged herself conquered. The death of so many great officers and caziques occasioned various opinions in the senate; but still *Xicotencal* maintained a majority, who were for trying the fortune of *Tlascala* in another engagement, notwithstanding the loud clamours raised by *Magiscatzin's* party against the general's vanity and rashness. *Xicotencal*, on the other hand, animated his drooping countrymen by the trophy of the horse's head; he desired a reinforcement, and promised to give a good account of the enemy with so much confidence, that the senate was ready to enter into the measures dictated by his revenge, when an auxiliary b cazique arrived with ten thousand men, and infused fresh spirits into the republic, because it was regarded as succours from the gods, being unexpected. *Cortez* would have made proposals of peace; but he could find no *Zempoalans* who would undertake the commission, being terrified with the usage their countrymen met with, who had now escaped from confinement, upon notice that they were to be sacrificed in a few days to the gods of *Tlascala*. He advanced at the head of a party, seized upon several villages in the way to the capital, and returned to the camp with great quantities of provisions, and a number of prisoners, from whom he had intelligence, that *Xicotencal* was encamped at the distance of two leagues, and diligent in recruiting his forces, which would in a day or two be much c more numerous than in the former engagement. He was sensible, that if victory depended upon numbers, the *Spaniards* would have no chance with the *Tlascalans*; *Cortez*, therefore, released all the prisoners, saying, he would augment *Xicotencal's* army, to shew the republic how little he feared her utmost strength; an act which gave the enemy the most extravagant ideas of his valour and generosity, and contributed greatly to his future success; besides, that by this means he increased his own strength, having no occasion to employ troops to guard the prisoners. Choosing out the most intrepid and ingenious among the persons whom he set at liberty, he charged them with a message to *Xicotencal* to the following effect: That he was concerned for the loss which the republic sustained in the battle; but the senate was to blame for treating them in a hostile manner, who had only d pacific designs. Notwithstanding this cause of displeasure, he would still, he said, enter upon a negotiation as if nothing had passed; but insisted upon *Xicotencal's* disarming, unless he wanted to draw down his vengeance, to be utterly destroyed, and the name and misfortunes of *Tlascala* be made a terror to all the neighbouring nations.

It was imagined this bold message would intimidate the *Indian* general; but it produced the very contrary effect, and so roused his resentment, that he sent the prisoners back, mangled for their presumption, with an answer, that *Cortez* should see him in the field at the first rising of the sun; for his intention was to carry him, and all his people, alive, to offer them up as sacrifices to the gods of the republic. This notice he gave him, that he might prepare himself; saying, that he was not accustomed to lessen the glory of his victories by taking the enemy at a disadvantage. With these menaces *Cortez* and *Xicotencal* e irritated each other, while both made the most vigorous preparations for executing their promises, and deciding their fortune by one battle. The *Spanish* general kept strict guard during the night, and next morning advanced half a league to an advantageous post, where he determined to wait for the *Tlascalans*, in such a disposition as the experience of the preceding engagement dictated to be necessary. His flanks were secured by the artillery, orders were issued with respect to the times and distances when the cannon could be discharged to most advantage, every contingency was foreseen, and *Cortez* took his own post at the head of the cavalry, that he might superintend the whole, succour those who were hard pressed, and move with more facility and velocity to the different parts of his army, f as occasion might require. In a short time the enemy's van appeared, and the scouts returned with advice, that an army was in motion which covered the whole country. It consisted of fifty thousand men, the whole strength of the republic united to that of her allies. The golden eagle of *Tlascala*, which is only brought forth upon the most extraordinary occasions, was displayed aloft in the middle, and every circumstance declared that the engagement would be bloody and decisive; the republic risking her fate on the issue. When the *Indian* army approached within a proper distance, the artillery poured such destruction upon their ranks, that they reeled back, and seemed divided between the different passions of shame, fear, and resentment; but the latter prevailing, they advanced in a tumultuous manner, and were saluted with such volleys from the musquetry and cross-bows, as g put them a second time in suspense whether they ought not to leave the field to the enemy. *Xicotencal*, however, raised their passions by his eloquence, and animated them by his example, to such a pitch of despair, that they pushed each other on to destruction, the rear ranks trampling upon those in the front, and rushing like a torrent with such violence, that they

He appeases a
mutiny of his
troops.

they broke the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*, and required the utmost abilities of *Cortez* to rally a his forces, and withstand so furious a charge. He flew to every part, exhorted, intreated, and animated with such success, that, recovering themselves, the *Spaniards* dealt destruction on every side, and *Cortez*, with the cavalry, bore down all before him, and closed his ranks just as an accident deprived him of the honour of gaining a complete victory by his own valour. The enemy were of a sudden observed to be in the utmost confusion, their troops moving to different parts, and dividing and bearing upon each other, until the rear guard retired in a tumultuous manner, and those who were engaged in the front were left to find safety in flight. *Cortez* suspected some stratagem, and therefore pursued with caution; but he soon learned from the prisoners that the proud and passionate *Xicotencal* had affronted one of the most powerful of his allies, who, resenting the injury, drew off his troops, and with them the bulk of the confederate army, which obliged *Xicotencal* to leave the field, and an indisputable victory to the *Spaniards*: yet such was the slaughter which preceded this accident, that it is highly probable it was upon the whole favourable to the republic, by preserving the lives of her subjects, and yielding more easily a victory, which must in the event have been the reward of such discipline, and well-regulated courage as the *Spaniards* exerted on this occasion. Their loss was inconsiderable, only one soldier being killed, and twenty slightly wounded; their triumph was complete; yet were the *Spanish* soldiers discontented, taking shame that they should have been broken, and put in disorder by barbarians; a circumstance which touched them so nearly, that they returned to their quarters, melancholy and disheartened, as if they had been defeated. This laid the seeds of dissention and mutiny, the soldiers blaming each other, and some charging the whole fault on *Cortez*, declaring that they would not sacrifice themselves to gratify his humour, and would repair to *Vera Cruz*, leaving him alone to perfect the dictates of rash ambition. Notice of the seditious disposition of the soldiers was no sooner brought to *Cortez*, than he assembled the whole army, placing the most discontented near his person, and laid before them his present circumstances, as if he had desired their council and advice. He repented all they had to hope from advancing, and to fear if they retreated; he painted in such lively colours the shame of abandoning the fruits of so many glorious victories, and he placed every thing in so favourable a point of view, that all murmuring ceased, and one of the most mutinous told his companions aloud, "That the general instructed them in what they ought to do, while he was only asking their advice: it is not possible for us, said he, to retreat, without sacrificing our hopes, our glory, and our lives." All were convinced of the rectitude of the general's opinion; and it was resolved, by universal acclamations, to prosecute the enterprize.

The *Tlascalans*
consult the magicians,
and are again defeated.

MATTERS went otherwise on at *Tlascalala*, where nothing but confusion, disorder, and dismay, appeared. The second defeat of the army spread a general consternation. The common people cried out for peace; and the nobility, had they been unanimous, were unable to carry on the war without their assistance. It was the opinion of the more timid, that they ought to retire with their families to the mountains; of the more superstitious, that the *Spaniards* were deities, and ought as such to be worshipped; of the more resolute, that another engagement should be hazarded, and of the more prudent and moderate, that peace should be solicited, and the *Spaniards* gained by kindness, since they could neither be conquered by numbers nor valour. Consultations were held in the senate, the result of which were, that the *Spaniards* indeed were not gods, but that their actions were so extraordinary and supernatural, as to require the influence of magical powers; for which reason it would be proper to consult the magicians of the republic. Accordingly these sages were called, and pretending that they had already discovered by their art the point in which they were to be consulted, declared without scruple, that, in consequence of profound study, and deep observation of their circles, they had fully discovered the source of those supernatural acts of valour performed by the strangers. The whole they alledged consisted in this, that the *Spaniards* were the children of the sun, produced by his own active quality in the mother earth of the oriental regions, impregnated by his spirit; and their greatest enchantment being the presence of their father, whose warm influence communicated to them a force superior to human nature, and rendered them immortal while his beams shone upon them; but that upon his returning to the west, the influence ceased, and his children remained disheartened, weak, and withered, like the herbs of the field, and reduced to the mortal condition of other men: for which reason they advised they might be attacked in the night, and destroyed before the rising sun again rendered them invincible.

As the wisdom of these magicians was beyond all dispute, it is no wonder the senate of *Tlascalala* should accede to their sage admonitions, especially as the opinions of those mysterious interpreters of futurity was nearly consonant to their own sentiments. They did so, and orders were immediately dispatched to *Xicotencal*, to begin his attack on the *Spaniards* after

- a after sun-set, with the utmost privacy, and cut them all off before morning. This general, whether he entertained any opinion or not of the advice of the forcerers, cheerfully followed his instructions, because he desired nothing more than an opportunity of fighting, until he wiped off his former disgrace. Accordingly he selected a body of ten thousand of the most desperate soldiers in his army, and advanced under cover of the night, with profound silence, towards the *Spanish* entrenchments. *Cortez*, however, was upon his guard; the centinels on the out-posts brought advice that the enemy were in motion, and every thing was disposed for their reception without noise or confusion. The *Indians* were suffered to ascend the wall drawn round the camp before any intimation was given that their design was discovered, and then such a shower of bullets was poured from the cannon,
- b small-arms, and cross-bows, as made dreadful havock, and convinced *Xicotencal* of the delusions of the forcerers; but this served only to animate his courage, and drive him on to desperate efforts. The assault was made in three different quarters, the whole body of *Tlascalans* rushing upon the *Spanish* defences. Their exertions of valour were indeed extraordinary, considering how unacquainted they were with forcing entrenchments; they climbed upon each others shoulders, ascended the walls, and paid no regard to the death of those who went before, until themselves met with the same fate. For several hours the battle raged with unparalleled fury; when at length *Xicotencal*, convinced by the carnage of his troops that perseverance could serve no other purpose than procuring the destruction of his army, ordered the signal to be made for retreating; which was no sooner observed by *Cortez*,
- c than he detached a party to harraiss his rear, equipped with little bells, that, by the novelty of the noise, spread the utmost terror among the enemy. In the pursuit great numbers were slain; and this complete victory was gained at the inconsiderable expence of one *Zempoalan*, who was killed; an event deemed miraculous, considering the multitude of darts and arrows that were found within the entrenchments.

- It was now obvious to the *Tlascalans* that their forcerers were mistaken, and despondency ensued. The *Spaniards* were found to be proof against strength and stratagem, equally invincible in the middle of the night, as when the sun was in its meridian. The common people grew more clamorous for peace, the nobility were dissatisfied and divided, and the senators ashamed and silent. The magicians were immediately punished, as if this last
- d disgrace had been wholly owing to their impostures. Two or three of the principal were sacrificed at the altars, to appease the supposed indignation of the gods, who afflicted the republick with such heavy calamities, and the rest were severely reprimanded, and delivered over to contempt. The majority inclined to peace, and applauded the prudence and foresight of *Magiscatzin*, who had predicted all that happened; even the most incredulous believed the *Spaniards* were actually the celestial beings mentioned in their prophecies. Orders were immediately dispatched to *Xicotencal* to suspend hostilities, and keep on the defensive, until he was made acquainted with the farther resolution of the senate, and the success of the pacific negotiations they proposed establishing. To this order *Xicotencal* refused obedience, answering with arrogance, “That he and his soldiers were the senate, and would
- e “support the honour of the republic, which was now deserted by those who were called “fathers of their country.” Disappointment rendered him quite frantic; he resolved upon another assault in the night, but took his measures with unusual caution. Observing that the neighbouring peasants carried provisions to the *Spanish* camp, which they exchanged for beads, bells, and other trinkets, he detached forty soldiers in the habits of those rustics, and sent them loaded with pearls, fowls, and other provisions, to *Cortez*, ordering them to mark exactly the nature and strength of the fortifications, and where they might be forced with the least difficulty; a stratagem which sufficiently demonstrates that this barbarian was possessed of sagacity and a truly military genius, although the scheme proved abortive. The curiosity of those spies giving suspicion, they were seized and put to the
- f torture, until they confessed the whole project, and that an attempt was that very night to be made by twenty thousand *Tlascalans*, at different quarters of the camp, agreeable to the directions they were to bring after inspecting the works. *Cortez*, who was at this time indisposed, gave the necessary instructions for resisting the enemy, and then deliberated on the punishment of the delinquents, ordering that fourteen of the most obstinate should be punished with the loss of their hands or fingers, and dismissed in that manner, with a message to *Xicotencal*, that he sent his emissaries back again, to acquaint him with the situation of his fortifications, and that he was waiting impatiently for the assault. The *Indian* army, that was in full march, was struck with the bloody spectacle, and *Xicotencal* was particularly concerned at the discovery of a stratagem, in which he rested his last hopes. He persuaded
- g himself, that the secret thoughts of his people, of whose fidelity he was confident, must have been obtained by the assistance of some divinity; and just as he was revolving this thought in his own mind, ambassadors arrived from the senate, with orders for him to resign his command, on account of his insolence and disobedience. All his officers were,

The people desire peace, but *Xicotencal* is obstinate.

besides, prohibited, on pain of death, any longer to obey his directions; and this accident, so immediately succeeding the discovery of so deep laid a scheme, not only broke all *Xicotencal's* resolution, but rendered the army extremely averse to the prosecution of a war attended only with disgrace and misfortune. The soldiers dispersed with extraordinary readiness, and took the road of *Tlascala*, leaving their general to return, attended only by his friends and relations, and to appear before the senate, to answer for his last act of disobedience.

*The senate sues
for peace.*

MEAN time the *Spaniards* continued in the utmost suspense, whether they were to expect the enemy. The whole night they remained in arms, without venturing to take any rest, until their scouts brought word next day that the *Tlascalan* camp was removed to a greater distance. It was on the third day that the joyful news arrived, that the hostile enemy was broke up; news that was soon confirmed by the appearance of ambassadors from the senate, with terms of pacification. They apologized for the conduct of the republic, laying the blame of the war upon the *Otomies*, and other fierce allied nations, whom the senate had not been able to restrain. Although *Cortez* was sensible of the falsity of this excuse, he suppressed his resentment, and only desired the ambassadors to acquaint the senate, that their proposals of peace were extremely agreeable to him; tho' the senate must consider, as no slight proof of his goodness, that he did not pursue the dictates of revenge, and impose laws upon them as a conqueror. Yet, before he laid himself under any obligations, he would see how they persevered in their resolution to merit his friendship, and employ the intermediate time in appeasing his captains, and endeavouring to prevail upon them to drop their just indignation. In a word, he would suspend the punishment with an uplifted arm, and leave it to the discretion of the senate, either to procure pardon, or sustain the blow which must put an end to the existence of the republic of *Tlascala*.

By this answer *Cortez* intended to check the pride of the senate, and particularly of the friends of *Xicotencal*, who might possibly grow insolent, on the presumption that the *Spaniards* were greatly weakened, before they would grant peace so readily. He likewise wanted, that the fame of his victories might have time to spread over *Mexico*, in order to be assured what effect it might produce at the court of *Moteczuma*, whence he should be enabled to square his conduct to the republic with more advantage to himself. This measure demonstrated the great foresight of the *Spanish* hero; for every thing fell out just as he expected. *Moteczuma*, who had regular accounts from his emissaries of what was transacting at *Tlascala*, was so much struck with the wonders reported of *Cortez*, that he was resolved to send him an embassy, to compliment him on his conquests over the republic, and engage him by fresh presents and civilities not to approach nearer to his capital, at the same time that the ambassadors were instructed to throw all possible obstruction in the way of the expected pacification between him and the *Tlascalans*. Five *Mexicans*, of the first quality, were appointed to execute the purposes of this embassy, and they arrived in the camp soon after the departure of the republican ambassadors. They were received with great ceremony and respect, heard attentively, and thanked for *Moteczuma's* present, valued at a thousand pieces of eight; but *Cortez* deferred giving his answer until they should have an opportunity of seeing the *Tlascalan* ministers; a precaution which answered more important purposes than the general expected; for the *Mexicans* were not long in the *Spanish* quarters, before they betrayed their whole instructions, by the indiscreet manner in which they asked questions about the negotiation with the republic.

*Xicotencal
comes ambassa-
dor to Cortez.*

ALL this while the senate was exhibiting proofs of their design to regain the friendship and esteem of the *Spaniards*, who were plentifully supplied with all manner of provision by the peasants, at the expence of the republic; strict orders being issued, not to receive the smallest return or reward for the provisions. Soon after *Xicotencal* in person, attended by fifty gentlemen of his family, arrived at the quarters, in the name of the senate and republic of *Tlascala*; this noblemen having requested the commission out of public spirit, and an earnest desire to save his country. He had tried the efforts of arms, as long as prudence dictated to him that the *Tlascalans* ought to rely upon their own valour; and now he was ambitious of promoting a peace, because he believed it not only salutary to the republic, but the only means by which he could merit the good opinion of *Cortez*, whom he esteemed, and even adored, as a hero, inspired and assisted by the gods. He appeared with the open bold air of a soldier; and having paid his respects to the general, took his seat, told his name, and confessed himself the sole author of the war, and the general of those forces who had endeavoured to destroy the *Spaniards*; but, struck with their valour and magnanimity, came now, with the merit of submission, to put himself in the hands of the conqueror, hoping by this acknowledgment to obtain pardon for the republic, whose name, power, and authority, he had to sue for peace, with all possible deference, and to accept it upon the terms which the *Spanish* general should think fit to impose. "I ask this, said he, once, twice, thrice, in the name of the senate, nobles, and commons
" of

- a “ of *Tlascala*, intreating you, with all earnestness, to honour the city with your presence, where you shall find quarters provided for your men, and all the respect and service that can be expected from those who are brave, and submit to intreat and obey. I only pray of you, not as a condition of the peace, but as an act of your own generosity, that the inhabitants be well used, and our gods and wives preserved from the licentiousness of the soldiers.”

CORTÉZ was delighted with the noble freedom of the *Tlascalan* warrior, and expressed his satisfaction in his countenance: however, lest *Xicotencal* should mistake the motive, and ascribe it to the joy with which he received the proposals for peace, he answered with the utmost gravity by the interpreter, “ That the republic was highly blameable for declaring so unjust a war, and *Xicotencal* no less faulty in prosecuting it with such common obstinacy: however, that as the *Spaniards* were averse to blood, except in cases of extreme necessity, and sensible of the valour of the *Tlascalans*, they granted the peace he desired, out of respect to the gallant exertions they made in their own defence, though upon a mistaken principle; he would favour the city with a visit, and would be careful that no violence or extortion should be committed by the soldiers;” adding, that he would give the senate timely notice of his march, that proper quarters might be provided. *Xicotencal*, who considered this as a pretence of *Cortez* to examine into the sincerity of the *Tlascalans*, shewed his concern at the suspicion, and turning his eyes upon the audience, cried out with vehemence: “ You have reason, great *Teules*, or gods, to chastise our sincerity with your distrust; but if it be not sufficient to gain your credit when the whole republic of *Tlascala* speaks to you by the lips of her captain-general, and these gentlemen of my retinue, who are the principal persons in the commonwealth, I and my attendants will remain as hostages in your hand, and even submit to imprisonment, during your residence in our city.” This offer, however, was refused by *Cortez*, who told him, that the *Spaniards* wanted no other security than their own valour; that he had no doubts of the sincerity of the republic, as she must know it to be her interest; that the peace remained firm and secure; and that he would proceed to *Tlascala*, as soon as the proper dispositions were made for quitting his present situation, and dispatching the ambassadors of *Moteczuma*.

- d WHEN the *Tlascalans* were gone, the *Mexicans* used their utmost address to persuade *Cortez*, that no confidence ought to be placed in the protestations of a barbarous, perfidious people, who only wanted to draw him into an indolent security, the more easily to destroy him and his whole army: but when they found him resolute, they used intreaties, and requested, with the utmost submission, that he would defer his visit to *Tlascala* for the space of six days, until they could inform *Moteczuma* of what had passed, and receive his farther instructions. *Cortez*, thinking it necessary to maintain the respect due to so great a monarch, consented, in hopes of removing those difficulties which had hitherto obstructed his request of being admitted to the court of *Mexico*. At the expiration of the time limited, the ambassadors returned, and with them were six gentlemen of the royal family, with a splendid attendance, and a present still more valuable than any of the former. They presented the great *Moteczuma*’s profound respect for the prince whom the *Spaniards* obeyed, whose grandeur was sufficiently apparent from the valour of his subjects. They represented, that the emperor found himself inclinable to cultivate the friendship of their monarch, by paying him a yearly tribute, dividing with him those riches in which he abounded; because he held him in great veneration, as the offspring of the sun, or at least the lord of those happy regions where light is produced: but that two previous conditions were necessary to this agreement. The first was, that no peace should be concluded with the *Tlascalans*; and the second, that *Cortez* should lay aside all thoughts of marching to *Mexico*, as, by the laws of the empire, the sovereign could not suffer himself to be approached by strangers. They concluded with an invective against the perfidy of the *Tlascalans*, the danger into which *Cortez* was plunging headlong, through his own credulity, and the little reason which the *Spaniards* would have to complain of the most fatal consequences, after having so repeatedly shut their ears to the most salutary admonitions.

Endeavours of the Mexicans to break off the negotiation.

- f FROM the whole of this discourse, the fear of *Moteczuma*, rather than his esteem or veneration for the *Spaniards*, was very apparent. *Cortez* deferred his answer, only telling the ambassadors, that it was necessary they should take some rest after so long and fatiguing a journey. He was willing they should be witnesses to the peace concluded with the *Tlascalans*, and prevented from returning before that event was placed on the most secure basis, lest *Moteczuma*, enraged at his resolution, should begin to put himself in a posture of defence. Hitherto he knew no preparations had been made, the court relying wholly upon the force of presents, and the exaggerated representations of the imperial power; and it was his business to keep up this infatuated negligence and security, which had taken possession

Cortez makes
his public entry
into Tlascala.

September 23,
1519.

Description of
the city and
province.

session of *Moteczuma* and his council. Yet, though the delays were necessary to *Cortez*, they proved extremely irksome to the *Tlascalans*, who were resolved, as the last proof of their sincerity, that the whole senate in a body should wait upon him at his quarters, determining not to return until they had conducted the general to their city, and broke off the negotiations with the *Mexicans*; a mutual jealousy of their ancient rivals, which *Cortez* knew how to improve to his own advantage. The appearance of the senate was solemn and numerous; all being adorned with plumes and other ornaments, of such colours as denoted their proper persons. They were conveyed in litters, supported by the shoulders of inferior officers; *Magiscatzin*, that venerable sage, who had always favoured the *Spaniards*, holding the most distinguished and honourable rank. Next to him came the father of *Xicotencal*, blind with old age, but vigorous in his intellects, and extremely respected on account of his good sense and experience. Such was the curiosity of this old man to become acquainted with *Cortez*, that he advanced before his companions, desired to be led near the captain of the strangers, embraced the general with marks of sincerity and extraordinary esteem, and then touched and felt him all over, as if he was desirous of supplying the want of sight with his hands. Upon this the ambassadors were seated, and the blind sage addressed himself to *Cortez* in a sensible speech, in which he apologized for the late acts of hostility, demanded his friendship, and assured him of the sincerity of the republic in her proposals of amity. He touched upon the negotiation with the ambassadors of *Moteczuma*, and their endeavours to frustrate the pacific designs of the senate; and exhorted *Cortez* not to pay any regard to the tradition and insidious suggestions of the tyrant, their inveterate enemy; concluding with offers to put the liberties of *Tlascala* into his hands, and earnest intreaties that he would take up his quarters in the city; a request urged with so much importunity by the whole body of the senate, and such appearances of candor and sincerity, as were not to be longer resisted. *Cortez*, therefore, answered the senate with the utmost civility, making presents to each, and passing his word, that as soon as he could assemble the people from the villages necessary for conducting his artillery, he would set out for *Tlascala*, admonishing the senate, and indeed exerting his authority, to oblige them to return, as he could not lodge them with the convenience due to their rank, quality, and friendship. With this promise they departed; and scarce had the sun appeared next morning, when the *Spaniards* found five thousand *Tamenes*, or carriers, at their quarters, so officious to do them service, that they disputed who should have the honour of bearing the heaviest burdens. Every thing being now in readiness, the *Spaniards* began their march with all the order and caution constantly observed by this little army. On every side the fields were crowded with spectators, and the air was filled with cries of joy and loud acclamations. The senate came a considerable way out of the city to meet the *Spaniards*, with all the pomp observed in public solemnities; and having paid their compliments, surrounded the person of the general, and conducted him to *Tlascala*. When they entered the city, the rejoicings became louder and more tumultuous, human voices being mixed with the harsh music of the *Indian* flutes, horns, and drums, and the croud so great, that the officers of the senate found the utmost difficulty in clearing a passage for the procession. Women strewed flowers in the streets, and some of greater resolution pressed through the concourse, and put garlands into the hands of the soldiers, while the priests, in their sacrificing habits, offered incense, and a variety of perfumes to their nostrils. All shewed the sincerity of their hearts in their countenances; but in general the joy of the people yielded to wonder and veneration at the appearance and valour of the strangers. The quarters assigned were extremely commodious, the whole *Spanish* army being lodged in adjoining spacious apartments in contiguous squares. *Cortez* carried with him the ambassadors of *Moteczuma*, and lodged them, at their desire, under his own protection, as they seemed terribly apprehensive of some violence from the *Tlascalans*. Every day brought fresh testimonies of the real esteem in which the *Tlascalans* held the *Spaniards*; though they ventured to complain of their going armed, as if they still entertained suspicion of the sincerity of the republic; a necessary caution, which *Cortez* excused, by assuring them it was the custom of his country, and arms a part of the dress and equipage of a soldier, which he never laid aside in the most peaceable times, because they inured him to fatigue, obedience, and vigilance. In a word, during the space of twenty days, which the *Spaniards* continued in *Tlascala*, not a single act of offence passed on either side, and the basis of a firm alliance was laid between the two nations, of so much consequence to the future conquest, that to this day the inhabitants of this province enjoy a variety of privileges and exemptions, in reward of their friendship and fidelity.

In those days the city of *Tlascala* was poor, but populous; poor, we mean, with respect to gold and silver, though the inhabitants enjoyed most of the conveniences of life without the luxuries, and were so abstemious and strongly attached to liberty, that they eat all their food without salt, rather than carry on an intercourse with *Moteczuma*. The town was built

- a built upon four eminences, differing in height, and at a small distance from each other, stretching in length from east to west, and being naturally fortified by rocks, precipices, and steep ascents. These hills were divided into four wards, each governed by a cazique, under the authority of the senate, the supreme legislative and executive power. They were united and joined by several streets, lined with thick walls, that served as a defence where the natural situation was not thought sufficiently strong. The houses were low, consisting only of one floor, the roofs flat, and decorated with galleries. The streets were narrow and crooked, and the whole contrived more for external security, than internal convenience. The circuit of the province was about fifty leagues, the country rugged and mountainous, but extremely fertile in the vallies, all of which were finely watered.
- b The adjacent provinces were all subject to *Moteczuma*; but the republic was divided from them by rough high mountains, as if nature had provided a barrier for the defence of the liberties of this warlike people. The *Totonques*, *Otomies*, and other fiercer mountaineers, who had preserved their freedom, were in strict alliance with the republic; which, besides the capital we have described, was filled with other towns and large villages. From the earliest infancy the *Tlascalans* were addicted to arms and superstition. Their valour was distinguished over all *Mexico*; and this natural courage was directed by skill in martial exploits, to which all degrees of men were exercised. Such was the abundance of *Indian* wheat in this province, that from thence it was called *Tlascala*, or the land of bread; besides which it produced great abundance of delicious fruit, game, and that valuable commodity cochineal, of the use of which the *Tlascalans* were ignorant, regarding it only as an useless excrescence of the plant they called *Tuna*, though it has since been discovered to be a female insect. With all those blessings of plenty and security, *Tlascala* had its inconveniences, particularly by being exposed to great tempests and dreadful hurricanes, as well as to the inundations of the river *Zabul*, which frequently destroyed the harvest, and even the towns of the *Tlascalans*, unless they happened to be situated on high eminences. To these we may add the want of salt, a commodity of which the *Tlascalans* were fond, tho' the country produced none; and they were too obstinate in their enmity to be supplied from *Mexico*.

SUCH was the character of this republic, at the time it was conquered by *Cortez*, and linked by ties of perpetual amity to his interest; and we have been the more particular in describing this commonwealth, because the *Tlascalans* were extremely instrumental in all the future conquests made in *New Spain*, by which name the empire of *Mexico* began at this time to be distinguished (A).

AFTER *Cortez* had resided some days at *Tlascala*, and by the mutual civilities which passed between his people and the republicans, convinced the *Mexican* ambassadors of the solidity of the peace, he thought proper to dispatch them with respectful compliments to *Moteczuma*, without relinquishing his pretensions to visit the court of that prince. He then made preparations for advancing towards the capital, while the *Tlascalans* endeavoured all in their power to put off the time of his departure, by amusing the *Spaniards* with festivals, public entertainments, dancing after their manner, and feats of dexterity and agility. At last the day for the march being appointed, a dispute arose, whether they should march through *Cholula*, a populous city attached to *Moteczuma*, or take a longer and less convenient rout, rather than run any hazard. *Cortez* himself was disposed to the former; but the *Tlascalans* used all their influence to dissuade him from the resolution. Mean time new ambassadors, with another present, came from *Moteczuma*, and by their behaviour de-

(A) It may be necessary on this occasion to take notice of the means by which the *Spaniards* fell upon a discovery, which afterwards proved of the utmost importance, though it was then regarded only as a matter of curiosity. From the highest eminence on which the city *Tlascala* was situated, might be seen the volcano of *Popocatepec*, which sent forth a constant smoke, at which the *Indians* were no way terrified, because it was usual. While *Cortez* resided here, the volcano began to look unusually cloudy: it vomited smoke and flame with such violence, that the superstitious *Tlascalans* presaged some terrible calamity to their republic. The flame and fire was a phenomenon to which they had not been accustomed, and they explained it, by alledging, that those sparks of light which did not again return to the volcano, were the souls of tyrants sent abroad to chastise the earth, and were the instruments of the divine vengeance. This notion gained credit with *Maxiscatzin*, and some of the greatest personages of the state; although their understanding in other respects were clear and extensive, and they were entertaining *Cortez* with their wild superstitions, when

Diego Ordaz came to ask his leave to ascend the top of the mountain, to examine the volcano more accurately; a request which greatly astonished the affrighted *Tlascalans*, who regarded him as little better than a madman, or else a being conscious of his own immortality. *Cortez* yielded to the pressing instances of *Ordaz*, who, accompanied by two soldiers, ventured to the very mouth of the gulph, at the bottom of which he discovered a great mass of liquid fire; whence he conjectured that the bowels of the mountain must abound with sulphur; and this conjecture was proved by experiment in course of the conquest of *Mexico*. The army being in great want of powder when *Cortez* entered that country a second time, he recollected the volcano in *Tlascala*, sent thither to look for sulphur, and found great quantities, of which he made powder, which proved so essential to the success of the expedition, that *Ordaz*, the discoverer, was rewarded for an action, which, at the time, was deemed rash curiosity, and had for his arms the burning mountain. *De Solis*, lib. iii. cap. iv.

terminated *Cortez* in his sentiments. They told him their monarch had now condescended to suffer himself to be visited by the *Spaniards*; and that he had provided quarters for them at *Cholula*, and every thing which could render the journey agreeable and easy. This sudden change in *Moteczuma's* councils and behaviour, afforded suspicion that some deep stratagem was intended; however, this only served to confirm his resolution of going by *Cholula*, lest his betraying any symptoms of fear might inspire the enemy with courage; and that he might likewise have an opportunity of trying his strength with *Moteczuma*, before he found himself inclosed in the heart of his empire. The *Tlascalans* were certain that treachery was at the bottom of *Moteczuma's* affected kindness, and therefore renewed their instances; but *Cortez*, who affected being superior to cunning and strength, laid before them such arguments in support of his opinion, that they acquiesced; even *Magiscatzin* and *Xicotencal* applauded his magnanimity and judgment.

Cortez prepares to march for Cholula.

BEFORE *Cortez* begun his march, he received new marks of suspicion that the people of *Cholula* were but little disposed to his service, and he took notice to the *Mexican* ambassadors of his surprize they had not favoured him with an embassy, if they entertained the friendly sentiments which they alledged, as even those *caziques*, who never expected him into their country, had shewn him this piece of respect. The apology which the ambassadors made served rather to confirm than remove suspicion; they ascribed the conduct of the *Cholulans* to inadvertency, and endeavoured to repair the omission by giving them notice of the opinion of the *Spaniards*; in consequence of which, four *Indians* came to *Tlascala*, in quality of ambassadors, but of so mean rank, that *Cortez* refused admitting them to an audience; telling the *Mexicans*, that certainly the people of *Cholula* were very little acquainted with the modes of civility, when they made amends for a neglect, by adding ill-manners and discourtesy. When *Cortez* drew out his troops to begin their march, he found an army of *Tlascalans* in the field, whose officers had orders from the senate to obey his orders, and attend him not only to *Cholula*, but as far as *Mexico*; where they supposed he would meet with the greatest dangers and difficulties. This body of troops was very considerable; and some writers enlarge so far, as to affirm it amounted to one hundred thousand men: certain it is, that the flower of the republic's forces was called forth on this occasion; and that, although *Cortez* refused the obligation, he expressed his sense of this proof of the affection of the *Tlascalans* by the most endearing expressions. He represented to the senate the inconvenience consequent on the march of so large an army, especially as his designs were pacific; and procured their consent that he should be attended only by a few companies of their people; which himself acknowledges, in his relation, amounted to six thousand men; though *Herrera* reduces them to half that number. The first day's march brought *Cortez* within a league of *Cholula*, and he encamped all night in the fields, rather than expose his troops to the danger of stratagems in the dark, in a place with which he was entirely unacquainted. Next morning, as he drew near, an embassy, of better appearance than the former, came out to meet him, bringing a present of all kinds of provision, and excusing the *caziques* for not waiting upon the general at *Tlascala*, under pretence that it was an enemy's country. They offered him quarters, and expressed the great joy which it gave the inhabitants of *Cholula*, to have an opportunity of entertaining strangers so amiable for their generosity, and renowned for their valour; and every appearance, as they advanced, seemed to declare the sincerity of their profession. As he drew near the city, the priests met him with a numerous attendance of unmarried people; the road was lined with a multitude, who expressed their satisfaction by their acclamations; and except that the people of *Cholula* objected against admitting their enemies, the *Tlascalans*, into their city, there was not a circumstance passed, but what tended to confirm the *Spaniards* in the opinion, that animosity had dictated the unfavourable description of the *Cholulans*, while they lived at *Tlascala*. This objection, indeed, was extremely reasonable; nevertheless, it would have disconcerted the general, had not those friendly *Indians* voluntarily removed all difficulties, by offering to take up their quarters without the gates, in a place whence they might quickly come to the defence of their friends, since they resolved, contrary to all advice and reason, to be duped by the appearances of traitors. The *Spaniards* made their entry amidst a prodigious concourse of the inhabitants, who rent the sky with their shouts, strewed the ground with flowers, and gave every possible demonstration of the most hearty reception; but in less than two days their treachery was discovered by a fortunate accident, which probably saved the *Spaniards* from utter destruction. *Donna Marina*, who attended *Cortez* in all his adventures since his arrival on the continent, had gained the friendship of an ancient *Indian* lady in the town, of considerable distinction. This lady bemoaned *Marina's* captivity and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake those abominable strangers, and take refuge in her house. This proposal created suspicion in the breast of *Marina*; and that she might dive to the bottom of the secret, she complained of the hard usage she met with, accepted of the friendly invitation, and perfectly gained the confidence of the old

He enters that city, discovers a conspiracy, and punishes it with severity.

a old lady, who acquainted her that it was absolutely necessary she should escape from the *Spanish* quarters, for that the time appointed for the destruction of the strangers was near, and it would be a pity that so valuable a woman should perish with them. *Moteczuma*, she said, had prepared twenty thousand men, at a small distance; to make sure of the design, six thousand chosen men, of that body, had already been privately introduced in small parties into the city, and abundance of arms had been distributed among the inhabitants, quantities of stones carried up to the tops of the houses, and deep trenches cut across the streets, with sharp stakes fixed in the bottom, covered over at the top with earth on slight supporters, and railed in, in such a manner, that the cavalry should be directed to the traps. She said that *Moteczuma* had given directions, that all should be put to the sword, b except a few, which he ordered to be sent alive to *Mexico*, to gratify his curiosity, and sacrifice to his gods; and that he had presented the citizens with a gold drum, curiously embossed, to encourage them to the enterprize.

This intelligence was of the utmost importance, and *Marina* lost no time in communicating it to the general. Under pretence of carrying off her jewels and valuable effects, she went immediately to his quarters, laid the whole before him, and returned soon enough to have the old lady seized, without the smallest disturbance or suspicion that the conspiracy was detected. Upon further examination, and threats of punishment, the *Indian* lady not only confirmed the intelligence of *Marina*, but added a variety of other particulars, which would have set the truth of the fact beyond all dispute, had it not likewise been ascertained by a variety of other circumstances taken notice of by the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoalans*, who observed the inhabitants removing their families and effects in the night. Upon this *Cortez* resolved to take signal vengeance, but still to appear to the *Mexican* ambassadors in his quarters, as if he entertained no suspicion of *Moteczuma*. Besides, he fell upon a stratagem to render his revenge more complete, and at the same time less hazardous. Suppressing every sign of the discovery he had made, he sent for the caziques of the city, and published his march for next day, demanding the necessary provisions, *Tamenes* to carry his baggage and artillery, and two thousand men to accompany him, in imitation of the *Tlascalans* and *Zempoalans*. The armed men were sent with the greatest readiness, because the caziques imagined, that, by introducing those concealed enemies among the *Spaniards*, they d could have them to advantage when occasion offered; and *Cortez* accepted them, as he wanted to divide the enemy, and to have in his power a part of the traitors, whom he designed to chastise. Notice at the same time was sent to the *Tlascalans*, to hold themselves ready to act upon the first discharge of the fire-arms, and advance to the city, bringing with them all the people they found in arms. The ambassadors of *Moteczuma* were given to understand, that the conspiracy was discovered, though *Cortez* pretended to believe that the court had no share in it; and they were laid under a gentle constraint, to prevent their having any communication with the *Cholulans*, until he had completed his project of revenge. As to the two thousand *Cholulans* sent to attend him on his march, they were e divided into small parties, under pretence of being incorporated with the *Spaniards*, and then confined under a guard in different squares. Having thus made his dispositions, and issued out the proper instructions, *Cortez* mounted his horse, and ordering the city-caziques to be brought before him, told them, that now their base designs were discovered, and their punishment fixed. In order to justify himself, he ordered them to be confronted by Donna *Marina*, the old *Indian* lady, and certain priests, from whom he extorted a confession. He then fell upon the *Indians* kept in the squares, and put all to the sword, except a few, whose agility enabled them to escape by flight, and climbing over the walls. At the same time the *Tlascalans* entered, agreeable to the signal, and made dreadful slaughter, sacrificing all before them with fire and sword.

Nor were the *Cholulans* idle; perceiving they were now engaged in open hostilities, they f called in the remainder of the *Mexican* army, and joining in a large square, in which stood three or four large temples, they filled the towers and porches with soldiers, and threatened a resistance, which could only be surmounted by setting fire to the temples, and playing upon them with the artillery. This *Cortez* effected with admirable address, while the *Tlascalans* were attacking the rear of the enemy; by which means the *Cholulans* were entirely subdued, after several thousands of their people, and of the *Mexican* soldiers, perished. The same method was practised at the other temples, to which the people escaped as the strongest defences. Afterwards they ranged through the whole city, and drove out both inhabitants and *Mexicans*, until they gained entire possession, and blood ceased to flow for want of enemies. More than six thousand dead bodies were found in the streets and temples, the conspiracy was entirely defeated, the *Cholulans* were severely punished for their treacherous project, the valour of the *Spaniards* was fully established, and the *Tlascalans* not only pleased with the destruction of their enemies, but enriched with plunder, especially salt, to them the most inestimable booty, which they immediately sent home in great quan-

He reconciles
the Tlascalans
and Cholulans.

quantities. Foreign writers have accused the *Spaniards* of cruelty upon this occasion ; but it is sufficient only to their justification to reflect upon the provocation, and the necessity they were under of severely punishing so deep-laid a scheme of treachery. It is much to the honour of *Cortez*, that he no sooner surmounted danger, than he gave proofs of his clemency. The prisoners and *Moteczuma's* ambassadors being called before him, he represented to them the crimes of which the *Cholulans* had been guilty, as an apology for the rigour of the chastisement, and then assuring them that he had laid aside his resentment, he published a general pardon, released all the prisoners, and made it his request that the people should return to their former habitations and employments, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. He likewise obliged the *Tlascalans* to restore all the booty they had taken, excepting the salt, and gained so much confidence to his professions, that the *Cholulans* returned to the city with their families, opened their shops, performed their several occupations, were reunited to the *Tlascalans*, and again restored to the blessings of tranquillity under the protection of the *Spaniards*. It was one of the finest strokes of the policy of *Cortez* to engage the affections of the nations he had conquered, to efface their mutual animosities, and unite them all in his own alliance and interest. By his address he subdued, in a few days, the ancient enmity subsisting between the *Tlascalans* and *Cholulans*, and set on foot a treaty of alliance, which was confirmed by both parties ; the act of confederacy being celebrated in the presence of the magistrates of both cities, with the solemnities usually observed on those occasions by the *Indians*. This mediation was of the greatest consequence to him, as it opened the way for supplies from *Tlascala*, and also for a retreat, should circumstances turn out contrary to expectation.

Avoids a snare
laid by the
Mexicans.

HAVING thus completed his business at *Cholula*, he permitted several *Zempoalans*, who desired it, to return, sending by them letters to *Juan Escalante*, governor of *Vera Cruz* ; acquainting him with his progress, and advising him to strengthen the colony by new fortifications. He likewise sent a present to the cazique of *Zempoala*, recommending to his care the *Spaniards* left in his district ; and then, after residing in *Cholula* four or five days, was preparing to begin his march, when another embassy arrived from *Moteczuma*. That prince was desirous to efface all the suspicions which the *Spaniards* might entertain that he was concerned in the conspiracy of *Cholula*. Accordingly the ambassadors thanked *Cortez* for having chastised that treacherous people as they deserved ; setting forth the emperor's indignation at their perfidy, with protestations, every syllable of which the *Spaniards* knew to be false, though they prudently concealed their sentiments. The message was accompanied with a magnificent present, intended to lull *Cortez* into security, and draw him into another ambush prepared, of which he had notice in his march from the cazique of *Guajozingo*. The *Mexicans* had placed a great number of men in ambush on the further side of the mountain of *Chalco*, over which the *Spaniards* must pass, stopped up the royal road which leads to the province of that name, with great stones and trees, and opened and smoothed another road, which would lead *Cortez* into an impracticable pass, where his soldiers would be entangled in precipices, and put out of all condition to defend themselves against the intended attack. *Cortez* was incensed at the intelligence ; but he restrained his resentment, in order to be assured of the truth of the allegation. When he came to the place where the two roads divided, he asked *Moteczuma's* ambassadors, who were near his person, what those two roads meant ? and they answered, " that the best was levelled for the convenience of his troops, as the other stopt up was craggy and difficult." To which *Cortez* replied, without hesitation, " You are but little acquainted with my people : they will march in this way that you have blocked up, for no other reason than its difficulty ; for the *Spaniards*, whenever they have it in their option, always incline to that which is attended with most difficulty and danger ;" and saying this, he ordered the *Indians* to advance, and clear away all the obstacles which had been raised to his passage ; leaving the ambassadors in admiration at his sagacity, and fully persuaded that his resolution was guided by some divinity. This artful use *Cortez* made of his intelligence to keep up the reputation of his foresight, avoid the stratagem laid by *Moteczuma*, and yet seem as if he entertained no distrust of the good intentions of that monarch. As to the *Mexicans*, in ambuscade, they no sooner perceived the *Spaniards* taking the royal road, than not doubting but their design was discovered, they retreated with as much consternation, as if they had been actually defeated in battle ; by which means the *Spaniards* were left a free passage.

THESE accumulated disappointments broke the spirit of the haughty *Moteczuma*. He fluctuated between contending opinions and passions, and at length gave himself up to the most cruel devotion, sacrificing hecatomes of wretched human beings at the altars of his gods, to appease their supposed resentment. The contradictory oracles uttered by his idols entirely disheartened his imagination, some admonishing him to open his gates to the strangers, that he might thereby secure them all for a sacrifice ; while others advised to keep them

- a them at a distance, and endeavour to destroy them without endangering his person. The last disappointment drove him almost to madness, and silenced his oracles and counsellors, who now left him to be directed by the magicians and forcerers; a set of men in the highest reputation in *Mexico*. The society of necromancers were ordered to take the field, and by their enchantments either to destroy the *Spaniards*, or at least so to confound their counsels and stupify their intellects, so as they might become an easy conquest. If they succeeded in this, they were to be rewarded beyond expectation; but if they failed, they should be treated as impostors, and punished with the utmost severity. The magicians, either confident of their own powers, or afraid to discover the cheat with which they had so long deluded the public, assembled in numerous companies, and set out against the *Spaniards*.
- b They were in the army which fled from *Chalco*; and finding all their circles and arts vain, they returned to *Moteczuma*, with a dreadful story of the devil's having appeared to them with assurances that nothing could resist the *Spaniards*, for the gods had deserted the *Mexicans*, and taken part with the strangers. Upon hearing which *Moteczuma* exclaimed, "What can we do if our gods forsake us? Let the strangers come, and the heavens fall upon us. To hide our heads, or turn our backs on misfortune, would be dishonourable. I only lament the old men, women, and children, who cannot defend themselves:" a reflection which shewed the natural elevation of his soul, although power had rendered him a prey to his passions. From this time the emperor and the whole court began to make preparations for entertaining the *Spaniards*, believing that their prophecies were now fulfilled, and that the strangers were actually the orientalists mentioned in their traditions, who were to conquer the country with the assistance of the gods; an opinion that was corroborated by the astonishing actions of the *Spaniards*, and the marvellous signs and prodigies which had lately appeared in the heavens. Hence it was that another embassy, more splendid than any of the preceding, was dispatched to *Cortez*, headed by prince *Caminatzin*, nephew to *Moteczuma*, and lord of *Tezeuco*.

At this time *Cortez* had descended without impediment from the mountain of *Chalco*, and advanced through a beautiful country, filled with groves and gardens, that spoke the bounty of nature, and the force of culture, as far as *Amemeca*, where he halted. Here he received the compliments of the adjacent caziques, who appeared exceedingly reserved before the *Mexican* ambassadors, but in private declared freely their detestation of the royal tyrant, whom they taxed with cruelty and oppression; adding with tears, that they were forced to surrender their women as a tribute to his lust, and that of his ministers, who chose and rejected them at pleasure: nor were the mother's arms a security to their daughters, or the nuptial bed any protection to a wife. The army was encamped at *Amemeca* when the prince of *Caminatzin* arrived, attended by four of the first grandees of *Mexico*, and carried in a fine chair, covered with plumage of the most beautiful colours finely disposed, and supported by the shoulders of some officers of his family. On his alighting, troops of *Indians* ran before to clear and sweep the way, and *Cortez* went to receive him to the door of his apartment. When the proper compliments had passed, the prince took his seat with an easy majestic air, and began with welcoming *Cortez*, and the *Spanish* captains, to the *Mexican* dominions: he acquainted them with the amicable disposition with which *Moteczuma* expected their visit, and how much he desired to establish a firm and lasting friendship with the powerful eastern prince, whom they acknowledged as their master, and whose power *Moteczuma* was obliged to confess, for certain reasons which they should learn from his own lips. He concluded with compliments and apologies for the difficulties which *Cortez* must encounter in his way to *Mexico*, owing to the scarcity of provisions, and the late barrenness, which had left the people destitute; but in such a manner as if he would dissuade the *Spaniards* from the journey, at the same time that he seemed to invite them. *Cortez* easily penetrated into the design of this discourse, and answered it as he had always done upon similar occasions, by representing the pleasure which the *Spaniards* had in surmounting difficulties, the importance of his own embassy, and how much it would tend to the mutual advantage of the monarchs their sovereigns, that he should be admitted to a personal interview, which he now accepted from *Moteczuma*, by the report of his ambassador and kinsman, with the most profound acknowledgments.

Receives an
embassy from
Moteczuma,

Such an answer convinced the prince that all attempts to divert his intention would be to no purpose; he therefore waved the subject, and, after receiving some presents from *Cortez*, accompanied the army to *Tezeuco*, the capital of his dominions, and then repaired to *Mexico* to report the issue of his embassy. The *Spaniards* were highly delighted and astonished at the sight of this beautiful city, the second in *Mexico* for extent, and the first for antiquity. The front of all the buildings was extended on the borders of a spacious lake, in a delightful situation, where the great causeway of *Mexico* began: over which *Cortez* pursued his march, without stopping at *Tezeuco*, his design being to reach *Iztoapalapa*, from whence he could march with ease next day to *Mexico*. At this place the pavement was

twenty feet in breadth, built with large stones cemented with lime, and adorned with some works that answered the double purpose of strength and ornament. The cazique of *Quitlavaca* came out with a great retinue to meet *Cortez*, desiring he would honour his town with a visit, which he did not care to refuse, notwithstanding he had some suspicion of treachery, and the place lay out of his way in pursuing the direct road to the capital of the empire. To *Quitlavaca* the *Spaniards* gave the name *Venezuela*, or *Little Venice*, because like that famous city it rose out of the waters; and here *Cortez* proposed making some stay, both that he might not disoblige the cazique, and that he might have an opportunity of observing the situation of the lake, cities, and causeways, with every thing which could either forward or obstruct his march, should the *Mexicans* resolve to cut down the bridges. *Quitlavaca* commands a prospect of the greater part of the lake of *Mexico*, than which nothing can be more beautifully diversified with cities, towns, paved ways, and vessels in perpetual motion. Trees and gardens seemed to float upon the water, and to grow, as in their proper element; a sight which at the same time raised the astonishment of *Cortez*, and roused his ambition. The army was abundantly supplied with provision, and well accommodated with quarters; the people entertained the *Spaniards* with cheerfulness, and every action was performed with that politeness, which shewed that they partook of the manners of a court, and improved by their vicinity to the capital. It was a peculiar encouragement to *Cortez*, that the caziques of the whole country through which he passed, expressed the same sentiments with respect to *Moteczuma*: they detested his tyranny, but they dreaded his power; and although they shewed their inclination to break their fetters, and receive the *Spaniards* as persons destined for their deliverance, yet so habituated were they to slavery, and so often had they bled under the scourge of his cruelty, that they could scarce elevate their souls to the pleasing prospect of liberty. Possibly they imagined, from a certain foreboding which the mind sometimes has of future calamities, that the strangers would deliver them from the yoke of *Moteczuma*, only to subject them to a still more rigorous bondage.

As *Cortez* had altered his rout to oblige the cazique of *Quitlavaca*, he was under the necessity of again proceeding to *Iztoapalapa* in his way to *Mexico*. Forming his army as well as the causeway would allow, eight men a-breast, he began his march at the head of four hundred and fifty *Spaniards* (B), and above six thousand *Indian* allies, and without any remarkable adventure reached *Iztoapalapa* before the evening. The manner of building, the elegance of architecture, richness of furniture, number of houses, and populousness of the place, surprised the *Spaniards*. It contained above ten thousand habitations, many of which were superb edifices; either rising out of the waters, or fronting the lake. The cazique of this and some other towns came out with numerous retinues, and presents of fruit and provisions, to meet *Cortez*, and accompanied him in his entry amidst such loud acclamations as evinced the sincere welcome of the inhabitants. The *Spaniards* were lodged in the palace, and the *Indian* auxiliaries in courts and squares, covered over with cotton cloths, where they could securely and commodiously pass over the night. In the palace were magnificent apartments, adorned with paintings on cotton of great ingenuity, and roofed with cedar prettily covered. The town was watered with a number of fountains, conveyed by a variety of aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and adorned with several pleasant, large, well cultivated gardens. The cazique's garden, in particular, into which he conducted the *Spaniards*, would have reflected honour upon the taste of a people who had made greater progress in the polite arts.

and arrives at
Mexico, the
capital of the
empire.

HAVING sufficiently amused himself with the beauties of *Iztoapalapa*, and informed himself of the strength of the place, and disposition of the inhabitants, *Cortez* set out early next morning for *Mexico*, in order that, after paying his compliments to *Moteczuma*, he might have leisure to reconnoitre the city, and fortify his quarters. About half way he was met by four thousand persons of distinction, sent to receive him, and conduct the strangers to the capital. On drawing near the city, they met a stone fortification secured by a tower on each side, which took up the whole breadth of the causeway, and obliged the troops to make a circuit to gates which opened in another part of the causeway, terminated by a draw-bridge, which defended the entrance of the city with a second fortification. The *Mexican* nobility passed over the bridge, and then falling back to each side, made a lane for the *Spaniards*, from whence they discovered a large street with uniform buildings, and windows and battlements crowded with spectators. Soon after appeared the first troop

(B) *Herrera* alleges that he had but three hundred *Spaniards* when he left *Tlascala*, and imagining some were left behind, that he dispatched *Alvarado* to bring them together (1); but we have adhered to the relation

of *De Solis*, which appears to be more consistent with the original number of the troops, the garrison left at *Vera Cruz*, and the killed, or dead, by accident and disease.

(1) *Herrera*, *dec.* ii. *lib.* v. *cap.* 2.

a of the royal procession, consisting of about 200 noblemen richly dressed in the same fashion, adorned with large plumes similar in colour. They filed to each side, and discovered thro' the avenue they made a more numerous and brilliant company, in the midst of which was *Moteczuma*, carried on the shoulders of his favourites, in a chair of burnished gold, says *De Solis*, tho' *Herrera* omits the chair, and relates that he came under a rich canopy of green feathers and gold, disposed in the most beautiful proportions. This canopy, which formed an elegant kind of net-work, was supported by four lords of the first distinction, and preceded by three great officers with golden rods in their hands, which they waved as a signal of the emperor's approach, that all might prostrate themselves, without presuming to lift up their eyes, which was deemed a kind of sacrilege. When *Moteczuma* alighted from his chair, *Cortez* dismounted and approached him, while *Indians* were employed in laying carpets on the intermediate way, to prevent the royal feet from touching the ground. His form was solemn and majestic, being supported by two nephews barefooted, in token of respect and humiliation. *Moteczuma's* apparel was a fine cotton mantle, adorned with jewels in such abundance, that it appeared rather an incumbrance than an ornament. It was laid carelessly on his shoulders, and swept the ground behind. On his head he wore a light gold crown, resembling a mitre, and his feet were cased in shoes of beaten gold, in form not unlike the *Roman* sandals. His presence was majestic, his stature middling, his age about forty, his constitution rather delicate than robust, his complexion fair for the climate, his nose aquiline, his eyes lively and piercing, and his features regular and handsome. He condescended to salute *Cortez* with a respect which he had never before shewn, bending his body so low that he touched the ground with his hand, while the general made the most profound reverence in the manner of his country; which, however, was thought extremely impolite by the imperial attendants: *Cortez* threw round his neck, while they were making their compliments, a chain of cut glass, in imitation of diamonds, which he had reserved as a present for the first audience; and the princes who supported *Moteczuma* would have prevented him, because it was not lawful to approach so near the sovereign; but *Moteczuma* reprimanded them, and was so pleased with the chain, that he placed it among his jewels of inestimable value. The manner in which he returned it was sufficient proof of the price he put upon it; for he ordered a collar made of red shells to be brought, set together with the greatest art, and adorned with eight crabs of beaten gold, which exactly imitated nature. This was reckoned among the most valuable of the royal jewels; and the emperor, with his own hands, suspended it round the general's neck, to the great admiration of all the *Indians*, who now began really to persuade themselves that this must be some celestial being, to whom the emperor paid such veneration. This speech made by *Cortez* was concise and energetic; the answer returned by *Moteczuma* was also short, discreet, and full of dignity; after which he ordered the *Spaniards* to be conducted to their quarters, and returned to his chair and palace with the same ceremonies as we have described. In this manner did *Cortez* surmount the greatest difficulties, arriving safely in the capital of *Mexico*, after having defeated the *Tabascans*, eluded all the stratagems of *Moteczuma*, conquered the warlike republic of *Tlascala*, engaged that state in a perpetual alliance, punished the dangerous conspiracy of *Cholula*, escaped the snares laid for him in the mountain of *Chalco*, appeased the mutinies of his own people, and gained the respect of not only the tributary princes, and lords of *Mexico*, but of the haughty *Moteczuma* himself, who was forced to treat him upon a footing of equality, and with a reverence which he refused to the gods themselves.

S E C T. V.

f Containing an account of *Moteczuma's* pomp, wealth, government, power, and at last of his imprisonment by *Cortez*, with divers other particulars, which occurred in the course of his confinement.

g *CORTEZ* had now reached the capital, where himself and troops were treated with a respect that exceeded the most sanguine expectation; but with regard to the great object of this expedition, namely, the subjection of this vast empire to the crown of *Spain*, it was in appearance as remote as ever. Had *Moteczuma* opposed his advances by open hostilities, and been defeated, the fate of *Mexico* would have immediately been determined; but on the friendly footing he was admitted to the presence of that prince, and into the heart of the kingdom, it was difficult to execute his projects without the greatest perfidy and violation of the sacred rights of hospitality. Time, however, rendered easy what appeared beyond the reach of human genius; and lucky circumstances were so judiciously improved, that although we cannot altogether vindicate the conduct of the *Spaniards* in that point of justice and integrity, they will appear less culpable than is supposed by many writers.

A. D. 1519.

It was on the 8th day of *November* that *Cortez* made his public entry into *Mexico*. He was lodged with all his forces in one of the royal palaces, a superb edifice, fortified with strong walls, and flanked with high towers. The accommodations were good; some of the apartments designed for the superior officers were hung with ingenious cotton paintings, and furnished with handsome wooden chairs, carved out of one block of timber, and beds shaped like pavilions, with bottoms of palm matts, and bolsters of the same materials; and with the same simplicity lived the greatest princes of this opulent country. *Cortez* immediately distributed guards, placed his artillery, and took equal care to make the lodgings of his soldiers commodious, and their quarters secure. A splendid banquet had been prepared, by order of the emperor, in the principal apartments of the *Spanish* quarters, and great abundance of less delicate provision for the soldiers. After dinner *Moteczuma* honoured the general with a visit, and ordering the attendants to retire, entered upon a laboured, but seemingly familiar, harangue, in which he gave him to understand, that he was sensible the *Spaniards* were mortals like the *Indians*, and the thunder which they grasped nothing more than some secret in science. “Your ears have been abused, said he, as well as mine. You have been told that I am immortal, that my power and person are equal to those of the gods, that fortune rains down her favours upon me, that the walls and coverings of my palaces are all of gold, and that the earth bends beneath the weight of my treasures. You have also been told that I am cruel, tyrannical, oppressive, proud, unjust, and a stranger to mercy. Both the one and the other are equally false. This arm (uncovering a scar) will shew that I am mortal. My riches, indeed, are great, but they have been magnified by fame and flattery; from these instances you may judge that my bad qualities have been likewise aggravated. Suspend, therefore, your judgment until you know whether that which they call cruelty and oppression be not necessary chastisement. With respect to yourself, some report, that you are wicked, malicious, revengeful, covetous, proud, and the slave of your passions; but I see that you are of the same form and composition as the rest of mankind; though you are distinguished from us by some accidents arising from different countries. You are courteous and affable, you are brave and religious, your resentments are founded upon reason; you bear hardships like true soldiers; the liberality which I myself have experienced evinces that you are not sordid. In a word, you are men like ourselves, but with superior qualities; and as to the wild beasts you command, which report hath so magnified, they are only a kind of deer, tractable and docile, with such an imperfect degree of knowledge as may be attained by brutes. We must, therefore, forget, on both sides, all past misinformations, and thank our eyes for undeceiving our understanding. We are not ignorant that the great prince whom you obey, is descended from our ancient *Quezalcoal*, lord of the seven caves of the *Navatlaques*, and lawful king of those seven nations, which gave beginning to the *Mexican* empire. By ancient tradition, which we regard as infallible, we know that he departed from these countries to subdue regions in the East, leaving a promise that in time his descendants should return to model our laws, and reform our government. The marks which you carry about agree with our tradition and prophecies, and the prince of the East, who sends you, manifests in your exploits the greatness of so illustrious a progenitor: we have, therefore, determined that all things shall be done to his honour; of which I now advertise you, that you may truly declare whatever you have to propose, and ascribe to so noble a cause this excess of my goodness.”

Moteczuma's
speech to Cortez.

Cortez's answer.

CORTEZ perceived the drift of this speech, and answered it with equal address. He endeavoured to maintain *Moteczuma's* opinion of the extraordinary valour of the *Spaniards*, without departing from truth. He acknowledged that the fire-arms which the *Indians* mistook for lightning and thunder, were the invention of human genius; but he left *Moteczuma* from this very circumstance to judge of the superiority of the *Spaniards* in point of contrivance and understanding. He told him that the horses were not deer as he imagined, but animals of a more generous nature, martial, furious, and ambitious of emulating the glory of their masters. He made a politic use of the absurd tradition so firmly believed by the emperor, and the original which the *Indians* bestowed on the Catholic king, believing that this would give greater weight to his embassy; he touched upon the impious religion of the *Mexicans*, and gave a short sketch of the principal tenets of the Christian faith; telling *Moteczuma*, that to reform the abuses of the most absurd idolatry, was the main object of his commission from the king. But *Moteczuma* patiently heard all his arguments without the least appearance of conviction; and when the general had done, rose up from his seat, addressing himself to *Cortez* in the following words. “I accept, with due acknowledgment, the friendship you propose from the descendant of the great *Quezalcoal*; but all gods are good: yours may be so in your country; mine are so in mine. Let each enjoy their attributes undisturbed: repose yourselves now, looking towards the *Spaniards* in general; you are in your own house, where you shall be served
“with

a "with all the regard due to your valour, and to the great prince your master." After which he gave presents of gold, pieces of cloth, and several fine plumes, to *Cortez*, distributing also some jewels of lesser value among the other *Spaniards*, and then withdrew to his own palace.

Cortez visits Motezuma in his palace.

CORTEZ desired leave to return this visit next day, and his request was readily granted. He went attended by his captains, and six or seven favourite soldiers, and among the rest *Diaz del Castillo*, the earliest historian of this conquest, who had already begun to collect materials for his work. The streets were crowded with people, and the *Spaniards*, amidst the acclamations, heard the word *Teule*, or divinity, frequently repeated to their great satisfaction, because it shewed in what estimation they were held by those simple *Indians*.
 b The appearance of the royal palace sufficiently demonstrated the great magnificence of the sovereigns of *Mexico*. The pile was of such extent that thirty gates opened to as many different streets; and the front, which occupied the whole side of a spacious parade, was built of finely polished jasper of different colours. Over the great gate was the imperial arms pompously blazoned. Here *Cortez* was received by the officers of the court with great ceremony, and after being conducted through three extensive squares, at last arrived at *Motezuma's* apartments, where there was equal reason to admire the grandeur of the rooms, and the richness of the furniture. The floors were covered with a variety of different mats of beautiful workmanship and texture, the walls with cotton hangings finely painted, and interwoven with the skins of rabbits, and the most interior apartment was adorned with
 c a kind of tapestry, made of the plumage of birds, formed into pictures with most elegant shades, and disposed in the most pleasing order of colours. As to the roofs, they were all of cedar and other sweet scented woods, with different foliages and relievos, that discovered taste and genius in the artists; besides, the manner in which the ceilings were supported with rails, or beams, was exceedingly curious, this being entirely effected by force, opposition, and the pressure of the lateral on the central parts, which displayed a mechanical invention in the architects, superior to what might have been expected from so rude and ignorant a people as the *Mexicans*, whose knowledge was entirely the result of genius and reflection, as they had no communication with any other nation so civilized as themselves. Every thing was new and extraordinary to the *Spaniards*, and every thing contributed to increase their respect for the monarch. The grandeur of the palace, the ceremonies of the crowds of attendants, their quality, and the profound silence observed by so numerous a train, all impressed the imagination with the most exalted idea of the power of *Motezuma*, and the potency of the *Mexican* empire.

THAT prince was standing in the midst of all these ensigns of his authority, when, observing *Cortez*, he advanced to meet him, laid his arms familiarly on his shoulders, and then addressed the rest of the *Spaniards* with a gracious nod and smile. The visit was long, and the conversation such as might be supposed to pass among friends upon a perfect equality. *Motezuma* divested himself of all the pomp of majesty, without losing sight of his dignity, and condescended to question *Cortez* about the nature, politics, and curiosities of
 e the eastern countries. All his interrogations evinced strong sense, and a manly extensive understanding. He then touched upon the obligations of the *Mexicans* to the descendants of their first monarch, and expressed his particular satisfaction that the prophecies concerning the reformation to be made by strangers, were completed in his time; a compliment less fraught with truth, than the politeness of a court. *Cortez* artfully drew on the conversation to the topic of religion: but all his arguments on this head proved fruitless; except with respect to the barbarous custom of decking the royal table with dishes made of human flesh, which *Motezuma* ordered henceforward to be refused. But as to the point of human sacrifices, he said he could see no impiety in offering to his gods these prisoners of war already condemned to die; nor did he at all approve of that maxim laid down in sacred
 f writ, to extend neighbourly affection to an enemy. Though he seemed to approve of the benevolence and humanity of the Christian religion in certain particulars; he, notwithstanding, constantly returned to his old assertion, "That his gods were good in *Mexico*, as well as the Christian gods in the east." The *Spanish* writers speak as if policy alone had prevented *Motezuma* from embracing the Catholic doctrines, and represent *Cortez* as an able orator and divine. He looked upon the basis of royal authority to be laid on the absurd superstition of the people, and their reverence for the priests, with whom it would be dangerous to have any altercation upon a topic in which their interest, influence, and characters, were so deeply concerned. He dreaded their displeasure, and the contempt of his vassals, in case he should relax in his zeal for the worship of his gods, out of complaisance to the strangers. The *Spaniards* corroborated this opinion by an incident which fell
 g out about this time.

MOTEZUMA took it into his head one day to display the magnificence of his temples to the *Spaniards*, and accordingly asked *Cortez* to attend him, with some of his principal officers,

Moteczuma
shews his tem-
ples to the
Spaniards.

officers, and favourite soldiers. When they came to the entrance, *Moteczuma* ordered them to halt, and advanced himself to know of the priests if it was lawful to bring into the presence of their gods men who refused to worship them? This question was answered in the affirmative, provided they would behave with proper respect. Immediately all the gates of this superb edifice were set open, and *Moteczuma* took upon himself the office of explaining the uses of all the different vessels, instruments, and utensils, which he performed with such ridiculous ceremony and reverence, that the *Spaniards* could not refrain from laughter. Of this *Moteczuma* seemed to take no particular notice, only looking upon the *Spaniards* as desiring to restrain their mirth, until *Cortez*, transported with inexpressible zeal, addressed himself to him in the following terms. "Permit me, Sir, to fix the cross of Christ before these images of the devil, and you shall see whether they deserve adoration or contempt." This proposal enraged the priests, and reduced *Moteczuma* to great perplexity, between his reverence for religion, his dread of the priesthood, and his regard to the *Spaniards*, and the rights of hospitality. "You might, at least, said he, have shewed this place the respect due to my person;" a reproof which equally shewed his good sense and politeness, though the *Spanish* writers ascribe it to the terror with which the strangers had inspired him. It would appear however from their own confession, that *Cortez* regarded it in another light; for he took an immediate resolution not to converse any more on the subject of religion, and accordingly laid aside his zeal to make converts.

Description of
the city of
Mexico.

THAT the reader may have a stronger idea of the difficulties which *Cortez* had to surmount, in course of this extraordinary adventure of the conquest of *Mexico*, it may be proper that we should exhibit a short description of the capital of this vast empire, the splendor of the court, the immense revenues of the monarch, and other particulars, equally conducive to gratify curiosity, and render the subsequent narrative more entertaining and intelligible. This great city, anciently known by the name of *Tenuch-chitlam*, was situated in an extensive plain, surrounded by high rocks and mountains, from which rolled down streams into the valley, that formed themselves into different lakes, and particularly into two of a larger size, where the valley happened to be deepest. Between these two great lakes were sluices, by which the defect of water in the one was supplied from the redundancy in the other; and it is reported, that the waters had different qualities, the uppermost being clear and sweet, abounding with fish; and the lower, salt and sterile, from a nitrous quality in the soil at the bottom. It is certain that salt was made in the latter, though it could possibly have no communication with the sea, and was frequently filled with the waters let down from the former. All the lakes put together contained a space of near thirty leagues in circumference, and were adorned with about fifty different cities and towns, which afforded a most delightful and romantic prospect. In the middle of the salt water lake stood the city of *Mexico*, which, at the time we are speaking of, is said to have contained not less than sixty thousand families. It was joined to the land by dykes and large causeways, erected at a prodigious expence, giving an air of grandeur, and great convenience, to this capital. That over which the *Spaniards* marched pointed to the South, and was two leagues in length; another extended to the northward above a league; and a third led to the West, nearly of the same length. All the streets were broad, and in a direct line; but what rendered them very peculiar was, that some were entirely covered with water, so as to admit the passage of small vessels and canoes with which they were perpetually crowded. Bridges were likewise laid over, for the greater dispatch of business, and ease of carriage. In general, the streets consisted of earthen banks, faced with stones, raised with prodigious labour in the midst of the waters, and thus were composed of earth and water, with a foot-road on each side; the whole forming the most agreeable appearance that imagination can conceive. Nothing could be better contrived for all the purposes of commerce or pleasure; and *Mexico* resembled in miniature, what we are told of the vast empire of *China*, in the variety of land and water, the canals filled with boats, the multitude of inhabitants, the perpetual bustle of the people, and that constant motion in which every object was beheld.

Great fair of
Mexico.

THE city was divided between the vulgar, and the court and nobility, the former possessing the district called *Tlatelulco*, where the buildings were lower, meaner, and crowded. The other district was larger, and occupied by the nobility, filled with the buildings of the court, and other public edifices, all faced with stone, and of good architecture. Both districts were laid out in parades, where an infinity of merchandize was daily exposed. At certain days of the year, fairs were held in *Tlatelulco*, to which all the merchants and traders in the empire flocked. It was held in a square of vast dimensions, one of the largest in the world, says *Herrera*, yet was it filled with tents pitched so close, that there was scarce room left for the buyers to pass each other; notwithstanding which, all business was carried on with the utmost regularity, and nothing like confusion appeared. Here might be seen jewellers and goldsmiths, who sold toys of the most curious workmanship. Here

- a were rows of painters, who exhibited the figures of animals, and landscapes composed of feathers, so nicely placed, as exactly to imitate nature. To this fair were brought all the different kinds of cotton manufactures made in the empire, whether plain or painted, with such abundance of other commodities, as it would be too tedious and unnecessary to enumerate; sufficient it is, that the *Mexican* artists here constantly exhibited the most extraordinary proofs of their ingenuity and patience. Traffic was carried on chiefly by an exchange of commodities, and goods of small price were bought chiefly with maize or cocoa. The *Mexicans* had no standards of weight; but they had measures for space and quantity, and a kind of number by which they adjusted the price of commodities by the taxes they paid, and the labour employed: but as we shall have occasion to treat afterwards of
- b the manners and customs of those people, we shall omit, in this place, every thing not relative to the state of the kingdom at the time it was visited by *Cortez*. For the greater dispatch of business, and preservation of order, a board of justice was appointed, not only to decide all disputes which might arise among the merchants who frequented this fair, but likewise to inspect that all the commodities exposed for sale, were marketable. Inferior officers were continually employed in going about to prevent frauds in contracts, suppress tumults, and preserve tranquility: and such was the dread in which these magistrates were held, that seldom any irregularity or disturbance ever happened. It was not therefore, without reason, that the *Spaniards* beheld with astonishment the opulence and good government of this empire, and the industry, address, and genius of the inhabitants, whom
- c they nevertheless termed barbarians.

Nothing added more to the beauty and magnificence of the city of *Mexico*, than the great number of stately temples with which it was adorned. The great temple, in particular, dedicated to the god *Vitzliputzli*, was stupendous. The part of the building that first presented itself was a square, the wall of which was of hewn stone, wrought on the outside with serpents intertwined, that gave a very horrible aspect to the portico. At a little distance from this was a place of worship still more dreadful, as it was adorned with the heads of men who had been sacrificed to the gods, an exact account of whom was regularly kept by the priests. Every side of the great square had a gate, over which were four statues of stone, which seemed to point the way back to those who came to public worship

d in an improper disposition. Round the walls were the habitations of the priests, who were extremely numerous; and yet there remained an area large enough to contain ten thousand dancers upon public festivals. In the center of this square, stood a tower, which exalted its head above all the buildings in the city, terminated in a half pyramid of such dimensions, that the flat upon the top was forty feet square, after it had risen into the air a hundred and twenty stone-steps of a beautiful staircase. The pavement was of jasper, a kind of serpentine balustrade enclosed it, and both sides were covered with a stone resembling jet, joined with red and white cement, that produced a pretty effect. Near the ending of the staircase were two marble statues, which supported two candlesticks of enormous size, and admirably well expressed the weight of the burden, by the straining of their arms.

e A little further was the stone on which was extended the wretched human victim to be sacrificed to the gods, and embowelled; and beyond this stood a chapel of excellent workmanship and materials, covered with a roof of precious wood. Here was placed the idol, behind a curtain, on the high altar. It had some resemblance to a human figure, of a terrible aspect, was seated on a kind of throne, sustained by a blue globe, representing the heavens, from the sides whereof came forth rods, headed like snakes, which the priests placed on their shoulders, when they exposed the idol to view. The idol held in the right hand a twining serpent, which answered the purpose of a staff, and in the left four arrows, which were worshipped as a celestial present. Opposite to this was another chapel of the same size and figure, the habitation of an idol called the partner and brother of the former,

f and dividing with him the spoils of war. The ornaments of both chapels were inestimable; all the walls were hung, and the altars covered with jewels and precious stones, placed in fity of the principal riches of that district to which it belonged; hence it contained two thousand idols. There was hardly a street without its tutelary deity, nor any calamity, incident to nature, without its altar, to which man had recourse for a remedy. Only one good effect resulted from the superstition of the people, namely, the beauty which all these temples, reared by ignorance, added to the city.

BESIDES the royal palaces and temples, there were other fine buildings that highly contributed to the decoration of *Mexico*; these were the pleasure-houses of *Moteczuma*. One of them, a most magnificent structure, with vast galleries, supported by pillars of jasper, was converted into an aviary. Here were assembled all the birds which *New Spain* produced of value, either on account of their voices or plumage. The number of these birds were so great, that above three hundred persons were constantly employed in feeding and cleaning

Great temple.

Pleasure-houses
of Moteczuma,

cleaning them. From their feathers were made the most beautiful paintings in *Moteczuma's* collection. a

At some distance from hence, *Moteczuma* had another house of such extent, that it contained an apartment capable of holding his whole court. There huntsmen resided, and with them an infinity of birds of prey, kept in cages, among which were the king's hawks, no way inferior to the *European* in seizing on their prey, and returning to the lure. The *Spanish* writers have described the royal eagle of a monstrous size, and voraciousness scarce credible. In another square of the same house were kept the emperor's wild beasts, lions, tygers, bears, and among others the *Mexican* bull, not unlike the wild bull of *Bohemia*, or buffalo, called *urus* by *Latin* writers. This animal is large, strong, fierce, and majestic in his appearance, with a large hunch or excrescence on its back, and the neck cloathed with long hair like a lion. It was customary with the *Mexicans*, from the remotest antiquity, to estimate the grandeur of a prince by the number of wild beasts in his possession, whence we may judge of the number maintained by *Moteczuma*, who was absolutely the greatest prince, in all respects, that ever swayed the *Mexican* sceptre. b

THE most extraordinary circumstance of *Moteczuma's* humour appeared in the collection he made of the deformities and monsters of human nature. Here were dwarfs, giants, or men of extraordinary stature, hump-backed, crooked men, persons who had any unaccountable mark in their features, or defects in their eyes, and others whose minds were as deformed as their bodies. This institution might have been serviceable and humane, had the emperor confined his care to wretched objects incapable of labour; but a mark or blemish of any kind that was uncommon, was sufficient to entitle the person to the benefit of this foundation: and parents were frequently known to disfigure their children, that they might be maintained at the king's expence. c

Arsenal or armoury.

BUT of all the public buildings belonging to this great prince, none was more curious, or worthy of observation, than the armoury. It was divided into two departments; the one, where the arms were made; and the other, where they were arranged in the most beautiful manner, after they were entirely finished. The several artists had certain shops assigned them, agreeable to their employments. In one place they prepared the wood for the arrows, in another they shaped and formed it; in a third bows were made, and in a fourth swords or darts. All kinds of arms, whether offensive or defensive, were made by particular workmen, in distinct shops, under the direction of superintendants, who kept an exact account of the quantity and kinds of arms. From the magazine were distributed arms to the troops as occasion required, and the empty spaces were filled up by new weapons of every denomination. To all these houses were annexed extensive gardens, laid out with great taste and magnificence; and in each of these was a large piece of ground, wholly occupied by medicinal plants, and herbs, for all kinds of wounds, pains, and infirmities, in the knowledge of which consisted the whole skill of the *Mexican* physicians. It would be endless to describe all the public buildings of this great city, and institutions of the magnificent *Moteczuma*: but there is one which we must not omit, on account of its whimsical nature. This was called the *house of sorrow*, to which the emperor retired upon any public or private misfortune, that required external signs of grief and mourning. There was a horror in the very appearance of the building: the walls, roofs, and ornaments, were all black; and light was admitted only through narrow chinks, just sufficient to discover the gloominess of the place. Here *Moteczuma* used to spend his time in solitude during the period of mourning. The *Mexicans* alledged that he conversed with the gods; and the *Spanish* writers, no less credulous and superstitious, suspect that all his intercourse must have been with the devil, who delights in darkness. d

IN the country *Moteczuma* likewise had a great number of seats, where he sometimes partook of field diversions, and chiefly of hunting, in which he extremely delighted. He frequently went with the nobility to a large and pleasant park, fenced round with a fine canal, where they brought the game of the neighbouring mountains, among which generally came several lions and tygers, which the *Mexican* hunters fought with great courage and address. *Moteczuma* would sometimes engage himself in this diversion, and let fly a dart or a javelin; but this he always did with reserve, not for want of courage, but because he was of opinion, that only the dangers of war became the grandeur of a monarch. e

Grandeur of Moteczuma's private æconomy.

AGREEABLE to the external magnificence that appeared round the court of *Moteczuma*, was his private æconomy, where all was splendid, ceremonious, and great. When this prince ascended the throne, he augmented the number, quality, and brilliancy of his court, into which none were admitted but nobility of the first distinction. He excluded the common people, against the advice of his council, because it was a maxim with him, that princes ought to govern at a distance those who either had no sense of an obligation, or were unable to express their gratitude by proper returns. The nobility were even employed to protect the royal person, *Moteczuma's* body-guards being composed of two hundred young gentlemen of the first quality in the empire, the out-ports only round the palace being defended by the common soldiers. There was indeed a principle of policy, as well f

a as pride, in this institution; for it inured the nobility to the use of arms, to fatigue, and business, and also kept them in dependence on the sovereign. With respect to the emperor's women, they were without number; though two only bore the title of queens, who were lodged in separate apartments, and attended with the utmost magnificence. Every woman of extraordinary beauty in the empire was sent to court, a sacrifice to *Moteczuma's* lust; many of them being forced from their parents or husbands, by the ministers and farmers of the revenue, who regarded the maintenance of the monarch as a point of importance to the grandeur of the state. When these mistresses were discarded by the favoured prince, they generally found husbands among the nobility, on account of their wealth or beauty; for they never failed to accumulate large sums while they basked in the royal favour: nor did their reputation at all suffer by the favours granted to *Moteczuma*; on the contrary, it was deemed an honour to have been thought worthy of his bed. While the concubines remained at court, they lived in the utmost decorum, their conduct being subject to the inspection of certain grave matrons, who made their report to the emperor: jealousy was a reigning passion in the breast of *Moteczuma*, which poisoned all his other enjoyments.

WHEN he gave audience, nothing could be more solemn, pompous, grave, and austere, than *Moteczuma's* carriage: for as to the reception given to *Cortez*, it was so extraordinary as to excite the astonishment of the whole court. He ate alone, and frequently in public, but always with the state and magnificence of a prince. His table was generally covered with two hundred dishes of the most exquisite in their kinds that the empire could afford. Before he sat down, he ran his eyes over the whole, selected a few the most agreeable to his palate, and ordered the rest to be distributed among the nobility in waiting. Nor was all this daily profusion any more than a small part of the expences of his household; for he kept tables sumptuously served for all the officers and servants of the court, and even for those who resorted thither, either upon business or pleasure. Every thing was sent up to the emperor's own table in gold, curious shells, or some other valuable materials, enriched with jewels; and the attendants were constantly supplying him with different sorts of liquors, some finely perfumed, some mixed with salutiferous herbs, and many impregnated with certain medicines that were regarded as restoratives or provocatives. After dinner he drank chocolate, and smoked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. During meals a band of music attended, which no sooner ceased than the emperor suffered himself to be entertained with the jokers, or the tricks and frolics of a number of buffoons and dwarfs, kept for that purpose about his person. He was fond of these wretches, he said, only because he could discover truth under their pleasantry; whereas there was no penetrating through the mask of hypocrisy wore by thorough-paced courtiers. Amidst the instrumental music were singers, who, in a kind of recitative and musical cadence, chanted the exploits of their ancestors, and the memorable actions of their kings, which were transmitted to posterity, teaching the rising generation to prevent the achievements of the nation from sinking into oblivion, by those elucidations of the historical pictures, and the hieroglyphical *Mexican* annals. Dances were frequently performed before the emperor, and he sometimes condescended to join in the diversion, for the greater entertainment of the *Spaniards*. Among these dances the most extraordinary was a kind of masquerade, called *milotes*, composed of a multitude, in which all degrees mixed indiscriminately in a sort of gorgeous disguise. The emperor honoured it sometimes with his presence; and as all drank freely, the diversion ended in a general intoxication, or some more extravagant frolic. In a word, every day produced some new diversion or public exhibition, supported at the emperor's expence, probably to engage the attention of the people from too curious a scrutiny into his conduct, or to ballance their loss of liberty by a perpetual round of dissipation.

f It will readily be imagined, that the royal treasures must have been immense, to maintain so much pomp and magnificence, at the same time that prodigious armies were kept constantly in the field. In fact, they were inexhaustible. Incredible sums were drawn from the mines of gold and silver, the salt-works, and other rights established in the crown from time immemorial; but a still larger revenue arose from the contributions of the subjects, exorbitantly increased since the accession of *Moteczuma*. In this vast and populous empire, there was not a husbandman but was obliged to pay a third of the produce of his lands and stock to the king. Artists were taxed in the same proportion, and the poor were obliged to work certain days for the court without fee or reward. All taxes were levied with the utmost rigor; nor was it without reason that the people clamoured against the tyranny of the administration, of which *Moteczuma* was not ignorant, though he artfully disguised it in a speech made to *Cortez*. Every town in the vicinity of the capital furnished men for the king's works, provided fuel for the royal palace, or contributed otherwise towards the support of the court: whence it was that *Moteczuma* was enabled to

His revenues:

complete some stupendous buildings, aqueducts, and other public and magnificent pieces of architecture, at a very slight expence to the treasury. The tribute of the nobility consisted in guarding and attending the emperor's person, or serving in his armies with a certain number of their vassals, maintained at their own expence, or the expence of the enemy: yet were they continually making him presents, which he received not as presents, but regarded as rights due to his crown, dignity, and the anxieties and troubles attending royalty.

His civil and military government.

As we shall have occasion elsewhere to treat of the civil government of *Mexico*, it will be sufficient to observe in this place, that *Moteczuma* gave the utmost attention to the due administration of justice among his subjects, notwithstanding he thought himself privileged to tyrannize over the whole empire. Murder, theft, adultery, and all crimes committed with respect to each other, where the crown had no concern, were punished with death; if they at all affected royalty, deeper infamy, and the most excruciating torments, were annexed to the capital punishment. Corruption in ministers, or persons in any public trust, was also capital; and this custom *Moteczuma* observed with the strictest rigour. Even the offering a bribe was thought worthy of death, and the corrupter and corrupted placed upon a level; a severity which deserves imitation in more civilized states, and under more limited monarchies. One of the most laudable articles of the policy of *Moteczuma*, consisted in the care taken of the education of children, for which purpose he founded public schools for the instruction of the vulgar, and colleges or seminaries, with more extensive privileges, for the children of the nobility. Here they were taught the imperfect knowledge of the *Mexicans*; the signs and characters, as well as the tradition in which their history was contained; the principles of the *Mexican* religion and morality; a general idea of the laws and constitution; and, lastly, the several professions which they were to follow in life. There were also colleges for the education of women; but as all these were not founded by *Moteczuma*, the subject may be reserved to its proper article. *Moteczuma* instituted honorary rewards for merit, whether in a civil or military capacity; and the generous ardor with which the people aspired at these honours, is the best proof of the utility of the institution. Such was the empire, such the monarch, and such the people, whom *Cortez*, with a handful of *Spaniards*, proposed conquering. We shall soon have occasion to see that this daring project was founded upon reason, since he found means to establish such an influence, that he obliged the great *Moteczuma* to surrender his liberty in the heart of his capital, and submit his feet to fetters, while surrounded with troops, and guarded by all the nobility in his empire. With respect to the generosity and justice of this transaction we would chuse to be silent: examine the most glorious conquests, and valiant exploits recorded in history, by the test of religion and morality, and they will be found to consist of a series of the most cruel oppressions, bloody carnages, shocking barbarities, and trespasses on the laws of God, of nature, and of nations.

His kindness to the Spaniards.

MOTEZUMA made an artful display of all his pomp and grandeur to the *Spaniards*; either to engage them as friends, or deter them from hostile attempts; or, perhaps, out of a principle of hospitality, and real respect for strangers, whose valour he could not but admire. He went to all public entertainments, attended by *Cortez* and the *Spanish* captains, whom he treated with the most polite familiarity. They were admitted on all occasions to his palace, without form or ceremony, while he only retained the reserve of a sovereign to his own subjects. He was daily distributing presents among the officers and soldiers, with just distinction and discernment of merit; and his example obliged the nobility to treat the strangers with a respect bordering on submission and servility; for courtiers always push to excess every imitation of the qualities of the sovereign: as for the vulgar, they beheld the *Spaniards* as gods, and bent their knees to the meanest of the soldiers; who would have grown insolent by their importance, but that *Cortez* checked every emotion of pride, and tendency to tyranny. In this happy manner did they pass away the time, when advices arrived from *Vera Cruz*, that wrought an entire change in the face of affairs, reduced *Cortez* to extreme perplexity, and suggested to him the necessity of executing the most daring enterprize that ever entered into the head of mortal. Two *Tlascalcan* soldiers, disguised in the habits of *Mexicans*, found means to reach the capital, through bye-ways, brought this intelligence, by a letter from the colony.

Intelligence from Vera Cruz alters the face of affairs.

SINCE the departure of *Cortez*, the settlement at *Vera Cruz* met with no accident to disturb their repose, until one of *Moteczuma's* generals arrived with an army in the country, pillaged some towns, and attacked several caziques, who were in alliance with the *Spaniards*, and on this occasion claimed their protection. It is true, they had relied so much upon the friendship and valour of the *Spaniards*, that they refused paying the usual taxes, or the submission required by *Moteczuma*; and had, in fact, thrown off all obedience to that monarch. The *Mexican* general, *Qualpopoca*, had come with an army to the assistance

a ance of the collectors of the tribute and taxes, and committed several violences in consequence of the obdurate refusal of the inhabitants. The country of the *Totonques* was wholly laid in ashes, and they were the first who laid their grievances before *Juan Escalante*, governor of *Vera Cruz*, and besought him with so much earnestness to take arms in their defence, that he sent messengers, in a friendly manner, to the *Mexican* general, requesting him to suspend his hostilities until he received fresh advices from the emperor; since it was not possible he should authorise injuries to the allies of a monarch, whose ambassadors he received in so friendly a manner at his court. To this message the *Mexican* returned an insolent answer, as the *Spanish* writer reports: "Saying, that he was able to comprehend and execute the orders of his prince; and that he likewise knew how to defend in the field what he had undertaken:" which *Escalante* interpreted into a challenge, that could not be refused, without prejudice to his reputation in the opinion of his *Indian* allies. Therefore assembling a body of 2000 *Totonques*, of the hilly country, fifty *Spaniards*, and two pieces of cannon, he set out with intention of falling upon the main body of the *Mexican* army, of the disposition of which he had intelligence. He came up with the enemy, defeated *Qualpopoca*, after a bloody action, in which the *Totonques* behaved, but received a wound, of which he died. Seven *Spanish* soldiers were also killed in this action, and one was carried off by the *Mexicans*, having engaged himself beyond the possibility of being relieved; which proved an irreparable loss to the garrison, and more than a compensation for the victory. A relation of this affair, with all its circumstances, was now transmitted by the council at *Vera Cruz* to *Cortez*; and he immediately communicated it to his officers, desiring their advice in what manner he should act in so delicate a conjuncture, and enjoining that it should be kept a profound secret, lest it might transpire among the soldiers, and produce bad consequences. From the whole of the account given by the *Spanish* writers, it is plain, that they are determined, at all events, to vindicate *Cortez* of the imputation of ingratitude, and a violation of the rights of hospitality; however, as they are the only authorities, we must adhere to their relation.

BEFORE the council of officers came to any determination, the general sent privately for some of the most sensible and faithful *Indians* in his army, and questioned them, "Whether they had observed any suspicious circumstances in the conduct of the *Mexicans*?" To which their answer was, that the vulgar were entirely immersed in the entertainments given by the emperor; but that the nobility seemed pensive and mysterious: and that they had overheard some expressions which would admit of a sinister interpretation; such as, the possibility of breaking down the bridges of the causeway, with others to the same effect. They alledged it had been likewise whispered, that the head of a *Spaniard* was brought privately in a present to *Moteczuma*, which he received with astonishment, on account of its size, and the fairness of the aspect, strength of the features, and roughness of the beard; marks which agreed with *Juan d'Aguillo*, the soldier who had been carried off prisoner in the battle with *Qualpopoca*; whence it was inferred, that every thing must have been transacted by the emperor's order. Indeed the *Tlascalan* nobility affirmed, that, without express commands from the court, the *Indian* general would never have presumed upon commencing hostilities with the *Spaniards*, at a time when they were so highly favoured by the monarch (A). When the officers assembled in council came to give their opinions, there was no agreement among them: some advising, that a passport from *Moteczuma* should be solicited; others declaring this would be a reflection upon the character of the *Spaniards*, and an acknowledgement of their weakness; a third party thought, that as the relief of the colony was essentially necessary, it would be best to march off privately with all the riches they had acquired; and a fourth gave it as their sentiments, that the only honourable means of safety would be to remain in *Mexico*, until some means of a retreat could be contrived, without seeming to have any knowledge of what was transacted at *Vera Cruz*. All appeared confident that *Moteczuma* was privy to *Qualpopoca's* conduct; which, however, is by no means evident from circumstances; that general being very naturally led into hostilities with the *Spaniards*, in consequence of their taking upon them to protect subjects of the empire, whom he considered as rebels. None of these propositions fell in with the opinion of *Cortez*; who, after commending the zeal and freedom of the captains, objected first to the passport as unworthy of soldiers who had opened a way, by dint of arms, to the capital of the empire. The notion of retreating privately would prove equally injurious to their honour, upon which depended their greatest secu-

(A) It is reported that *Cortez*, ruminating the whole night upon his situation, and endeavouring to devise some remedy, wandered about the palace lost in thought, and stumbled upon a place where *Moteczuma* had concealed the treasures of his father. A door plastered up

excited his curiosity; he immediately got workmen to break it open, and then, after having viewed the treasure, ordered the breach to be repaired, without taking any thing away. *Herrera*, dec. ii. *De Solis*, lib. iii. cap. xviii.

rity : the moment they sunk in the esteem of the *Indians*, from that moment they might a
 date their ruin ; since it would be impossible to think of opposing, by meer force, such
 a multitude of people. The moment their flight would be known, it would be easy for
 the emperor to give notice, by scouts, to the armies on the frontiers to intercept them,
 while himself rushed like a torrent, from the capital, on their rear. They would find
 themselves beset and hemmed in upon every side, without one foot of ground on which
 they could tread with security. He therefore joined in opinion with those who were for
 remaining in their present situation, but differed with respect to the manner. Some great
 action, he said, must be performed ; and it would be absolutely necessary to excite the
 astonishment of the *Mexicans*, in order to recover their esteem and veneration, sunk by the
 late unfortunate accident. The only probable means that occurred to him was, to seize b
 upon the person of *Moteczuma*, and carry him prisoner to the *Spanish* quarters ; a resolution
 which must strike terror, and though apparently rash, by no means impossible to be ex-
 ecuted. This point he laboured with so much zeal, that a majority went over to his opi-
 nion, all acquiesced, and the spirited resolution was immediately taken, the conduct of the
 whole being reserved to *Cortez*. Nothing could appear more desperate, than for a hand-
 ful of men to attempt imprisoning a powerful monarch in the heart of his own capital,
 and in his own palace, surrounded by multitudes of guards. The fact would be really
 incredible, were it not vouched by undeniable testimonies, and confirmed by circum-
 stances ; and the *Spaniards*, who speak of *Cortez* as the mirror of justice, would probably
 have suppressed this action, because it detracts as much from his gratitude, as it adds to c
 his valour, had they not been at a loss otherwise to account for the revolution which it
 wrought. Be this as it may, certain we are, that, in a military view, history cannot in-
 stance an action more bold, more seasonable, more judiciously planned, nor more success-
 fully executed.

*Cortez seizes
 upon Motezu-
 ma, and carries
 him to the Spa-
 nish quarters.*

THE hour when it was usual for the *Spanish* captains to pay their compliments to the
 emperor, was chosen for the execution of this great project, that no alarm might be given
 by an unseasonable visit. All the *Spaniards* were ordered under arms in their quarters,
 and to hold themselves in readiness without noise or disturbance, until they received fur-
 ther instructions. The avenues to the palace were secured by small parties of soldiers,
 dropped in proper places as if by accident ; and *Cortez*, attended by his captains, and fol- d
 lowed by thirty chosen soldiers, sauntering at some distance, as if for curiosity, advanced
 to the palace, where they were immediately admitted, their arms giving no suspicion, it
 being always customary with them to come in this manner into the royal presence. *Mo-
 tezuma* came out in his usual manner to meet them, and all took their seats, his servants
 always having orders to retire. Upon this *Cortez* began his complaint, relating, in the
 strongest manner, every circumstance of the conduct of general *Qualepopoca*, the death of
 several *Spaniards*, and the excuse made to the colony, that every thing had been transacted
 by orders from the emperor ; which he, nevertheless, pretended to disbelieve : concluding,
 that he owed too much respect for his royal person to credit any thing so unworthy of his
 majesty, as to be countenancing strangers at his court, while he was endeavouring to de- e
 stroy them in his provinces.

It is reported, that *Moteczuma* changed colour at this recital, which the *Spaniards* con-
 strued into a proof of his guilt. He was under the greatest perplexity, until *Cortez* re-
 lieved his confusion, by assuring him of his full conviction, that he could have no share
 in the cruel death of them whom he so highly honoured with his favour, notwithstanding
 the declaration of his general and officers, who pleaded his order as the only apology they
 could make. But he said that it would be necessary to give some extraordinary proof of
 his regard, and of the falsity of the general's charge, in order to efface the impression of
 such a calumny ; and that therefore he was come to entreat him to go immediately to the
Spanish quarters, without noise or disturbance, as if by his own free choice, with a resolu- f
 tion not to stir from thence until it should be made apparent that he was no ways con-
 cerned in so perfidious an action. By this generous confidence, he would not only ap-
 pease the just indignation of the great monarch, whose servants the *Spaniards* were, but
 restore the lustre of his own honour, which at present was tarnished by the baneful breath
 of malignity. He gave his word as a gentleman, a soldier, and the minister of the
 greatest monarch in the universe, that he should be treated among the *Spaniards*, with all
 the respect due to his royal dignity ; since they only desired to be sure of his good-will,
 to have it in their power to hear and obey him with the greater veneration. Perceiving
 that *Moteczuma* was silent, as if he remained in astonishment at the boldness of the propo-
 sal, *Cortez* added, by way of palliating the overture, that the quarters which his imperial g
 majesty had been pleased to assign to the *Spaniards*, was a royal palace, where he some-
 times passed a few days ; and that it, therefore, could not appear strange he should change
 his residence, to exculpate himself in an affair that was, properly speaking, the complaint
 of

a of one monarch against another. If it should appear to be the fault of his general, it might be redressed by a proper correction, without pushing things to those violences, which generally attend the decisions of quarrels between sovereigns.

IMPATIENT at this discourse, to which his ears had been little accustomed, *Moteczuma*, at last, broke out with vehemence, "That princes of his rank could not submit to deliver themselves up to imprisonment; nor would his subjects permit it, should he forget his own dignity so far as to stoop to so mean a compliance;" a speech that obliged *Cortez* to deliver himself with more firmness. He therefore replied, that, provided his majesty went willingly, without obliging the *Spaniards* to forget the respect they owed to his person and dignity, he valued not the opposition of his subjects, against whom he could employ a sufficient force, without breach of their mutual amity. This led to a kind of altercation, in the course of which *Moteczuma* made several other proposals, which he hoped would answer the same intention, without either derogating from his dignity, or endangering his liberty. Among others, he offered to send for *Qualepopoca* and his officers, to be surrendered to the *Spaniards*, and punished as they thought proper; and to surrender two of his sons as hostages to the *Spaniards*, for the execution of his promise: but *Cortez* had now gone too far to recede with safety, and therefore rejected all those expedients. The dispute was prolonged so far, that the captains, who attended *Cortez*, suspecting the danger that might arise from delay, grew impatient, and *Juan Velazquez* cried out in a transport, "Let us leave off parlying, and either seize or kill him;" of which words *Moteczuma* desiring to know the meaning from the interpreter, *Donna Marina*, who always discharged this office, told him with admirable presence of mind, as if she desired not to be overheard by the *Spaniards*: "Your majesty is in great danger, by not complying with the instances of those people, who are equally resolute and powerful. I am your own loyal slave; my thoughts are always employed to do you service, and I am likewise one of their confidants, well acquainted with their most secret intentions. If you go with them, you will be treated with all the respect due to so great a prince; but if you resist longer, the consequences may be fatal." This well-timed speech, delivered with an air of sincerity and solicitude about his welfare, wrought the effect, and determined *Moteczuma* to comply. He presently called for his servants, and ordering his chair and equipage to be got ready, he told his ministers, that, for certain reasons of state, he had resolved to spend some days with the *Spaniards*. He desired they would publish to all his subjects, that he went voluntarily, and for the interest of the crown, and the advantage of the nation in general. At the same time he ordered one of the captains of his guards to bring *Qualepopoca*, and his principal officers, prisoners to *Mexico*; giving him for his authority the royal signet, which he always carried tied to his right arm: all which orders were explained by *Marina* to the *Spaniards*, to prevent their taking umbrage, or conceiving any suspicion at hearing the emperor talk to his people. Accompanied by his usual attendants, *Moteczuma* quitted his palace; the *Spaniards* marching on foot, close by his chair, for the greater security, but under pretence of doing him honour. The report instantly spread, that *Moteczuma* was carried off by the strangers; the streets were immediately crowded, every face appeared full of admiration and astonishment, but no attempts were made to rescue him; though some bewailed his condition with tears, others made loud outcries, and multitudes flung themselves on the ground in despair. *Moteczuma* appeased the tumult, by telling the people, with an air of gaiety, that he was going to divert himself, a few days, with his friends the strangers; and when he was arrived at the *Spanish* quarters, he gave orders to his guards to disperse the mob, and published, that every riot, tumult, or disturbance, should be punished with immediate death (B).

WHEN *Moteczuma* arrived in the *Spanish* quarters, he fixed upon his own apartments, which were immediately furnished by his own servants with the best moveables; and *Cortez* placed a guard of *Spaniards* at the different passes leading to the palace, and doubled the centinels round the quarters, to prevent being surpris'd by any attempts to rescue the monarch. Orders were issued to the soldiers, to admit all the gentlemen of *Moteczuma's* retinue, and also the nobility and ministers, just in the same manner as if he were under no restraint; only with this caution, that a certain number at a time should only be allowed, under pretence of keeping the monarch from being crowded. *Cortez* desired leave to visit him the same evening, with as much ceremony as before; and a similar respect was shewn him by all the *Spanish* officers and soldiers; by which means *Moteczuma* resumed his wonted cheerfulness, distributed presents among the *Spaniards*, and caressed them with the same cordiality, as if they had done him no injury: a strong instance either of his mag-

The emperor is reconciled to his confinement.

(B) *Herrera* relates, that, before *Cortez* entered upon the subject of this visit, *Moteczuma* had offered him his own daughter in marriage; but *de Solis* omits this circumstance, as it might possibly appear an additional charge of ingratitude, injustice, and violence.

nanimity, or of his hypocrisy. In a few days he became so perfectly reconciled to his situation, that he seemed to have no inclination to change his condition, and his retirement came to be considered as the effects of a whimsical disposition. Although some of the courtiers discovered that he was actually under confinement; yet they were so thunder-struck with the intrepidity of the *Spaniards*, and the incredible boldness of the measure, that all resolution was broke, and they contented themselves with pitying what they believed would admit of no remedy. As to the affairs of government, they went on in the usual train. *Moteczuma* discharged all the functions of a sovereign in his prison, as if he were actually in his palace; gave audience at the accustomed hour; heard the advice and representations of his ministers, and applied himself to all business, civil and military; in order to persuade the people, that his residence in the *Spanish* quarters was entirely the result of his own inclination, and a desire to enjoy more uninterruptedly the company of men whom he highly esteemed. All the hours that he was disengaged from business, he passed with the *Spaniards*, and used to declare, that he was not himself without them. Every one studied to please him, and this he perceived with extreme satisfaction. In the evening he used to play with *Cortez* at a game called *Tololoque*, or little gold balls, with which they endeavoured, at a certain distance, to strike down pins of the same metal. They played for jewels, and other curiosities; *Moteczuma* distributing his winnings among the inferior officers of the *Spanish* troops, and *Cortez* doing the same with his gains to the emperor's retinue.

He meets with
new mortifica-
tions.

In the midst of this scene of amity, the officer sent for *Qualpopoca* returned with his prisoners, who were conducted into the emperor's apartment. *Moteczuma* immediately sent them to *Cortez*, that he might inform himself of the truth, and inflict such punishments as he imagined the delinquents might deserve. In course of their examination, they confessed the whole charge of their having violated the peace, provoked the *Spaniards* of *Vera Cruz* by hostilities, and killed *Aguillo*, their prisoner, in cold blood, without any authority, for such proceedings, from the emperor. However, when they were afterwards urged to a more compleat discovery by menaces, they affirmed that they had the imperial orders; an allegation which *Cortez* treated as an evasion and falsity to apologize for themselves. They were accordingly adjudged by a court-martial of *Spanish* officers to deserve death, and to be publicly burned before the royal palace, as criminals, who had not only violated the sacred laws of nations, but incurred the penalty of high-treason, by presuming to involve their sovereign in their own guilt.

This was a cruel and severe sentence, dictated wholly by policy. If the *Spaniards* believed, as we are certainly told, that the officers acted by authority, they must confess them not culpable; nor indeed do we see the necessity of this signally barbarous punishment, all the purposes of which might have been answered by more gentle chastisement. In fact, *Qualpopoca* only performed what he had reason to believe was the duty of his office: but his death was a sacrifice to *Spanish* pride; *Cortez* believing, he could not more strongly confirm his influence and power, than by thus insulting, in his own capital, a monarch who had loaded him with civilities. However, before he ventured upon executing the sentence passed on the *Mexican* officers, he determined upon a farther exertion of his power, in order the more thoroughly to convince *Moteczuma* of his dependence. To this purpose another bold stroke was resolved on, in consequence, probably, of the facility with which the last was accomplished, and the resignation of the monarch under the loss of liberty. *Cortez* now came into the emperor's presence, attended by a soldier, who carried openly in his hand a pair of fetters, which he ordered to be clapped on the feet of *Moteczuma*; telling him, "that he had been accused by his officers as an accessory to their crime; and "that it was necessary he should expiate for the strong presumptions against him, by some "personal mortification;" with which words he retired, leaving the unhappy prince in a state of the most cruel despondency, despair, and anxiety, whether his life was not to be the next sacrifice. For a while *Moteczuma* remained in a state of silence and insensibility; but recovering from his first confusion, he resumed his usual magnanimity, and determined to meet his fate with the fortitude of a hero; while his servants bathed his feet with their tears, and thereby demonstrated, that the character of this great monarch has been misrepresented by the *Spaniards*, in vindication of their own conduct.

A Mexican
general is pub-
lickly executed
by *Cortez*.

No time was lost in the farther execution of *Cortez's* design. His situation would now admit of no delay or hesitation; matters were come to a crisis, and nothing but the same undaunted resolution could enforce success. The criminals were carried to the place appointed, and the sentence was literally executed in presence of the whole city of *Mexico*, without the least noise, murmuring, or shew of disturbance. The people were impressed with terror, intermingled with respect and admiration, wondering at the authority which those strangers assumed, without daring, even in thought, to call their power in question, as it was sanctified by the approbation of their sovereign. Immediately after the execution,

a tion, *Cortez* repaired to the royal apartment, and addressing *Moteczuma* with a chearful countenance, told him, "That the traitors who had presumed to soil his character, were
b "now justly punished; and that his majesty had sufficiently refuted calumny, by submit-
"ting to this short mortification and intermission of liberty." He then fell upon his knees, and with his own hands took off the fetters, endeavouring by this excessive complaisance and respect to wipe off all memory of the injury. *Moteczuma* received his liberty with a tumultuous joy, which evinced how deeply the indignity of bondage had affected him. He embraced *Cortez* with transport, and seemed to forget in the person of his deliverer, his most dangerous enemy. When the attendants had withdrawn, *Cortez* gave the emperor to understand, that he was at liberty to return, when he pleased, to his own palace, the cause of his detention being now removed: but this *Moteczuma* declined, saying it would by no means be proper to leave the *Spanish* quarters before *Cortez* departed the country, as his reputation would suffer greatly, when it was known that he had received his liberty from the hands of another; a thought which *Cortez* took care to suggest, by means of *Donna Marina*, before he ventured to make the proposal.

EVERY thing was now contrived in such a manner as to persuade the royal prisoner and his subjects, that he was at perfect liberty, and only a visitor by inclination to the *Spaniards*; and he returned the obligation with such affability and liberality, as really engaged the affections of the *Spaniards*. Before this time the virtues of *Moteczuma* lay concealed from his own subjects. His generosity, sincerity, magnanimity, and warmth of friendship, were obscured by the necessary affectation of dignity, reserve, and austerity; perhaps misfortune too softened his heart, or the acquaintance with a people more civilized than his own, contributed to enlarge his understanding, and call forth the exertion of really natural qualities. Certain it is, that the *Spaniards* themselves allow no prince could behave in a more amiable manner, or exhibit stronger proofs of a noble mind, than *Moteczuma* displayed during the whole period of his confinement. After he had, by his behaviour, fully gained and merited the confidence of *Cortez*, he one day asked his permission to go sometimes to visit his temples, promising, upon the word of a sovereign, faithfully to return to his prison, for so he used to call his confinement jocularly, when only *Spaniards* were in hearing. He told *Cortez*, that he now desired, for his own conveniency, and for the sake of the *Spaniards*, to shew himself to his subjects, who began to suspect that he was detained by force, as the cause of his detention was ceased with the punishment of *Quilpopoca*, lest some commotion might happen, if he did not speedily prevent it by this proof of his liberty. The general answered, without hesitation, that he was at perfect liberty to go when and where he pleased, and that he ascribed his making as a request to him what he might command, to the excess of his goodness; but he accepted the promise which the emperor made of not changing his residence, as if he were extremely solicitous to preserve the honour and happiness which he had in the conversation and society of his royal guest. He likewise exacted another promise, that *Moteczuma* would abolish the barbarous custom of human sacrifices at the altars of his gods; a promise which that prince religiously performed, prohibiting all human victims, not only in the temples of *Mexico*, but in those of the whole empire.

MOTEZUMA's first excursion was to the great temple, whither he went with his usual pomp, the people celebrating the first appearance of their monarch with loud acclamations. Every one seemed now forgetful of the injuries, either real or imaginary, which they received from the tyrant, and nothing appeared to their eyes but the bright side of the royal character, the lustre of which became more conspicuous in adversity. He received their congratulations with an air of satisfaction and majesty, and was particularly profuse that day in the favours bestowed on the nobles, and the gifts distributed among the people. Having complied with the duties of his religion, he returned to his quarters, declaring to the *Spaniards*, "That the satisfaction he had in residing among them, made him equally
f "desirous of returning, as the discharge of his promise." From this time he continued to go abroad when he pleased, and often partook of public diversions, always returning at night to his quarters; insomuch that the *Mexicans* began actually to regard his perseverance as the effect of his love to the *Spaniards*. It was now customary for the nobility to make their first application to *Cortez* whenever any favour was wanted from the emperor; and he was, in all respects, regarded as the chief counsellor, friend, minister, and favourite of the monarch.

BUT *Cortez* was not so intoxicated with prosperity, or lulled with flattery, as to neglect the immediate object of the expedition, and the concerns of the colony at *Vera Cruz*. He
g had already recovered all the reputation which the *Spaniards* lost in the late unfortunate affair, by the condign punishment of the *Mexican* general, and principal officers concerned in that affair; but as no governor had been appointed to succeed *Juan Escalante*, the settlement remained without a head, which might be productive of dispute and faction. To
remedy

Moteczuma
again reconciled to his situation, and conceives a strict friendship for *Cortez*.

Cortez makes new improvements at *Vera Cruz*.

remedy every evil which might arise from this state of affairs, *Cortez* nominated captain *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, governor of *Vera Cruz*; but because he could not, in the present juncture, conveniently part with so good an officer, he suffered him to appoint *Alonso de Grado* for his lieutenant, to administer justice, and direct the affairs of the colony in his absence. *Cortez* is blamed for entrusting a place of such importance, and the only retreat which he had in case of a failure in *Mexico*, into the hands of a person whose fidelity he had reason to suspect, on account of his attachment to *Velaquez*: but of this *Grado* had as yet given no room for suspicion. Besides, that *Cortez* might reasonably imagine honour and gratitude would, after such a mark of his confidence, engage him more strongly to his interest; he made use of the opportunity which these journeys to and from *Vera Cruz* furnished, of bringing cordage and other materials for the vessels which he designed building on the lake of *Mexico*, in case of any rupture with the townsmen, or any further reasons should arise for suspecting that they intended to break down the bridges. The manner in which he brought this about, without giving suspicion to the court, or the emperor, that he was not thoroughly satisfied about his security, was artful and sagacious. He first inflamed the curiosity of *Moteczuma*, by describing the *Spanish* shipping, and those floating palaces, that moved with such velocity on the water without oars; and when he found that the monarch was extremely desirous of seeing such a novelty, he gave him to understand, that nothing was wanting to his gratification, besides a few necessaries from *Vera Cruz*; for that he had workmen in his army capable of building these vessels. The bait took with *Moteczuma*, and he gave immediate orders that all his people should assist *Cortez* in whatever he should direct concerning the shipping. By this means, in a few days, two brigantines were got ready, full rigged, and equipped, and *Moteczuma* was invited on board, to make the first trial of their sailing, of which he could form no idea. Accordingly he embarked for this purpose, and gave orders for a great hunting upon the water, in order that all his people might be diverted with the novelty presented by the *Spaniards*. On the day appointed, the royal equipage was ready early in the morning, and the lake was covered with a multitude of boats and canoes loaded with people. The *Mexicans* had augmented the number of their rowers on board the royal barges, with intention to disgrace the *Spanish* vessels, which they regarded as clumsy, unwieldy, and heavy; but they were soon undeceived; a fresh gale started up, the brigantines hoisted sail, to the utter astonishment of all the spectators, and soon left all the canoes behind, to the great triumph and satisfaction of *Moteczuma*, who gloried in the victory of the *Spaniards*, with the true politeness of the most civilized and accomplished prince. The novelty of this spectacle produced its ordinary effects. The *Indians* were equally pleased and astonished. Some admired the management of the rudder, others of the sails, believing that, by their means, the *Spaniards* commanded the winds and the waters. Those of more understanding regarded the ships as a beautiful invention, which shewed the genius and good sense of the people; and the vulgar fully persuaded themselves that the *Spaniards* must be something supernatural, thus to obtain dominion over the elements. Upon the whole, we cannot sufficiently applaud the foresight and prudence of *Cortez*, who thus united his own security, interest, and reputation, with the entertainment of the people and the sovereign, in whose opinion he could not stand too high to succeed in his designs.

He builds two vessels on the lake of Mexico, which extremely delight the emperor.

Address of Cortez.

Nor was this the single point which his address obtained from *Moteczuma* that contributed to the accomplishment of his projects. He introduced the praises of the catholic king so favourably, and extolled his power, grandeur, clemency, and other qualities of the heart, and goods of fortune, in so judicious a manner, that *Moteczuma* and his whole court eagerly desired the proposed alliance, and an established commerce between the two nations, as what must prove mutually beneficial. By way of conversation, and gratifying his curiosity, *Cortez* also made some of the most important discoveries; for he had so won the affections of the emperor, that he concealed nothing from him. All suspicion touching his ambitious designs were vanished, and he was now considered as the friend and ally of *Mexico*. By this means he procured very circumstantial information of the strength and extent of the empire; of its divisions, frontiers, provinces, commodities, mines, rivers, and other particulars; of the distances of the south and north seas, their qualities, roads, and harbours: and *Cortez* seemed to have so little design in these inquiries, that *Moteczuma*, to indulge his laudable curiosity, ordered his painters, with the assistance of men skilled in the topography of *Mexico*, to draw out all his dominions on a piece of cotton, in such a manner as to give an exact representation of every particular meriting regard. He even permitted some *Spaniards* to take a view of the richest mines in the empire, and of all the ports and bays capable of receiving shipping; believing, with a truly generous confidence, that the same persons, whose qualities had engaged his affections, could never forfeit his esteem; and exhibiting the strongest proofs, that although his first professions of regard for the *Spaniards*

a *Spaniards* proceeded from fear, they were now the dictates of love, and the warmest emotions of friendship.

Such were the happy circumstances of *Cortez* and his people, when superstition and enthusiasm, for we cannot call it rational zeal, impelled them to measures which had almost blasted the fruits of all their labour, and destroyed the confidence gained with so much trouble. Nothing could be more preposterous than to attempt, at this juncture, a revolution in religion; yet this, we are told upon unquestionable authority, was the resolution of the *Spaniards*; for which purpose *Cortez* sallied out one day at the head of a party to overthrow the idols, and convert the principal temple into a church. *Antonio de Solis* pretends to call this fact in question; but the only reason he gives is its inconsistency with the rest of *Cortez's* policy, and the many other instances of his good sense and solid understanding; a method of arguing that would take from human actions their greatest peculiarity, their contradiction and inconsistency. Certain it is that the conjectures of *De Solis* ought not to weigh against the universal testimony of other writers^c; even those who were eye-witnesses of the very facts they relate, and who were as much concerned to vindicate the reputation of *Cortez* as his panegyrist. This sudden measure threw the whole city into confusion, and *Moteczuma* into the utmost perplexity. The priests took up arms in defence of their gods, and the populace espoused their cause. The respect they entertained for the *Spaniards* yielded to their devotion, and had not the idols been suffered to remain in their places, the consequence must have proved fatal to the reformers. *Herrera* relates, that the dispute ended by a kind of compromise, effected through the influence of *Moteczuma*; by which no alteration was to be made in the principal temple, but another inferior in point of veneration was given to the *Spaniards*, to be turned into a chapel, or church, where they were allowed to perform mats publickly. In a word, mutual toleration was the basis of the accommodation.

It was probably this, together with the circumstances of the monarch's restraint, which gave rise to a conspiracy that was at this time discovered, to drive the *Spaniards* out of Mexico, and set *Moteczuma* at liberty; or if he appeared determined to support the strangers, to bring about a revolution in the government, and place another prince upon the imperial throne. At the head of this conspiracy was *Caminatzin*, nephew to the emperor, an enterprising, spirited, patriotic youth, who grew quite impatient at seeing his uncle, his sovereign, and the whole empire, governed at pleasure by a stranger, unsupported by power, and whose sole influence was founded upon his own address, the credulity of the monarch, and the pusillanimity of the people. The *Spanish* writers call him an inconsiderate, hot-headed young man, blinded by ambition; and seem to treat as a crime what certainly merits the highest encomiums. He was not only a prince of the blood, but a sovereign of the first consideration, who held the kingdom of *Tezeuco* as a fief, if we may so call it, of the imperial crown. His rank, dignity, high blood, and spirit, gave him reason to aspire at the first dignity in the empire, upon a future election; and he thought he could not better recommend himself than by attempting an enterprize which must prove agreeable to the sovereign and the subjects, although fear might at present restrain the emotions of the heart. *Caminatzin* could not forbear observing that pusillanimity and meanness of spirit with which a whole powerful kingdom beheld their monarch in subjection to the ambassador of another prince. He painted the conduct of the *Spaniards* in the blackest and most odious colours, charging them with having violently confined a prince who was loading them with kindnesses, and with laying the foundation of a despotism, the most cruel and slavish of any, because it was raised upon ignorance, superstition, and hypocrisy. These subjects he seized every opportunity of introducing before the caziques and nobility; and when he found he had sufficiently prepared their minds, he held a secret council of all his friends and relations at his palace of *Tezeuco*, at which were present the kings of *Cayocan*, *Ixtapalapa*, *Tacuba*, and *Maltacingo*, all of them princes of the empire, and subjects of *Moteczuma*. These he harangued with such spirit, elocution, and fervor of patriotism, that the whole assembly applauded his resolution, and promised their utmost assistance, except the cazique of *Maltacingo*, who endeavoured to defeat his designs, by representing that it would be necessary and incumbent upon them to acquaint *Moteczuma* with their intentions, and, before they took any violent measures, to have his permission. It would be dangerous, he said, to the royal person to attack the palace where he resided, without first placing him in a place of security, or at least giving him such intimations as might enable him to look to his own safety; nor would it add to their reputation to use violence to strangers, who were under the protection of their sovereign, until they had given some just provocation, and exhibited stronger presumptions of their sinister intentions. It was obvious to the whole assembly that this cazique spoke from

An error in his conduct.

A dangerous conspiracy discovered and defeated.

^c CASTILLO; GOMARA, HERRERA, dec. ii. l. vi. cap. 1.

prejudice to *Caminatzin*, whose rival he was in pretensions to the crown, and in glory. His opinion was therefore unanimously rejected; and *Caminatzin* could not refrain from reflections injurious to his honour, which the other bore patiently, the better to pursue his intentions of making a compleat discovery both to *Cortez* and *Moteczuma*. As soon as he had furnished himself with all the information, he sent advices to the *Spanish* quarters, and *Moteczuma* was going in quest of *Cortez* to communicate his intelligence, when he found the general had anticipated his design, and was coming upon the same errand to the royal apartments. It was sufficient to clear *Moteczuma* from all suspicion of his being an accessary, that he was so ready to communicate his first advices; and indeed his future conduct fully justified the integrity of his heart. He expressed great indignation against the whole faction, and proposed chastising them with the utmost rigor; to which *Cortez* answered, that he was sorry to have been the occasion of any disturbance among his vassals, and for that reason found he was obliged to take upon himself the remedy. He was therefore come to ask his permission to march immediately with his *Spaniards* to *Tezeuco*, to crush in embryo a conspiracy that might be attended with bad consequences to his imperial majesty, unless suppressed in proper season. It would be necessary, he said, to seize upon *Caminatzin* before he should join his confederates, and thereby prevent the effusion of blood.

MOTEZUMA admired the undaunted spirit of the *Spanish* general; but he declined his proposal, saying, it would be a diminution of his power and authority to use foreign arms in the chastisement of his own subjects. He therefore desired that *Cortez*, for his sake, would dissemble his private resentment, and gave it as his final resolution, that every motion of the *Spaniards* would only serve to encrease the hatred of the people to them, and occasion their insisting more obstinately upon their removal from the court: that it would, therefore, be best to assist him with his counsel, and act as mediator, if circumstances should require any interposition. He likewise thought it proper, first to try the effects of gentle remedies; and whether his nephew would be brought to reason, by reminding him of the duty and obligations which he owed to his sovereign, and of the general benefit that would result from an amicable intercourse with the *Spaniards*. For this purpose *Moteczuma* sent one of his attendants to the prince, desiring to see him; and likewise acquainting him, on the part of *Cortez*, that he sought his friendship, and could wish to have him nearer the royal person, that he might give him proofs of his esteem: to which message, it is reported, the prince returned an insolent answer; probably imagining, that the whole had been dictated by *Cortez*, who laid this specious snare to deprive him of liberty, as he had done the emperor. Upon this *Cortez* made fresh application to *Moteczuma*, for leave to chastise the rebel, for such the spirited prince is called by all the *Spanish* writers, who treat every attempt against *Cortez* as an insult upon the sovereign; but the emperor persisted, that, in this case, there was more dependence on deliberation than action; and desired it might be left wholly to his management, as he was better acquainted with the temper of his own people, and the source of the present disaffection. *Moteczuma* then, by pretending to despise the danger, and treat his nephew's behaviour as the effect of levity and youth, rendered the conspirators careless, countermined their plot, bribed the servants round the person of *Caminatzin*, and by that means seized his person, and brought him prisoner to the *Spanish* quarters, without the least noise or disturbance. It was now that *Moteczuma* discovered all his dissembled resentment, treated his nephew as a criminal guilty of high treason, and committed him to the same prison destined to noblemen condemned to undergo punishment. He was afterwards deposed, out of compliment to *Cortez*, and a young nobleman, his brother, whom *Cortez* was desirous of engaging in his interest, was raised to the throne of *Tezeuco*. This the emperor declared in a speech made at the investiture of the young prince, acquainting him, that he owed all his good fortune to the mediation of the *Spaniards*; and giving the nobility to understand, that the lenity of the punishment inflicted on *Caminatzin*, proceeded from the same cause. All applauded the chastisement, the moderation of which seemed no way agreeable to the usual severity shewn by *Moteczuma* on similar occasions; the superior judgment of the *Spaniards* was acknowledged; and the very novelty of punishing rebellion without bloodshed produced such extraordinary effects, that all the troops in arms for *Caminatzin* dispersed, and the confederate caziques submitted themselves, without hesitation, to the royal clemency, and received pardon through the interposition of *Cortez*, who artfully seized this opportunity of rendering himself popular.

Moteczuma, by an instrument, acknowledges himself the vassal of the king of Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favourable issue of this conspiracy, there was sufficient cause of uneasiness to *Moteczuma*, who was too well acquainted with the motives of his nephew's conduct, and the genuine patriotism which warmed the breast of that young prince, although circumstances obliged him to conceal his sentiments, and to treat an attempt to rid *Mexico* of servitude to the *Spaniards*, as rebellion to the sovereign. Upon coolly examining

a mining into the behaviour of *Cortez*, he found something mysterious in his long residence in his dominions; and thought the continual restraint laid upon his liberty was scarce compatible with the character of ambassador assumed by the general. He began to be ashamed of the general reflections upon his want of spirit and resolution, for suffering himself to be wholly governed by the strangers. This had been one of the pretences urged by *Caminatzin* for taking up arms; and *Moteczuma* himself was sensible, there was too much occasion for murmuring. As the same reasons still subsisted, he was apprehensive of some fresh disturbances; the applause bestowed on the late sentence might be intended to cover further designs, and to lull the government into security. At any event there was danger from the sparks of a fire lately extinguished, of which even the *Spaniards* themselves might take advantage, to enlarge their dominion, and extend their influence over the *Mexicans*; which could only be effected by a diminution of the royal prerogative. Mature deliberation, therefore, upon his circumstances, determined him to alter his behaviour to the *Spaniards*, estrange himself gradually from them, and intimate to *Cortez*, that it was time to think of his departure, as he was ready to execute every particular of the purpose of his embassy. It was some time before he could prevail upon himself to make the proposal, or he could meet with a fair opportunity of introducing the subject. At last, as the general was one day visiting him, he said, that he had been thinking of making a voluntary acknowledgment of that vassalage which was due to the *Spanish* monarch, as successor of *Quezalcoal*, and proprietary lord of the *Mexican* empire; for which purpose he intended to assemble the caziques and nobles of the realm, and to make the acknowledgment in the presence of a full assembly, that they might, after his example, testify their obedience by some contributions and tribute to the new sovereign. He had already, he said, provided abundance of jewels and stones of inestimable value, to discharge the obligation on his own part; and he was persuaded his people would contribute on theirs such a present, as would be worthy of the king, as the first acknowledgment of the *Mexican* empire.

By this artful proposal, *Moteczuma* concealed his design from *Cortez*, and actually persuaded the general, that he had no farther motives for this extraordinary resolution, than a superstitious compliance with the intention of the ancient prophecies, which he now regarded as fulfilled. *Cortez* returned thanks, and was extremely well pleased to have obtained more than he thought was practicable at the present juncture; little imagining that this was a snare laid by the emperor, to oblige him, in the fullest manner, to declare his ultimate designs, or to quit the *Mexican* dominions. On the contrary, he hoped now, that this extraordinary favour would enable him, without difficulty, to secure his residence in the capital, until further orders were received from *Spain*, and such a reinforcement as would be sufficient for the actual conquest of the empire, should it be necessary to employ violence. If we may credit *Herrera*, it was by the advice of *Cortez* that *Moteczuma* dispatched his convocatory orders to the caziques; although it is probable, from the dispatch used upon this occasion, that the orders were issued immediately after the proposal was made to the general, to prevent his penetrating into the designs of the sovereign. Certain it is, that the nobility met at *Moteczuma's* appointment, that *Cortez* was admitted into the assembly, and that the whole transaction, of acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Spanish* monarch, was performed with the utmost solemnity; though it was by no means the intention of *Moteczuma* to resign his throne, but only by this stratagem to break his fetters. He opened the assembly with a speech, in which he endeavoured, by the most soothing expressions, to conciliate the minds of the nobles. He reminded them of the many proofs he had given them of his affection, and that they held their dignities from his bounty; inferring from thence the improbability of his making any proposal to them incompatible with their interest, and the honour and majesty of the empire. He said, that what he was now going to mention was the result of mature deliberation, and the advice of the gods, who had intimated their opinion to him, by manifest signs of approbation. He entered upon a short account of the origin of the *Mexican* empire; the expedition of the *Nabatlacas*; the extraordinary achievement of *Quezalcoal*; the prophecy he left when he departed for the conquest of the east; foretelling, by the impulse of heaven, that his descendants should return to govern the kingdoms of the west. He affirmed, as an indisputable point, that his catholic majesty was the lawful successor of *Quezalcoal*; whence he concluded, that they ought unanimously, in his person, to acknowledge the hereditary right of blood; although, for want of this, they had for years disposed of the crown by election. That for his own part he was such a lover of justice, and admirer of the virtues of the brave monarch *Quezalcoal*, that he would cheerfully lay his crown at the feet of his descendant, and was now resolved to be the first in testifying his satisfaction at the completion of the prophecy. For this purpose he had selected the most precious jewels of his treasury, to be sent to the king of *Spain* in token of his vassalage; and

and hoped that his nobles would follow his example, not only in a similar acknowledgment, but in accompanying it with a handsome contribution of their riches. It is alleged by some *Spanish* writers, that, in despite of all *Moteczuma's* efforts to conceal his emotion at the necessity for making this concession, he found something so repugnant to his natural pride, and shocking to his dignity in the humiliating terms, that his expression was frequently interrupted with sobs and tears; which is not at all probable, if, with *De Solis*, we ascribe the convoking the caziques to the desire of getting clear of the *Spaniards* by this artifice. The whole assembly, we are told, sympathized with the prince: and *Cortez* found it necessary to comfort the disconsolate monarch, by assuring him, that it was not the intention of the king of *Spain* to dispossess him of the royal dignity, or to make the least alteration in the government; his whole desire being only, that the right of succession might be settled on his descendants. *Moteczuma* recovered courage upon this; but the whole assembly was confounded with the boldness and novelty of the proposal, which they regarded as the highest reflection upon the dignity of so powerful a monarch as *Moteczuma*. They eyed each other with amazement, observing a profound silence, until the prime minister, who was perfectly acquainted with the temper of the sovereign, ventured to reply, that the assembly would be ready to obey all his commands as their lord and natural sovereign, and to follow any example he should think proper to give; as they had no doubt but he fully weighed the consequences of his resolution, and consulted the gods upon an affair of so great moment. Upon this, a public instrument was drawn up in the manner of the country, with all the necessary solemnities usually observed in paying homage; and from that day forward, the emperor *Charles V.* king of *Spain*, was likewise regarded by those people as hereditary lord and sovereign of the *Mexican* empire: whence the *Spanish* historians deduce a variety of reasons in justification of their right, founded upon the concurring election of the people, and the voluntary submission of the sovereign; reasons rather specious than solid in a moral view; which, however, it is not our province to refute.

He orders Cortez, to quit his dominions.

MOTEZUMA had, by this acknowledgment of vassalage to his catholic majesty, prepared the way for the execution of his farther designs. He delivered to *Cortez* the present he had provided, which was extremely rich, consisting of gold, ornaments, pearls, precious stones, and beautiful pictures of feathers. Next he gave a faithful account of the tribute offered by the nobility to the king of *Spain*, which was indeed exceedingly splendid and valuable: after which he told *Cortez*, with a reserve and severity altogether unusual, that he should now begin to think of his journey, the motives for his farther stay being ceased, and the issue of his embassy so uncommonly successful; for the *Mexicans* would take umbrage at his longer delay, suspect that he entertained farther and more dangerous designs than what he avowed; and that the sovereign authority would no longer be able to protect him against their resentment, in case their suspicions were at all corroborated by presumptions. “The gods, said he, are angry with me for the favour I have shewn to their enemies, and have denied me rain. They threaten to destroy the fruits of my harvests, and to send a pestilence among my people. Ask what you will have more, and I freely grant it; because, in despite of the duties of my religion, I love you and the other *Spaniards*. But you must be gone; religion, and the voice of my people, require this sacrifice.” *Cortez* was surprised with the air of resolution with which *Moteczuma* delivered this unexpected intimation; and then, for the first time, discovered the meaning of the presents, and the vassalage to the catholic king. The first emotion of anger would have compelled him to a resolute defiance; but, on further reflection, he thought it more adviseable to dissemble, and seem to acquiesce in the emperor’s resolution. Accordingly he replied, “that as he had obtained the ultimate aim of his embassy, he would now prepare, with all necessary dispatch, for returning to *Spain*; and he had come with intention to ask the emperor’s permission, to build vessels to transport himself and people: those in which he came having been destroyed, and incapable of being repaired for so long a voyage;” with which evasive answer he gained time for further resolutions, and possibly for the arrival of instructions and reinforcements from *Europe*. The answer was highly pleasing to *Moteczuma*, who above all things avoided coming to a rupture with the *Spaniards*, for whom he entertained a real friendship; yet it is reported that he had provided an army of forty thousand men to support his resolution, in case it had been disputed. But now finding that every thing flowed in the very channel which he directed, he told *Cortez*, in the most obliging manner, “That it was not his intention to insist upon his departure, without furnishing him with the necessary means; that he should give the requisite orders for building the vessels required, according to the general’s directions; and that it was sufficient to appease the resentment of the gods, and silence the clamours of his subjects, that *Cortez* had, by his compliance, given proofs of his integrity, and the falsity of their suspicions.” In consequence, instructions

a tions were immediately issued respecting the ships, and dispatched to *Vera Cruz*; the *Indians* being directed to cut down the wood, and convey it to the dock. The superintendency of this affair *Cortez* entrusted to *Martin Lopez*, a *Biscainer*, and excellent ship-builder; charging him in private to prolong the work as much as possible, but with all the appearance of making the utmost dispatch.

In this train were the affairs of *Cortez* and the *Spaniards*, when a fresh piece of intelligence arrived, as a farther trial of their prudence and constancy. Advice came to *Moteczuma*, that eighteen sail of ships had been seen off *Vera Cruz*, and, from the painted cloths on which the figures and dress were described of the mariners, they appeared to be *Spaniards*. Immediately the emperor sent for *Cortez*, and laying the picture before him, said, b that now he apprehended the provision for his voyage would be unnecessary, since some ships of his nation were arrived on the coast, in which he might take his passage. It was not possible for *Cortez* to doubt that the squadron was *Spanish*, nor difficult to conjecture the motives of the expedition; but as this was the first intimation he had, it was a great difficulty to restrain the emotions of surprize with which he was seized. The first thought which occurred was, that it must be a squadron equipped by *Velaquez*, to destroy all the fruits of his labour: but this soon gave way to more pleasing sentiments, and he flattered himself that *Portocarrero* and *Montejo*, having succeeded in their embassy, had procured this reinforcement. However, as there could be no certainty with respect to the intention of the fleet, he answered *Moteczuma* in general, that he would no longer delay his departure, if the ships of that fleet were bound back for any of the king of *Spain's* dominions; adding, that he should soon have an account from the *Spaniards* at *Zempoala* of the destination of the armament, the designs of the cruizers, and whether it would be necessary to proceed in building the vessels. In a few days letters arrived from *Sandoval*, governor of *Vera Cruz*, acquainting *Cortez* that the fleet belonged to *Velaquez*, and brought eight hundred *Spaniards* to oppose him in his conquests. The letter he received in the presence of *Moteczuma*, and it required his utmost fortitude to conceal the stroke he sustained by so unexpected a turn of fortune. His situation was now truly desperate, being on every side hemmed round by enemies. Even the report of another armament to oppose his designs would destroy his reputation with the *Mexicans*, and give all his allegations the air of fiction, and himself the appearance of an impostor. Already the people entertained jealousies; this would occasion them either to think that an actual conquest of their country was intended, or that their opinion, with respect to the completion of the ancient prophecy, was fallacious: at any event his case was desperate, as appeared by the greatly superior force of the new armament. However, he bravely resolved not to sink under misfortune, but to exert his utmost abilities to bring to a happy crisis what appeared so dangerous. He concealed his uneasiness from *Moteczuma*, softened the account to the *Spaniards*, and deliberated within himself upon the proper remedies to be used in circumstances so desperate, as seemed almost to exclude hope of relief. But before we enter upon a relation of his measures, it will be necessary we should give some account of the nature and destination of this armament, which proved the source of so much anxiety to *Cortez*. c

A fresh source of anxiety to Cortez arises.

S E C T. VI.

In which are recited the Strength of the Armament fitted out by Velaquez, its Object, the Proposals of Accommodation made by Cortez, the Attempts made to reduce the Colony of Vera Cruz, the Defeat of the Spaniards under Narvaez, the Mexican Revolt, and Cortez's Return to the Capital.

f T H E new honours with which *Velaquez*, governor of *Cuba*, had been vested by the court of *Spain*, served only to whet his animosity to *Cortez*, in proportion as they enabled him to execute the dictates of resentment, and the most implacable enmity. He was not only appointed the king's lieutenant of the island of *Cuba*, by letters-patent, but also of all the lands on the continent, or elsewhere, that should be conquered by any force sent under his direction and authority. The applauses given to *Cortez*, and the extraordinary success of that officer, rendered him quite outrageous, and compelled him, without reflecting upon the consequences, to form such a fleet and army, as he thought would assuredly destroy his rival, and all who adhered to his fortune. He bought ships, enlisted soldiers, visited all the settlements on the island, to encourage the people to embark in the enterprize, and took every effectual measure for blighting all the laurels gathered by *Cortez*, and fruits collected for the benefit of the *Spanish* nation. By representing the immense profits which would arise from the just punishment of a rebel and traitor, he drew together a

Account of the force equipped by Velaquez.

considerable number of volunteers, and expended the bulk of his fortune in purchasing the necessary arms and provisions for the expedition. In a word, he assembled in the space of a few days such a fleet and army, as in that part of the world might be deemed formidable. The army was composed of eight hundred *Spanish* foot, eighty horses, twelve pieces of cannon, and great abundance of small arms and ammunition. *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, a native of *Valladolid*, a gentleman by birth, of reputed capacity, and of great distinction in *Cuba*, was nominated to conduct the expedition. To this general he gave instructions, that he should try every expedient to seize *Cortez*, and send him under a strong guard, that he might receive from his hands the just punishment of his treachery and temerity: that his officers should be used in the same manner, in case they appeared obstinately attached to his interest; and that he should take possession, in his name, of all the new acquisitions, they being within his jurisdiction as king's lieutenant. He never suffered the possibility of disappointment from any accident to enter into his thoughts; he relied, with so much security, on the superiority of his forces and armament, that he never reflected on the courage of *Cortez*, and the long practice which all the soldiers had in arms, as well as the friendships and alliances they had formed.

VELAQUEZ met with some difficulties in the out-setting, which seemed to preface an unfortunate issue to the expedition; but he was not a man to be startled with omens, directed by counsel, or discouraged by difficulty. The supreme ecclesiastical tribunal at *St. Domingo*, presiding over the royal audience at *Hispaniola*, and all the other islands of the *West-Indies*, was informed of his preparations; and sensible of the inconveniences that must arise from a competition, dispatched one of their number, *Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon*, to dissuade *Velaquez* from the prosecution of a measure so injurious to the public service; with orders, if he continued obstinate, to exert all the authority of the tribunal, commanding him, upon the severest penalties, to disband his army, unrig his fleet, and refrain from giving any molestation to *Cortez*, under any pretence whatsoever; insisting, that he would urge his complaints in a legal method before the royal audience, where he should be sure of receiving justice, and meeting with the strictest impartiality. On the arrival of this minister in *Cuba*, he laid his instructions before *Velaquez*, used arguments and persuasion; but finding himself despised, proceeded to menaces, and the full exertion of his powers. Even this was not sufficient to stop the resolution taken by *Velaquez*, who was too sanguine in the hope of revenge, and now too far embarked in the enterprize to relinquish it, without injuring his fortune and his reputation; whereupon the licentiate *D'Ayllon* resolved to accompany the fleet, in expectation that he should either prevail upon the men to obey his orders, or at least find some opportunity of accommodating differences between *Velaquez* and *Cortez*, before they should come to open hostilities. Nor did *Velaquez* oppose this resolution, because he was desirous the fleet should sail before the news of his obstinacy could arrive at *St. Domingo*. It was no less fortunate to *Cortez*, that his old friend *Andres de Duerio*, secretary to *Velaquez*, likewise accompanied this expedition, with the generous design of preventing the destruction of a person whom he esteemed, and of promoting the public service.

The fleet arrives on the coast of Mexico.

A. D. 1520.

In the month of *April*, *Pamphilo de Narvaez* set sail, with a favourable gale; but meeting with tempestuous weather, lost one of his ships near the mountains of *St. Martin*. He came to an anchor in the port of *Ulva*, on advice received by three *Spanish* soldiers, who joined him at the island of *Sacrifices*, left there by *Pizarro*, that the garrison at *Vera Cruz* was incapable of making any resistance. Here a party was landed, and soon had the good fortune to seize upon three straggling soldiers belonging to the colony; who, from fear of punishment, or private disgust to *Cortez*, gave exact information of all that had been transacted in *Mexico*, of the condition of the garrison of *Vera Cruz*, and the general dissatisfaction of the soldiers, both there and in *Mexico*; thus endeavouring to procure for themselves better usage, by misrepresenting facts, and flattering the hopes of *Narvaez*, who greedily swallowed every syllable of their false relation. As it was not probable that *Sandoval*, the governor of the settlement, would attempt, in the present desperate situation of affairs, to oppose so powerful an armament, *Narvaez* sent one *Guavara*, a clergyman, to receive his submission; but this person behaved with so much arrogance in the conference, that the governor ordered him, with his attendants, to be seized, and sent, under the conduct of a *Zempoalan* guard, prisoners to *Mexico*.

Cortez endeavours to effect a reconciliation.

MEAN time *Cortez* received constant intelligence of what passed at *Vera Cruz*. The news that *Narvaez* had landed quite perplexed him, as he foresaw difficulties in every measure that could be proposed. It appeared rash to think of meeting him in the field with a force so unequal, especially as part of his little army must be left in *Mexico*, to defend his treasures, and maintain the footing he had established. The most rational scheme was to make overtures of accommodation to *Narvaez*; but to this the pride and obstinacy of that general, as well as the express injunctions of *Velaquez*, appeared an insurmountable obstruction:

a tion : nor could the haughty spirit of *Cortez* stoop to make concessions unworthy of his honour, although they should appear necessary to the good of the common cause. But what gave him the greatest anxiety was, to find himself obliged to feign security and content in his circumstances, while his heart was oppressed, and his breast agitated, by a variety of contending passions. It was of the utmost consequence to conceal from the *Mexicans*, that the *Spaniards* were at variance ; he therefore told *Moteczuma*, that *Narvaez* was a second ambassador arrived from the king of *Spain*, to enforce the proposition he had already made ; that he was come with an army, according to the custom of the country ; but as every thing was already adjusted, he would endeavour to prevail upon him to return, and would himself take his passage on board his fleet, as his majesty's generosity had left him nothing b farther to desire. It was equally necessary for *Cortez* to conceal his chagrin and uneasiness from his own troops, lest their spirits might sink under the greatness and variety of the danger. He told them the probability that *Narvaez* would come to a reconciliation, and prefer his own interest, and the services of his sovereign, to the absurd revenge of a private man, blended with passion, pride, and animosity. For his own part, he said, he had reason to thank *Velaquez* for having sent him so seasonable a reinforcement, as he had not the least doubt but he should make fellow-soldiers and companions of those who had come against him with hostile intentions. He even concealed from his captains his own opinion of his circumstances, although he laid before them the state of affairs, and desired their advice, after he had disposed their minds to his own inclinations. It was the general c resolution of the council of war, that proposals of accommodation should immediately be dispatched to *Narvaez*, and that in the mean time preparations should be made, as if there was a certainty that the proposals would be rejected.

SUCH were the measures concerted and carrying into execution, when the *Spanish* prisoners, sent by *Sandoval*, arrived. *Cortez* went out to receive them, ordered their fetters to be knocked off, embraced them with great humanity, and told the licentiate *Guavara*, that he would chastise *Sandoval* for the little regard he shewed for his person and function. He intimated how much he esteemed the happiness of having the expedition commanded by *Narvaez*, who was his old friend and intimate acquaintance ; he took care that all the *Spaniards* should appear chearful and gay before this clergyman ; he made him a witness to d the favours he received from *Moteczuma* ; he gave him several valuable presents ; and, in a word, soothed, cajoled, and insinuated with so much address, that he entirely gained the licentiate to his interest. In the same manner he treated the other prisoners ; and without seeming to tamper with their integrity, released them in four days, strenuously attached to his person, and engaged by his liberality. His next step was to send father *Almedo*, a moderate, sensible, and eloquent friar, with proposals to *Narvaez* ; likewise furnishing him with letters to *Vasquez D'Ayllon*, and his old friend the secretary *Duero*, with several jewels, which he was to distribute, at his discretion, among the troops. The instructions were filled with arguments, demonstrating the importance to the common cause of a reconciliation, expressions of civility to *Narvaez*, and a relation of the progress which *Cortez* had e made in the conquest of *Mexico*. He represented the fatal consequences to both, of giving the *Mexicans*, a warlike and powerful people, reason to think, that discord prevailed among the *Spaniards* : and he finally desired to know the purport of his instructions ; for if they came from the king, or tended to promote the public service, he was ready to surrender his commission, and contribute his assistance in a private station ; but if they were dictated by *Velaquez*'s resentment, they ought both to consider, with equal attention, how much they hazarded by obedience ; concluding, that he did not make use of arguments, because he wanted force ; on the contrary, he knew how to defend his propositions when slighted, as well as to relax in them whenever they appeared unreasonable.

f HAVING dispatched *Almedo*, he sent to his friends at *Tlascalala*, desiring that the republic would immediately provide six thousand men to attend him on an enterprize, in which it was possible he might want her service. An officer was likewise sent among his other allies, the caziques of *Chinantecas*, to desire them to levy two thousand men for the same occasion. The people of this country were the declared enemies of the *Mexicans*, and had made the strongest professions of friendship to *Cortez*. As they were brave and warlike, the general imagined he might profit by their assistance ; he even condescended to imitate some of their arms. Hearing that the *Chinantecas* made use of extreme long lances in their wars, he thought they might prove useful against *Narvaez*'s cavalry ; and accordingly ordered three hundred to be made, pointed with copper for want of iron, and divided among his troops. In a word, he made every necessary preparation for taking the field ; justly imagining, from g the known temper of *Narvaez*, that it would be difficult to bring him to reason by the force of arguments only. This conjecture was soon verified. *Narvaez* was at *Zempoala* when *Guavara* returned from *Mexico*, with an account of the grandeur and magnificence of *Moteczuma*, his respect for *Cortez*, the great merit of that general, and the humanity and

Almedo gains
a party for
Cortez.

Violent pro-
ceedings of
Narvaez.

Cortez re-
solves to march
against Nar-
vaez.

and politeness with which he had entertained him. He commended *Cortez's* prudence in desiring to conceal from the *Mexicans* that any cause of difference subsisted between the *Spaniards*, and run so largely in his praises, that *Narvaez* ordered him to quit his presence; upon which the priest and his companions sought a new auditory, distributed their presents among the soldiers, and established, what was of the greatest consequence to *Cortez*, a high opinion of his generosity and valour, and a general inclination for peace. Father *de Almedo* arrived seasonably to stamp deeper the first impressions made by *Guavara*. He delivered his instructions to *Narvaez*, accompanied with an eloquent oration, enforcing the necessity of maintaining a perfect harmony; and received an answer filled with invectives against *Cortez*, and with so much passion and acrimony, that the reverend father despairing he should be able to bring him to reason, proceeded to the execution of the other part of his instructions. He visited the secretary *Duero* and the licentiate *D'Ayllon*, delivered the letters from *Cortez*, and found them extremely disposed to bring about a reconciliation. They likewise promised to assist, with the utmost influence, the purport of his dispatches; and loudly condemned the inexorable severity and injudicious vehemence of *Narvaez*. *Almedo*, in the next place, visited the officers and soldiers of his acquaintance, distributed his presents, and prejudiced them all in favour of the valour, humanity, justice, and generosity of *Cortez*; insomuch, that there was great reason to hope for a strong party in his interest, or at least in favour of an accommodation. *Narvaez* had no sooner notice of what was practising in the camp, than he ordered *Almedo* to be brought before him, loaded with abuse and menaces, calling him a mutinous and a seditious traitor, and threatening to secure his person, had not the secretary *Duero* interposed, and represented the bad consequences that might flow from such irreverent treatment of a venerable ecclesiastic.

ALMEDO was no sooner dismissed, than *Vasquez D'Ayllon*, commissary from the royal audience at *St. Domingo*, proposed that a council of war should be held, to deliberate upon a proper answer to the embassy sent by *Cortez*; and he was seconded in this proposition by a majority of the army: but *Narvaez*, to stop all such proceedings, made solemn declaration of war, with fire and sword, against *Cortez*; threatening, with the severest punishment, whoever should make any farther overtures of reconciliation, and offering a great reward to any who should take or kill his inveterate enemy. At the same time the army had orders to march, and the orders of the general were proclaimed at the head of the army. *D'Ayllon*, out of all patience with such violent proceedings, resolved to exert his authority. He commanded the crier to desist; and signified to *Narvaez*, that he should not stir from *Zempoala* under pain of death, nor employ his forces in shedding the blood of their own friends and countrymen, without the unanimous consent of the army; which so irritated the passionate general, that he ordered him to be seized, and shipped off for *Cuba*; though the priest had address enough to prevail on the sailors to convey him directly to *St. Domingo*, where he laid before the royal audience the impetuous, headstrong temper, and violent measures of *Narvaez*, with such partiality to *Cortez*, as determined the board to support his interest more powerfully. Indeed, he profited more by the very conduct of *Narvaez*, than he could expect from his own most strenuous endeavours. That officer carried his resentment so far, as to incur the displeasure of those who were no friends to his enemy; and once their own general fell in their esteem, it was an easy transition to bestow their affections on the subject of his hatred. Accordingly the soldiers began to desert to *Vera Cruz*; a Portuguese, named *Villabobas*, having entered, with seven other soldiers, into the service of *Sandoval*, and brought with him the written agreement of several others, to follow his example, in case *Narvaez* continued implacable. *Moteczuma* too, after he came to understand the variance among the *Spaniards*, continued extremely attached to *Cortez*, offering to support him with a numerous army; nevertheless there are writers who assert, that he maintained a clandestine correspondence with *Narvaez*, and endeavoured to destroy both parties by professions of friendship to each: an allegation that is fully refuted by *Antonio de Solis*. It is true, indeed, that he sent presents to *Narvaez*, according to the hospitable custom of the country to all strangers; but *De Solis* justly regards this as no impeachment of his fidelity to *Cortez*, and clearly demonstrates the impossibility of a secret correspondence for want of interpreters to explain the mutual sentiments of the parties; the *Zempoalans* entertaining the most bitter resentment against *Narvaez*, on account of the tyranny and oppression exercised in their province.

On the return of *Almedo* it was determined by *Cortez* and his officers, to take the field with all the troops they could possibly assemble, to incorporate the auxiliary *Indians* of *Tlascala* and *Chinantla*, and afterwards to march in a body to *Zempoala*; first halting in some considerable town, to renew the pacific negotiation, and, if possible, to terminate the differences amicably. This resolution was immediately published among the soldiers, and

* HERRERA, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iv.

f DE SOLIS, lib. iv. cap. vii.

- a received with so much applause, that *Cortez* was forced to exert his authority before he could oblige eighty of his people to remain in *Mexico*, all being so desirous to attend his person and fortune. He softened the motives for his journey to *Moteczuma*, telling him that the *Spanish* captain at *Zempoala* had given some proofs of a disorderly passion, owing to his misinformation; for he came thither as lieutenant to the governor of a remote province, who was not acquainted with the last instructions of the court of *Spain*; and therefore persuaded himself, that the embassy in which himself (*Cortez*) was employed, was an affair properly belonging to his office. All the preparations to support so frivolous a pretension would vanish, he said, without any farther trouble, than his laying before the captain his commission, giving him full power and jurisdiction over all the *Spaniards* who should arrive on that coast.
- b To anticipate, therefore, the bad consequences which might ensue from the misinformation of *Narvaez*, he resolved to direct his march to *Zempoala* with part of his forces, to dispose the minds of the *Spaniards* to respect the *Mexicans* as a people now under the protection of the king of *Spain*; and that he would immediately execute this resolution, lest the approach of an army, so little disciplined, into the neighbourhood of the capital, might occasion some disturbances among the vassals of his imperial majesty. This was the artful turn which he gave the dispute between *Narvaez* and himself; and *Moteczuma*, who was already informed of the tyranny exercised by the *Spaniards* in *Zempoala*, greatly applauded his design, again renewing his offer of assistance, in case *Narvaez* continued obstinate and refractory; but when *Cortez* declined this proposal,
- c emperor told him, that he would shew all manner of countenance and favour, during his absence, to the part of his forces he should think proper to leave in *Mexico*.

- EVERY obstruction to his march being now surmounted, he appointed *Alvarado*, an officer high in *Moteczuma's* esteem, to command the party he left behind; charging him to be so assiduous in his civilities to the emperor, as to render him insensible of his confinement; and strictly enjoining the soldiers to discipline and obedience to their captain, kindness and humanity to the *Mexicans*, and especially the attendants of the court. *Moteczuma*, with a prodigious retinue of the nobility, accompanied him out of the city, and upon taking his leave, told him, that if there was no other method of deciding his dispute, but by force of arms, he would not only assist him with an army entirely at his devotion, but even take the field in person for his defence; adding, that he would continue his protection to the *Spaniards* under *Alvarado*, and remain in his present quarters until the return of *Cortez*; a promise to which he religiously adhered amidst all the disturbances that arose among the *Mexicans*. The general pursued his march to *Cholula* with all possible dispatch and circumspection, and was received in that city with a cheerful welcome. Thence he proceeded to *Tlascala*, and was met at the distance of half a league from the city by a splendid embassy from the republic. He was conducted into the town amidst the acclamations of the people, who now respected him as the conqueror of *Mexico*, and the subduer of the haughty spirit of *Moteczuma*.^c Immediately the senate deliberated upon the answer to be returned to the demand made by *Cortez* of six thousand auxiliaries, and
- c determined to comply with the utmost punctuality. Authors, however, differ about this circumstance; but it is certain, that *Cortez* had no *Tlascalans* in his army when he engaged *Narvaez* at *Zempoala*. It is likewise confessed on all hands, that *Cortez* left *Tlascala* extremely well satisfied with his reception; and that, although the *Tlascalans* failed him upon this occasion, he had no reason to question their fidelity or attachment, having found them extremely ready, brave, and useful, in all his future engagements with the *Mexicans*. *Cortez* had sent orders for *Sandoval* to meet him, with the *Spanish* garrison of *Vera Cruz*, at *Matalequitán*, leaving the settlement to the care of the confederate *Indians*; and thither he now directed his rout, and found *Sandoval* punctual to his instructions. Before his departure from *Vera Cruz*, *Sandoval* was fortunate enough to obtain exact intelligence of
- f the enemy. Two soldiers of the fort, who artfully imitated the behaviour and gesture of the *Mexicans*, and greatly resembled them in features and complexion, offered themselves for spies, stripped themselves naked, and entered early in the morning into *Zempoala*, with baskets of fruit upon their heads. *Narvaez* had his head-quarters at this town; and with such address did the two *Spanish* soldiers feign the simplicity of the native peasants and their eagerness, that they had a full survey of the whole place, without creating the least suspicion. Their success encouraged them to another enterprise. Accordingly, the same soldiers entered the town a second time, with intention to discover what kind of watch was maintained, and whether there appeared a possibility of surprising *Narvaez*. Every thing corresponded with their wishes; they found the enemy careless and secure, and
- g returned to the settlement in safety, after having carried off a horse belonging to one of the captains, who expressed the greatest resentment against *Cortez*. There was something

Assurances
given by Mo-
tezuma.

*Cortez joins
Sandoval,*

^c HERRERA, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. i.

Narvaez re-
jects all over-
tures.

so extremely bold and ingenious in this attempt, as extremely delighted *Cortez*, and gave him a happy presage of the event. He built his greatest hopes upon the inexperience of the enemy; and the activity, vigilance, courage, and attachment of his own troops. The negligence of *Narvaez* was occasioned, he perceived, by the confidence he had in his superiority; and this furnished him with many advantages, in case the fresh instances of peace, he proposed making, should prove abortive. To shun, if possible, the effusion of blood, he dispatched father *Almedo*, a second time, with as moderate proposals as he could devise; but his negotiation having no success, he appointed *Juan Velaquez de Leon* to wait on *Narvaez*; imagining, that the near relation of this officer to the governor of *Cuba* might give him more influence. On the approach of *Velaquez*, it was generally believed at *Zempoala* that he had relinquished the interest of *Cortez*; and this notion prevailed so much, that *Narvaez* went out, with a numerous retinue, to receive him; but *Velaquez* soon disappointed their expectations. He enforced his commission with such eloquence, and entered upon the praises of *Cortez* with so much warmth, that *Narvaez* broke off abruptly, declined any farther conversation upon the subject, and dismissed him without an answer.

THIS mark of disrespect, to a person of so much consequence as *Velaquez*, gave umbrage to the soldiers under *Narvaez*, who insisted upon the expediency of hearing his message candidly; since it was not probable, that a person of so much honour and sincerity would have come with unreasonable propositions. These discourses proceeded so far, that, to quiet the soldiers, the secretary *Duero* was nominated to wait on *Cortez*, to apologize for the behaviour shewn to *Velaquez*, and to enquire into the substance and purport of his commission. This gentleman was received with all the respect due to his character, his moderation, and the friendship which he always professed for *Cortez*. Several conferences were held upon the subject of his commission, and every expedient for conquering the obstinacy of *Narvaez* was canvassed. *Cortez* is reported to have gone as far, as to offer abandoning the *Mexican* conquests to his competitor, and going, with his followers, elsewhere, in search of fresh laurels. But this was an act of complaisance which *Duero* refused to accept; proposing, in its stead, an interview between the two generals, which it was hoped might terminate in contriving a medium. The proposition was readily accepted by *Cortez*; while, on the other hand, *Narvaez* proceeded so far as to pen under his hand, the place, the hour, and the circumstances of the appointment, at the same time that he was preparing an ambuscade for his rival. This treachery was discovered by *Duero*, and notified to *Cortez*; who finding that the sword must decide all differences, mustered his army, and prepared to march against the enemy. The base designs of *Narvaez* served only to animate his courage; for he persuaded himself that an officer, who endeavoured to purchase victory at the expence of his honour, could have no great dependence on his own abilities, or the valour and attachment of his soldiers. His progress within a league of *Zempoala* was rapid, his front was secured by the river of *Cansas*, and his rear by the territory of the settlement at *Vera Cruz*. He disposed his army in the most convenient manner, and placed double centinels at every accessible part, keeping, likewise, parties abroad to scour the country, and observe the enemy's motions.

He is surprised
and defeated.

NOTICE of the approach of his rival was no sooner brought to *Narvaez*, than he drew out his troops into the field, with an eagerness and confidence of victory productive of confusion. He promised a reward of two thousand pieces of eight to whoever should bring the head of *Cortez*, and thereby confirmed his own dread, and the opinion of the soldiers of the formidableness of that hero. He weakly imagined that *Cortez* would be rash enough to attack him in the open field, with numbers so disproportioned; obstinately persevering in that opinion for the whole day, and until the tempest that came on in the night, rendered the soldiers so clamorous, that he hastened to take shelter in the town, with a disorder and precipitation greatly resembling the consequences of a defeat. Hearing that *Cortez* kept himself encamped on the opposite side of the river, he reasonably conjectured that he had nothing to fear that night, when the storm of rain and wind was so great as almost to disable the soldiers from handling their arms; he therefore lodged his troops in the temples, resolving, as soon as day appeared, and a calm ensued, to lead them again into the field. *Cortez* had advice of all these particulars from the secretary *Duero*, who certainly betrayed his party; although *De Solis* palliates his conduct, by alledging, that his sole design in sending this information, was to induce *Cortez* to pass the night quietly, in hopes that the next day might produce something favourable to the proposed accommodation. Be this as it may, it certainly enabled *Cortez* to plan that enterprise, upon the success of which depended all his future fortune. He drew out his troops without delay, and they obeyed without complaining of the severity of the weather, or the unseasonableness of the motion, from a thorough confidence in the judgment of their leader, and the necessity of the measure. They passed the river, the water reaching almost to their breasts, and

- a and on their gaining the opposite shore, were made acquainted with the design of the march, the situation of the enemy the facility with which they might be attacked, the great probability of victory, and every other circumstance which could inflame their courage, and give spur to their ardour. Fired with the concise animating speech of the general, all acknowledged the prudence of his resolution, and expressed their determination to conquer, or to die fighting by his side. Immediately he divided the little army in three corps; the first under the conduct of *Sandoval*, being directed to seize upon the stairs of the temple, and prevent the enemy from using their artillery; the second under *Christopher de Olid*, having orders to ascend the tower, and invest the quarters of *Narvaez*: while the third corps, led by the general in person, was reserved to support the two first, and
- b carry relief to that quarter which should appear the hardest pressed. Orders were likewise given, that the drums should beat, and the warlike instruments sound, as soon as the attack began, in order to strike the greater terror, and increase the confusion consequent on being surprised. As he proposed reaching *Zempoala* about midnight, the army marched slowly, to prevent their being out of breath when they began to engage; but they had not proceeded far, when they fell in with two of the enemy's centinels, one of whom was made prisoner. It was feared that the other, who had made his escape, might spread the alarm; *Cortez*, therefore, ordered the troops to hasten their pace, that he might arrive before *Narvaez* should have time to make a proper disposition. Every thing happened just as he had foreseen: the sentinel discharged his duty, gave the necessary information, and
- c was disbelieved. A few, however, armed themselves; but *Cortez* seasonably entered the town, and confirmed the soldier's account, before *Narvaez* could prevail upon himself to disturb his rest, or order the troops to their several posts. He had the good fortune to escape the body of cavalry, sent out to scour the country, and reached the temple, without being challenged by any of the out-guards. *Sandoval* instantly began his attack with his van, mounted the stairs, and threw the enemy into the utmost disorder, as there now remained no doubt of what the sentinel asserted. Two pieces of artillery were fired upon him, but they did no execution, and only served to augment the general confusion, and the noise made by the drums and other warlike instruments of *Cortez*. The enemy, however, were so numerous, that *Sandoval* would have found it impossible to succeed in the
- d execution of his orders, had he had not been opportunely supported by the second division, under *Christopher de Olid*, and by *Cortez* in person; who quitting the rear, plunged, sword-in-hand into the midst of the enemy, and the hottest part of the engagement. Such was the impetuosity of his troops, that the enemy were driven back, step by step, and in the end totally defeated, leaving their artillery behind, and taking shelter in the other temple, where *Narvaez* had his quarters, and commanded in person. He had just then put on his armour, and was animating his people by his voice and example, when a thrust in the eye with a pike brought him to the ground, and into the hands of the enemy; which so dispirited his troops, that they immediately threw down their arms, and asked quarter.
- e ANOTHER tower was still possessed by captain *Sebatierra*, and young *Diego de Velaquez*, who seemed determined to defend themselves to the last extremities. *Cortez*, upon this, ordered two pieces of cannon to bear upon the tower, and so terrified the soldiers, that they refused to obey their officers longer, and obliged them to submit at discretion. Immediately a general pardon was published to all who would surrender themselves; and the general passed his word, that they should have liberty, if they chose it, to return to *Cuba*, or to enlist in his army, and share his fortune. All to a man accepted the terms; and thus *Cortez* not only broke all the designs of his enemies, but acquired such an accession of strength, as enabled him to return to the conquest of *Mexico* with more assurance of success than before. This important victory was obtained with only the loss of four soldiers
- f killed, and two wounded; and on the part of the enemy, two officers and fifteen private men killed, with near double that number of wounded. *Cortez* visited *Narvaez*, who told him with an air of insult, "That he had reason to value himself upon having such a prisoner in his hands." To which *Cortez* replied contemptuously, "That without vanity he might rank this victory, and his imprisonment, among the least considerable actions performed since his arrival in that country." Notwithstanding this severity, he gave orders that *Narvaez*, and all the prisoners, should be humanely treated, and diligently guarded, lest the small appearance of their conquerors, in day light, might animate them to fresh attempts. At break of day he was joined by two thousand auxiliaries, sent by the *Chinanticas*, which rendered him more secure against the consequences of a revolt; as it
- g not only augmented his force, but shewed *Narvaez* that he was beloved, befriended, and respected in the country. It was then that the enemy beheld their disgrace in full view. Night had concealed the number with *Cortez*; and indeed *Narvaez* reasonably supposed, that he was supported by a great body of auxiliary *Mexicans*; the day-light discovered this

*Cortez enlists
the troops of
Narvaez.*

error, and his unequal forces; the soldiers cursed the confidence of *Narvaez*, and redoubled their esteem for the vigilance, prudence, and undaunted courage of the conqueror. All were charmed with his generosity, the clemency shewn to the prisoners, and the humanity to the wounded. His friends among the troops of *Narvaez* laid aside dissimulation, entered into his service, and were followed by the rest who were less affected to his interest. Every man gave in his name, disputing for a preference in the roll; nor was there a soldier who so much as intimated his inclination to return to *Cuba*. When *Cortez* had sufficiently examined their dispositions, he returned their arms to the new troops, and by this mark of confidence entirely won their affections, and confirmed their fidelity. The officers were sent prisoners on board the fleet, and thus the defeat of *Narvaez* not only put *Cortez* in possession of a fleet of eleven ships, and seven brigantines, but placed him at the head of an army composed of a thousand *Spanish* infantry, and near an hundred cavalry, exclusive of the garrison left at *Vera Cruz*, for the defence of the settlement, and security of the prisoners.

Cortez prepares to return to Mexico.

THIS series of success did not so elevate *Cortez* as to render him unmindful of *Alvarado*, and the forces left behind in *Mexico*. He was sensible of the danger to which such a handful of men were exposed, in the midst of a vast empire filled with discontent and sedition. Their chief security depended on *Moteczuma's* keeping the promise he had made, of not removing his quarters, or attempting any change in his absence, an obligation of no great force, where interest, inclination, and policy, united to oppose it. Besides that, *Moteczuma*, however well affected to the *Spaniards*, and regardful of his promise, might not have it in his power to repress the zeal of his subjects, and prevent their embracing this opportunity of showering down vengeance on the heads of those who held their march in a kind of disgraceful voluntary bondage. Full of these thoughts, he determined to direct his march back to *Mexico*; and that no danger might arise to the fleet at *Vera Cruz*, he ordered the ships to be unrigged, and all their sails and cordage to be lodged in the settlement. It was his intention to divide his forces, to avoid giving umbrage to *Moteczuma*, by entering his capital with so large an army; but a letter received from *Alvarado* altered his resolution, and determined him to march with all his troops, with the utmost dispatch, to the relief of that brave officer. The advices brought by this letter were, that the *Mexicans* had taken arms, and in despite of *Moteczuma*, who had sacredly observed his word, made such frequent attacks, and in such multitudes, that all the *Spaniards* must necessarily sink under the weight of such prodigious numbers, unless they were speedily succoured. *Diaz del Castillo* and *Herrera* are of opinion, that *Moteczuma* fomented this disturbance privately; but *De Sois* gives irrefragable proofs of the monarch's integrity and honour; although we are of opinion, his conduct would require no apology, had he endeavoured to rid himself of strangers who were so great a restraint on his liberty, so disagreeable to his subjects, so dangerous to his empire, and such a clog upon his authority. The letter was brought by a *Spanish* soldier, accompanied by an embassy from *Moteczuma*, representing to *Cortez*, that it was entirely out of his power to repress the fury of his people; that he would never abandon *Alvarado*, the *Spaniards*, and his word, but that if relief did not soon arrive, he could not promise for the consequences. After this information there was no room for deliberation; officers and soldiers declared, that their immediate march was indispensable, and their union necessary; and, indeed, *Moteczuma's* embassy furnished *Cortez* with a handsome pretext for leading to the capital what might be deemed a potent and numerous army. To prevent oppressing the *Indians* in their way, and for the greater conveniency of provisions, *Cortez* divided his troops into small corps, who had orders to take different routs, and meet at *Tlascala*, the general rendezvous; nevertheless, the soldiers still suffered extreme hardships from hunger and thirst, as well as fatigue. All, however, bore their misfortunes with courage, knowing they would be of short duration; and the soldiers who came with *Narvaez*, emulous of equalling the veterans, endured their sufferings without murmuring, as they regarded *Mexico* as the land of promise, where their toils would be sufficiently rewarded. His entry into *Tlascala* was splendid, *Magiscatzin* entertained him in his own house, and the senate gave orders to the whole army of the republic to be in readiness to attend him two *Mexico*; but *Cortez* would only accept of two thousand men, that his troops might not appear formidably numerous. As he approached *Mexico*, he passed the lake without opposition, though there were some suspicious appearances, which rendered circumspection necessary. The two *Spanish* brigantines were found flayed and half burnt, the suburbs and forts at the entrance abandoned, the bridges serving for a communication between the streets were broke down, and all was wrapped in profound and dangerous silence. This suspicion continued, until the *Spaniards*, in *Mexico*, discovering the army at a distance, raised a loud shout, and dispelled the gloom of apprehension. *Alvarado*, with his people, came to the gate to receive *Cortez*, the soldiers caressed each other with the sincerest joy, and *Moteczuma*, with all his attendants, came to the outermost

Moteczuma receives him joyfully.

- a outermost court, to congratulate the general on his arrival. Some writers report, that *Cortez* received the emperor's demonstration of joy with coldness and reserve. *Castillo* relates, that he turned his back upon him, without deigning to return an answer; and *Herrera* speaks as if the general, grown insolent with prosperity, had charged *Moteczuma* with the fault of his subjects: but neither *Gomara*, nor *Cortez* in his own account, touch upon this circumstance, which is, indeed, extremely improbable. There was not the least room for suspicion that *Moteczuma* entertained any ill-will to the *Spaniards*, or design to break his promise; on the contrary, it is certain, that he adhered to his word beyond what sound policy dictated, was extremely diligent in suppressing the tumults, exposed his person in defence of his guests; and had, merely by the awful shadow of his royal authority, prevented the *Spaniards* from being sacrificed to the rage of his subjects.

- It may appear extraordinary, that, in this state of affairs, the *Mexicans* should suffer *Cortez* to enter the city without opposition, and bring such powerful reinforcements to *Alvarado*; but *Antonio de Solis* explains this point in the following manner: They relied upon their excessive numbers, were elated with their success in having killed three or four *Spaniards* in the late attacks, and now allowed *Cortez* a free entrance only that they might with the less trouble crush the whole at one blow, after they were united. This was the occasion of their retreat into the other part of the city, and the cause of the entire suspension of hostilities, in which *Cortez* imagined they had treacherous designs. With respect to the motives for the insurrection, authors are greatly divided, some ascribing it to the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and founding this opinion on the authority of one of their own writers of the greatest credit; we mean *Bartolomeo de la Casas*, afterwards bishop of *Chiapa*. His words are very full and explicit: "The *Mexicans*, says he, having appointed a public dance, which they called *Mitotes*, to entertain the *Spaniards* and *Moteczuma*, the general, *Pedro de Alvarado*, observing the jewels with which the *Indians* were adorned, assembled his soldiers, and fell upon them, cutting them in pieces, to gain possession of those valuable ornaments; in the acquisition of which infamous spoil, above two thousand of the *Mexican* nobility were put to the sword." *De Solis* vindicates his country from this reproach, gives a quite different account of the conspiracy, for such he terms it; but, in our opinion, does not clearly enough refute the allegation of the prelate. He rather endeavours to invalidate his evidence, by observing that *la Casas* was at that time soliciting the relief of the *Indians*; and in order to obtain his purposes, which, by this confession, were certainly pious and humane, was exaggerating every circumstance of their oppression. According to *De Solis*, it was obvious to *Alvarado*, that the nobility of the court had fallen off from their respect since the departure of the *Spaniards*, which obliged him to behave with great caution and circumspection. He employed spies to watch their motions, and soon received information, that something extraordinary was in agitation. On closer examination it appeared, that a dangerous conspiracy was hatching against the *Spaniards*; nor was it long before some of the conspirators themselves betrayed to him the whole secret. A few days after, several of the principal nobility came for leave to *Alvarado*, to celebrate their annual festival, called *Mitotes*; a compliment with which they intended to deceive him, and prevent his taking umbrage at their assembling in such numbers: and *Alvarado*, as his suspicions were not yet fully confirmed, granted the request, on condition the *Mexicans* would come unarmed, and decline offering human sacrifices. That very night he received intelligence, that arms were secretly distributing in all the houses adjoining to the temple; his doubts vanished, and he determined upon signal revenge. His plan was to attack them in the beginning of the festival, without furnishing them with time to take arms, or assemble the populace; and he found it no difficult matter to carry it into execution. The *Mexicans* were so intoxicated with liquor and joy that their plot remained undiscovered: that *Alvarado* attacked and easily defeated them, wounding and killing great numbers, who could not escape in the tumult, or leap over the galleries or windows. "His intention, says *de Solis*, was only to terrify and disperse them; which he indeed compassed not without confusion and disorder; for the *Spaniards* instantly fell to stripping the dead and wounded of their jewels and valuable ornaments." Thus *de Solis*, in fact, admits the whole charge brought against *Alvarado* by the bishop of *Chiapa*: he acknowledges that he began a terrible massacre, during a public festival; and that the killed and wounded were stripped and plundered by the soldiers: but this he calls the punishment of a dangerous conspiracy, though he acknowledges that it was rash, inconsiderate, and ill conducted, as *Alvarado* retired to his quarters with the air of a conqueror, without giving the populace the slightest information of the causes that prompted him to an action, base, insidious, and barbarous to all outward appearance. We leave it to the reader to pass judgment upon those different relations; for our own parts, we cannot help being strongly prejudiced in favour of *La Casas*, who is confessed to be a writer of candour, and who could have no reasonable motive for casting an indelible stain on the character of his

nation. The same allegations, indeed, from a foreigner, might seem suspicious ; but from a *Spanish* dignified prelate, of irreproachable manners and veracity, they will outweigh all the assertions of a writer, whose business it is to magnify and extol every circumstance of this glorious conquest.

Mexicans revolt.

CORTÉZ was extremely shocked at this rash procedure, and blamed *Alvarado* that he had not only neglected to enform the people of the conspiracy, but to consult upon it with *Moteczuma*, as both must now behold the slaughter of the *Mexican* nobility as an act of wanton cruelty and avarice ; but it was now impossible to redress the evil, except by prosecuting the system of *Alvarado*, and destroying greater numbers of those innocent people, who were taking arms only in their own defence. In fact *Cortez* relied upon his own strength, and was probably not sorry that *Alvarado* had furnished him with so good a pretext for beginning the conquest, and plundering so rich a city. Observing that the same suspicious tranquillity and silence reigned as the day before, he dispatched *Diego de Ordaz*, with a party of four hundred *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, to scour the streets, and endeavour to penetrate into this mysterious stillness. *Ordaz* had not advanced a great way, when he discovered an armed party, sent out probably as a decoy to draw him into danger, which had the effect. The party retreated, and *Ordaz* pursued, in hopes of taking some prisoners, from whom he might obtain intelligence ; but he soon found himself inclosed between two vast armies, one behind, and the other before ; so that it was necessary to break thro', sword in hand, before he could either advance or retreat. Besides, the tops of the houses and windows were crowded with enemies, who poured down such showers of stones, arrows, and darts, as quite obscured the sky, and covered the *Spaniards*. All his valour and experience were now wanted to extricate himself from this dangerous situation. He drew up in a double front, employed his swords and pikes against the enemies below, and plied those above with his fire-arms ; but his chief advantage arose from the ardour of the *Indians*, who hastened on so tumultuously, as to confound each other with numbers, and leave nothing else to the *Spaniards* than to slay and kill without resistance. It was this circumstance alone that saved *Ordaz* ; for had the enemy fought with tolerable order, he must have sunk under their weight. As matters fell out, the carnage was so dreadful, that, losing courage, they retired to a distance, and used revilings and menaces instead of weapons. The fire-arms cleared the terraces, and *Diego de Ordaz*, who was sent to make discoveries, did not think it advisable to engage farther ; he therefore retreated to his quarters, in the same disposition as when he was charged closely by the enemy ; and after some difficulty joined *Cortez*, with the loss of eight men killed in the action, himself, with almost all his people, being wounded.

THIS was the first proof which *Cortez* had of the resentment of the *Mexicans*, and it served to confirm his resolution to bring them to obedience by force of arms. All endeavours to accommodate matters would only diminish his reputation, and convince the enemy that he stood in awe of their numbers. He determined to oblige them to make the first proposals, for which reason he prepared a fally from his quarters, in expectation that the vigour and effects of the blow would strike terror. It is astonishing, however, that *Moteczuma* was never consulted upon any of these occasions. Formerly *Cortez* made him acquainted with every motion, and it looks as if he now suspected that he had encouraged the insurrection, because he is treated with no confidence. All that *De Solis* relates is, that *Moteczuma* was too diffident of his own authority, and apprehensive of the disobedience of his vassals, to propose setting on foot a treaty. Probable it is, that the conduct of *Alvarado* greatly injured the *Spaniards* in his good opinion, though regard to his word, and indeed his own safety, obliged him to act in a neutral capacity while he was detained a prisoner in the *Spanish* quarters. The enemy anticipated the design of *Cortez*. After the affair of *Ordaz* they halted at some distance from the palace, and formed the vigorous resolution of attacking the quarters on all sides. All the adjacent streets were filled with armed men, and when every thing was formed for the assault, the drums and flutes gave the dreadful signal. The van-guard was composed of companies of archers, who were to clear the walls to facilitate the approach of the center and rear. All advanced with precipitation and fury. The discharges of the archers were incredibly quick and alert, they were pressed on with extreme impetuosity, and the *Spaniards* found the utmost difficulty in maintaining their ground, and repulsing so violent and well conducted an attack. The ground was so thickly strewed with arrows, that the *Spaniards* were forced to employ people to remove them, as they choked up the way to the ramparts ; and although the artillery and small-arms made terrible destruction, yet such was the obstinate valour of the *Mexicans*, that they advanced undaunted to fill up the chasms left by the slain, trampling, without fear or dread, upon the bodies of the dead and wounded, until they met the same fate, and were succeeded by others. Nothing was left untried to gain possession of the ramparts. Several attempted to scale the fortifications at the very mouths of the cannon ; others endeavoured to

They attack the Spaniards.

- a to force open the gates, or break down the walls, with ill contrived instruments; many mounted upon the shoulders of their companions, that their weapons might do more execution, and great numbers formed their lances and pikes into ladders, by which they attempted to gain the windows and terraces. All, in general, exposed themselves, without reserve, to danger, and performed actions of the most intrepid courage, and savage ferocity. At last night seasonably interposed, and obliged them to retreat before they were conquered, out of a superstitious custom that prevailed among the *Mexicans*, of never fighting in the absence of the sun's influence; a custom probably founded upon the generous sentiment, that it was cowardly to attack an enemy in the dark. Even their superstition could not entirely subdue their ardour, for they continued to shoot at a distance with
- b fired arrows, which, setting the buildings of the palace in flames, obliged the *Spaniards* to break down some walls, to cut off the communication between the houses, and afterwards toil with indefatigable industry to repair those breaches, which would serve as an inlet to the torrent of enemies they expected to rush upon them as soon as day appeared. In this the *Spaniards* were disappointed. The enemy kept at a distance, endeavouring to provoke *Cortez* to battle, and to quit his walls, by the most injurious expressions. As he had before intended a sally, the general embraced this opportunity of animating his people, and whetting their courage by a short speech, representing the necessity they were under of giving the enemy some very signal proof of their gallantry. Agreeable to this resolution, the troops were divided into three bodies, each formed into a double front, in the manner
- c so successfully observed by *Ordaz* on a late occasion. They engaged at the same time, and the enemy sustained the charge with firmness, venturing to come to push of pikes with the *Spaniards*. The fire-arms levelled at the galleries and windows could not put a stop to the showers of stones incessantly poured down, and it was necessary to set divers houses on fire, to check an evil to which there was no other remedy. After an obstinate engagement, in which multitudes were slain, the *Mexicans* at last gave way before the superior valour of the *Spaniards*, and were pursued from street to street into a great square, where they made a last effort, and were totally defeated. Their flight was confused and disorderly; the wounded were trampled to death by the flying, and the slaughter might have been still more dreadful, had not *Cortez* stopped the pursuit, in hopes of reducing them to
- d terms by this act of moderation. Already the carnage was so great, that the canals were tinged with blood, and the streets filled with vast heaps of dead bodies; but the amount of the loss is not estimated on the side of the *Mexicans*. Of *Cortez's* army, twelve were killed, *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, and a much greater number wounded; a cheap price for victory, had it been decisive, or the conqueror in a better condition to support the loss of his soldiers. The engagement lasted for the whole forenoon; the *Spaniards* were frequently hard pressed; in pursuing they were obliged to fill up ditches, and sustain the charge of the enemy, who returned in swarms upon every new obstruction. The *Tlascalans* behaved with great gallantry, and fought with order and regularity; in a word, every individual fully discharged his duty; and *Cortez*, in particular, displayed all the qualities of a general and a soldier.
- e

A SUSPENSION of hostilities ensued, as if by mutual agreement, both sides taking breath, in order to resume their attacks with the greater vigour. Mean time *Cortez* did not neglect the opportunity of making fresh overtures of peace, by means of some of *Moteczuma's* attendants. He observed that the *Mexicans*, like the hydra's head, multiplied by their losses, and regenerated under the stroke levelled for their destruction; but the proposals met with no success. Some of the persons appointed to conduct the negotiation returned severely handled, and others remained with the enemy, to the great discontent of *Moteczuma*, who sincerely wished the reduction of his tumultuous subjects, lest they should entirely throw off their obedience, and lose all dread of his authority. All hope of accommodation being vanished, *Cortez* made preparations for resisting the prodigious numbers of his enemies, and defending his people from the showers of stones, darts, and arrows, discharged from the windows and galleries of the houses. With this view he ordered four wooden towers to be erected, which moved upon wheels, each capable of containing thirty men, covered with strong plank, and furnished in the front and sides with slits, to discharge under cover. Even the novelty of those machines would, he believed, strike terror. When they were in readiness, a second sally was made by *Cortez* in person, at the head of the bulk of his *Spaniards*, and all the *Tlascalans*, taking with him some pieces of cannon, the wooden towers, and a few horse, to be used wherever the ground would suffer them to act. All was in profound silence when the *Spaniards* quitted their quarters;

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g but scarce had they passed through one street when they were assaulted upon every side, by an innumerable multitude, who began the engagement with loud shouts, and the hoarse noise of drums, shells, and other barbarous warlike instruments. Trenches had been cut in all the streets, and these the *Mexicans* defended with such valour and obstinacy, that they

Suspension of hostilities.

they could only be dislodged by the artillery. They fought with more regularity than before, directed their courage to better purpose, and seemed to improve in the art of war by experience. Their conduct favoured nothing of the rashness of a popular tumult; they appeared to be under the command of judicious officers, every discharge was deliberate and well aimed, and all the posts were defended with intrepidity, and abandoned without confusion. Huge stones and pieces of rocks were tumbled down upon the wooden machines from the galleries, which broke them in pieces. When they became sensible of the damage sustained from the artillery and musquetry, they retired gradually, continuing a kind of running fight, until they came to the next entrenchment, where they again made an obstinate stand. For the greater part of the day the battle raged, the *Indians* disputing every inch of ground, with such well-directed valour, as convinced *Cortez* of the impossibility of reducing the *Mexicans* by force. The city received incredible damage, many houses were burnt down, and the enemy lost more blood than in the preceding action; but though repulsed, they were not defeated. On the contrary, they maintained a retreating fight, till night separated the combatants, and furnished the *Spaniards* with an opportunity of returning to their quarters, without resigning the victory, after they had lost fifty men, chiefly *Tlascalans*. Fifty *Spaniards* were grievously wounded, and among these the general, who received an arrow in the left hand, in the heat of the battle (A). When *Cortez* arrived at his quarters, he resigned himself to reflection, and, upon mature deliberation, was sensible how impracticable it was to keep possession of *Mexico*. Every day produced fresh losses; and though he was constantly victorious, yet his advantages served only to accelerate his ruin. A sense of shame, pride, and the fire of his own genius, impelled him to farther efforts to subdue the enemy; but when he considered that after the multitudes slain, their numbers appeared undiminished; that their resentment grew with their losses; that they fought with more skill and courage; and that they were daily improving in the art of war; he turned his thoughts towards the means of retreating with the greatest safety. Nor was *Moteczuma* less distracted and embarrassed with contending passions and reflections. He now began to apprehend that his people had entirely thrown off their allegiance on account of his attachment to the *Spaniards*, and yet he observed a reserve on the side of *Cortez*, as if he suspected him of sinister practices, and of tampering with the *Mexicans*. From the highest tower of the palace he beheld the last engagement, and could discover the princes of *Tezeuco* and *Iztapalapa*, with several others of the first lords of the empire, animating the *Mexicans*, and ordering the battle. Hitherto he regarded the affair as a popular tumult, but now he foresaw the ruin of his own authority, and perhaps a total revolution in the government. In the first transports of his anger, he condemned all the nobility to condign punishment, and breathed nothing but slaughter and bloody revenge, until reflecting on his own inability, he sunk into despondency. After reflecting upon various remedies to be applied to this dangerous malady, what appeared to him the least exceptionable, was to distress the *Spaniards*, return to his palace, and endeavour to regain the affections of his subjects, by acts of clemency and generosity. Full of this notion he sent for *Cortez*, and told him, that now the distracted state of his kingdom required some very effectual remedy; that his imagination could devise none more likely to be attended with happy consequences, than that the *Spaniards* would evacuate *Mexico*, and thereby deprive the seditious of all pretences. The clamours of his vassals sounded well, he said, in the ears of the vulgar, since all they demanded was the liberty of their prince; and things were now come to such a height, that no other prospect of appeasing the public commotions remained, than taking away the cause. He bitterly exclaimed against the insolence of the nobility, and repeated how much he had suffered by preserving his promise to *Cortez*, and continuing his affections to the *Spaniards*; and he concluded with touching upon the groundless jealousies entertained of his conduct by those persons upon whose account he had forfeited the esteem and affection of his subjects. *Cortez*, whose own sentiments coincided with the emperor's, but with different views, readily agreed to the proposition of quitting *Mexico*, and willing to put an act of necessity on the footing of

Moteczuma's
proposal to
Cortez.

(A) *Antonio de Herrera* is altogether hyperbolical in his relation of this, and all the preceding and future engagements. According to him, not a day passed without a battle, each more bloody and obstinate than the former. Here the *Spaniards* performed prodigies of valour, and the *Mexicans* poured their arrows so thick, that forty cart-loads were gathered and burnt in a day by *Cortez's* people. They took a *Spanish* horseman alive, and sacrificed him in sight of all his companions. The *Tlascalans* feasted luxuriously on the bodies of the slaughtered *Mexicans*. *Cortez* almost singly drove three hundred noblemen, who had taken possession of a tower,

over the galleries and windows into the street, after they had foiled all the attempts of a body of *Spaniards* to dislodge them. Two of them laid hold of the general, with intention to dash themselves and him in pieces, by a fall from the top of the temple; but he extricated himself by strength and agility; and to conclude the wonder, a saint, mounted on a white horse, fought for the *Spaniards*, and, by the image of the *Virgin Mary*, threw dust in the eyes of the *Mexicans*. But we must observe, that most of these circumstances are said to have happened in an action subsequent to the death of *Moteczuma*. Dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. 2.

a respect and obedience to the royal mandate, replied, that it was both his inclination and duty to pay an entire resignation to the will of his imperial majesty; without entering into the motives of his resolution, or losing time in representing the inconveniencies that might enue; that it would give him great uneasiness to part from his royal person, until he was fully assured of the obedience of his subjects, especially as the declaration of the nobility, in favour of the populace, required the utmost circumspection; but that since his departure was regarded as a necessary step towards a happy reconciliation, he had fixed his resolution immediately to march with his army to *Zempoala*, only requesting of his majesty that he would, before his departure, oblige his vassals to lay down their arms. This he required, he said, more out of concern for his majesty's person, than from any concern their obstinacy gave to himself, as he carried upon the point of his sword, and in the valour of his troops, all that was necessary to his own security. This concession highly delighted *Moteczuma*, because it was unexpected. He returned his acknowledgments, and sufficiently testified his satisfaction by his emotion, and the joy which spread itself upon his countenance. He resolved to oblige the general in the article of ordering his people to lay down their arms, at the same time that he entertained doubts whether they would obey his commands, and dreaded the thoughts of so mortifying a stroke to his royal dignity.

Cortez promises to evacuate Mexico.

In the midst of this conference, advice was brought to *Cortez* that the enemy were preparing to renew the assault, and that the garrison was under arms. He broke off immediately; but before he could join the troops, the *Mexicans* had pushed him with such impetuosity, that they gained the foot of the ramparts, in despite of the utmost endeavours of the *Spaniards*, and the briskest fire from the artillery and musquetry. Their bows and slings were plied by the troops in the rear, to beat off the *Spaniards* from the ramparts, and make way for the vanguard to scale the works, and push the assault. In some places they got footing within the walls; but were driven back by *Cortez*, who came up with a reserve body of soldiers. *Moteczuma* thought this a seasonable opportunity of acquitting himself of the promise made to *Cortez*. He called for his royal robes and crown, and with a numerous attendance ascended the terrace fronting the great avenue, after a herald had notified with a loud voice to the *Mexican* army, that the great *Moteczuma* had condescended to shew himself to his people, to inquire into their grievances, and to redress them if they were reasonable. On repeating his name the tumult immediately subsided, every arm fell, and every tongue was silent: all were motionless and still, as if they were afraid to breathe in the presence of their sovereign; and no sooner did *Moteczuma* appear, than many bent the knee, and great numbers prostrated themselves on the ground, from the habit of paying him the adoration due to the Divinity. He cast his eyes over the whole multitude, and then fixing them upon some of the nobility, he called them by their names to draw nearer, and honoured them with the title of friends and kinsmen. His speech began with acknowledgment for the affection they expressed by this endeavour to procure his liberty. He was far, he declared, from considering their zeal as a crime, although it was injudiciously conducted. They were wrong in believing that any violence or constraint was offered to his will; his residence among the *Spaniards* was altogether voluntary; but on any event their proceedings ought to have been directed by his orders. He told them, however, that he would not recriminate, because he was sensible of their good intentions; but as the cause was now removed, and he had given orders for the *Spaniards* to depart from his court immediately, and entirely evacuate his country, he hoped they would set the example of obedience to the strangers, lay down their arms, cease all tumults, come to his court, and receive ample testimony of his gratitude, clemency, and pardon. When he finished his harangue, no one had the courage to reply. All were astonished to find the emperor overflowing with kindness, where they expected the chastisement of his indignation; others wept to see the same prince, who used to command like a god, suing with the servility of the most abject of his slaves. But this suspension was in a few minutes succeeded by violent commotions, and the storm seemed to redouble by the short remission. Fear was suddenly converted into fury, and profound respect into the most insolent contempt. Some of them called aloud that he ought to resign the sceptre and diadem for the distaff and spindle; and their injurious language, and opprobrious expressions, were succeeded by loud shouts, and then by a general discharge of arrows. Two *Spanish* soldiers, who stood near the emperor, endeavoured to protect him with their shields, but all their care could not prevent his being hit by a stone in the temple, which fractured his skull, and laid him speechless on the ground; upon which event the whole army fled in the utmost confusion, as if they imagined the vengeance of heaven must pursue them for the terrible sacrilege of laying violent hands on their sovereign. *Cortez*, greatly chagrined at the unfortunate accident, ordered the emperor to be immediately carried to his apartment, and his wounds to be dressed; but *Moteczuma* no sooner recovered his speech and senses, than he refused all assistance, and grew so impatient with resentment, that it was found necessary

Moteczuma shews himself to the Mexicans, and is slain.

to confine his arms, for he tore away with fury every application made to his wounds, and died of grief and indignation rather than the consequences of his wound, about three days after.

Moteczuma's
character.

It is affirmed that *Cortez* used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon *Moteczuma* to embrace christianity, as he lay on his death-bed; he joined intreaties to persuasion, but without effect; the emperor would hearken only to the dictates of revenge, and he yielded up his last breath with impious imprecations upon his own subjects. Thus ended *Moteczuma*, a prince of great penetration, subtilty, and valour, who wanted nothing but favourable circumstances and opportunity to display all the qualities of a monarch. His genius was martial, his understanding solid, his parts quick, and his intellects clear, refined, and manly, for an untutored barbarian. In person he had won nine glorious battles in the open plain, and by dint of cunning and valour he raised himself to the first dignity in the empire. He was naturally liberal, just, and temperate; but intoxicated with his elevation, and poisoned with the luxury of despotism, he became haughty, cruel, severe, lascivious, and oppressive. Every beauty in his dominions were sacrificed to his lust, his justice degenerated into rigour, his liberality to oppression, and his magnificence into profusion. His gifts of generosity were supported by tyranny, his favourites were regarded as the scourges of the people; in a word, his virtues were chiefly exerted in a private, his vices in a public capacity. Had he never ascended the throne, he might have died beloved, respected, and judged worthy of the royal diadem.

THE *Spaniards* in general lamented the unfortunate death of this prince, whose liberality and munificence they had so frequently experienced; but *Cortez* was chiefly affected, both on account of his personal regard, and because he foresaw all the consequences, with respect to his present situation. The greater part of his designs were founded on the voluntary subjection of *Moteczuma*; this prospect now vanished, and he found it necessary to form an intire new plan, the issue of which appeared extremely precarious, as it was wholly built on the suspicion that he should be able to subdue the *Mexicans*, on the arrival of succours from *Spain*; and yet the success of his application to the court was yet doubtful. Immediately he ordered the royal corpse to be carried into the city by several persons of the greatest distinction, among whom were included the priests who had been taken prisoners, all of them witnesses that *Moteczuma* fell by the hands of his own people. They had orders to acquaint the princes at the head of the faction, in his name, that he had sent the body of their late sovereign, murdered by their rebellious practices, which enormous crime gave fresh right to the justice of his vengeance; that, before his death, *Moteczuma* had requested him, with the most pressing instances, to revenge his death, and to chastise their wicked rebellion; but that as he regarded their insurrection as the effect of popular fury and ignorance, uncoun tenanced by the nobility, he once more offered peace, that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty: that he was ready to come to any reasonable agreement; but if they rejected his proposal, and hesitated about the repentance of their enormous crime, they must expect to be treated with the utmost rigour of his arms. He would lay waste and destroy their city, and teach them the difference between hostilities merely defensive, and a declaration of war in defence of justice, and for the chastisement of cruelty, and the sacrilegious murder of their lawful monarch.

THE body of *Moteczuma* was no sooner observed by the *Mexicans*, than they approached it with all the appearance of horror, mingled with reverence, as was observed from the walls. They threw down their arms, quitted their posts, and began a lamentable yell, which soon diffused over the whole city, and made it one scene of weeping and lamentation. For the whole night these expressions of grief continued; but they yielded in the morning to the tumultuous joy of seeing the throne occupied by a new emperor, whom they had elected; yet still they paid the due respect to the remains of their late sovereign. *De Solis* takes pains to vindicate the humanity of the *Indians* from the aspersions of some *Spanish* writers, who alledge, that after the first transports of grief and surprize were subsided, they dragged the body round the streets, mangled it in the most barbarous manner, and even extended their fury to his wives and children. On the contrary, one author affirms, that they bewailed the death of their prince as an unfortunate accident, in which their intention had no share; that they conveyed the corpse with great solemnity, and funeral pomp, to the mountain of *Cbapuiltapaque*, where it was usual to pay the last duties, and preserve the ashes of their kings; and that they renewed their lamentations with such appearance of sincerity, as left no doubts of their veneration for the memory of their sovereign.

It was a strong presumption of the deep impression which *Moteczuma's* accident made on the minds of his people, that, for the three days of his illness, they had suspended all hostilities, in which inactive state they continued till his last obsequies were performed. *Herrera*, indeed,

- a indeed, speaks as if they never ceased their attacks upon the *Spanish* quarters, until *Cortez* began his retreat; but we prefer the authority of *De Solis*, who is much more accurate, distinct, and probable, in his relation. According to this writer, all that space of time was employed in lamentations, the election of a new sovereign (who proved to be *Quilavaca*, prince of *Iztapalapa*) the funeral of the deceased prince, and in making preparations for renewing their assaults upon the *Spanish* quarters. Early in the morning succeeding the burial of *Motexuma*, the streets round the *Spanish* quarters were filled with soldiers, and the towers of a great temple adjacent strongly garrisoned, as from this situation they could annoy the *Spaniards* in the palace. The stair leading to this temple consisted of a hundred steps, by the sides of which some large towers were erected. Here five hundred *Mexican* noblemen placed themselves, with a resolution to maintain their ground against all the power of *Cortez*; for which purpose they had laid in provisions for a siege, knowing it was of the utmost importance to the *Spaniards* to dislodge them. In this they discovered their penetration and military knowledge. It was the first attempt of *Cortez*, who committed the attack upon the temple to *Escobar*, at the head of near two hundred *Spaniards*. This officer began the assault with great fury, and maintained it with obstinacy; but he was repeatedly repulsed by the *Mexicans*, who tumbled down large stones, and large beams, from the top of the temple, upon the heads of the *Spaniards*, at the same time that they covered them with showers of darts and arrows. *Escobar* was retreating in confusion, when he was reinforced by some *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, sent from the reserve corps by *Cortez*, who consulting only the impulses of an ardent courage, ordered a shield to be tied to his wounded arm, and advanced, sword-in-hand, amongst the thickest of the enemy, upon the stairs of the temple, was followed and well supported by his soldiers, animated by his example, and so fortunate that he gained the last stair, the rails of the upper court, and at last the temple, after having cut the bulk of the garrison in pieces. Upon this occasion it was that the attempt was made by two *Mexicans* to throw themselves with *Cortez*, from the highest part of the temple upon the pavement; an act of gallantry, and patriot spirit, not to be surpassed in history. The most important consequence flowing from the reduction of this body of obstinate troops, was the seasonable acquisition of provision it brought to the *Spaniards*. The garrison had provided for a long siege, and *Cortez* now ordered all necessaries of life to be transported to the palace, as he could not divide his little army by garrisoning the temple. This business he committed to the *Tlascalans*, and with his *Spanish* soldiers hastened to the street of *Tacuba*, where he perceived the rest of the army was hotly engaged. The cavalry broke through the multitude, crippling, wounding, slaying, trampling down every thing, never losing a stroke, or forgetting their own defence; and *Escobar's* infantry found it no difficult matter to complete the defeat; but *Cortez*, in the heat of action, engaged himself so far, that it being impossible to retreat, he directed his way to another street, where he hoped he should meet with less resistance, and seasonably fell in with a confused body of *Indians*, who were dragging along his friend the secretary *Duero*. *Cortez* immediately charged this troop with such impetuosity, that he gave his friend an opportunity of disengaging himself, and making use of a poignard, which the *Indians* had overlooked in disarming him, with which he made way with terrible slaughter, to his horse and lance, and then joining *Cortez*, the two friends passed the street on a full gallop, through multitudes of the enemy, until they joined their own forces; an action which *Cortez* always mentioned, as one of the most fortunate and desperate of his life. By this time the enemy were flying before the *Spaniards* in every street, but it was impossible to pursue the victory without deserting their quarters. *Cortez* ordered a retreat to be sounded, and hoped he had by this instance of superior ability and courage, at least intimidated the *Mexicans* from renewing the attack suddenly, especially as the slaughter was prodigious; their houses, temples, and other edifices were burnt to the ground, and the loss on the side of the *Spaniards* wholly consisting of a few bruised and wounded, in a manner no way dangerous. It is affirmed, that so much were the *Mexicans* themselves astonished at the gallant assault in the temple, that all the particulars of the action were recorded in a painting, that afterwards came into the hands of the *Spaniards*.

The Mexicans elect a new sovereign.

They renew their attacks.

They make offers of peace.

- g NEXT day, after this engagement, the *Mexicans* made overtures of peace in the name of the new emperor, upon condition that the *Spaniards* would immediately repair to their great canoes on the coast of *Zempoala*, and quit the imperial dominions, threatening, in case of refusal, the utmost vengeance of an incensed people; and saying, that as they had now fully discovered that the *Spaniards* were not immortal, they were obstinately determined to effect their destruction, though the death of every *Spaniard* should cost them the lives of thousands, after which there would still remain a sufficient number to celebrate the victory. These proposals gave satisfaction; but *Cortez* resolving to shew that he was not to be intimidated into concession, replied, that he was so well acquainted with the superior valour of his troops, as to make no doubts about his being able to destroy not only the city of *Mexico*, but the whole empire, with his present force; yet moved with the calamities

calamities the *Mexicans* had already suffered, through their obstinacy, he was determined to depart, his business there being ended with the death of *Moteczuma*, where friendship and liberality had detained him beyond either expectation or inclination; and that he would execute this design, as soon as the necessary preliminary articles were settled, and the proper disposition made for his march, and accommodation on the road. However, as the *Mexicans* made their proposals with an insidious view, they soon came to nothing. *Cortez* discovered, that their intention was to block him up in his quarters, and starve him into submission; a new method of carrying on war in *Mexico*, but the best contrived to answer the purpose, as the *Spaniards* were, at this time, but ill supplied with provision, and no way prepared to stand a siege or blockade. The out-guards discovered, that the enemy kept at a greater distance than ordinary, were ever diligent and circumspect, and eagerly employed in digging trenches, and erecting works for the defence of the passes over the canals. It was likewise observed, they were cutting down the bridges on the great causeway, and all communication with the road leading to *Tlascala*; a proceeding which fully discovered their designs, the necessity, and, at the same time, the danger of a retreat.

CORTÉZ now assembled a council of war, in which it was maturely deliberated, whether an immediate departure from *Mexico* was not expedient in the present situation of affairs, and what were the most probable means of accomplishing this measure with success? The first point debated was, whether they should march out of *Mexico* by night, or at mid-day, and in the face of the enemy. They were divided in opinion, and probable arguments were offered in defence of both sides of the question; but a majority of votes appeared in favour of the first of these measures: it was accordingly resolved the retreat should begin that very same night, before the enemy should have finished all the works intended to obstruct their passage. *Cortez*, whose mind was provident as his heart was intrepid, had ordered a bridge of beams and planks to be made, which was now finished, and might be carried on the shoulders of forty men. This was intended to be laid over the pass of the causeway, and was constructed in a manner capable of supporting the weight of all the horse and artillery. He would have made two more bridges for the other openings; but as the men insisted upon their immediate departure, influenced by the prediction of one *Botello*, a supposed astrologer among the troops, there was no leisure to execute the business; it was, therefore, proposed, that the same bridge should be removed from one opening to another, without reflecting on the opposition which might be made by the enemy, and the difficulty which must necessarily attend the attempt. To cover his design, *Cortez* thought it convenient to keep up the appearance of renewing the negotiation; for which purpose he sent another messenger to the city, to demand an answer to his last proposals, with power of making certain alterations, if required; and the intermediate time he employed in disposing every thing for his journey. Their instructions were given to the officers, and great circumspection used to provide against all contingencies. The van was composed of two hundred *Spaniards*, supported by a choice body of *Tlascalans*, and twenty horse, under the conduct of *Sandoval*, and some of the best officers. The rear-guard, consisting also of a just mixture of horse and foot, was entrusted to *Alvarado*, and *Juan Velazquez*. In the centre were placed the three sons of *Moteczuma*, the *Mexican* nobility taken prisoners, the artillery, baggage, and the rest of the army, except a choice corps reserved under *Cortez*, in person, to relieve those who were pressed, and act agreeable to circumstances. He then caused all the gold and jewels to be brought into his apartment, and after separating a fifth for the king out of the most portable and convenient, he determined to leave the remainder, amounting to seven hundred thousand pieces of eight, a prey to the enemy, saying, that it would be shameful to employ those hands in the gratification of avarice, which ought to be left free for the defence of life and reputation. Finding the soldiers were discouraged with the thoughts of abandoning so much treasure, he said, that they were not to look upon it as lost, since his intention was speedily to renew the enterprise, in such a manner, as would infallibly secure success, and redeem their treasures with double interest; giving them, at the same time, to understand, that he would not be offended if they carried off as much gold as they could, without inconvenience; a permission of the most fatal consequence, many loading themselves with booty, in such a manner, that they were unfit for service.

At midnight the *Spaniards* marched silently out of their quarters, laid the bridge over the first canal, and passed over without molestation; but the intention of removing the bridge to the other canals was frustrated. The weight of the artillery and the horses forced it so deeply in the sand and stones, that it was found impossible to move it. Nor, indeed, was there leisure to execute the design. The alarm came, that the enemy were in their rear, and all immediately took to arms, and stood on their defence. The *Mexicans* had, with the utmost address, disposed every thing for the destruction of the *Spaniards*. With disssembled security they narrowly watched every motion, distributed their troops in the most convenient posts, and now began the attack, contrary to the prevailing superstition

*Cortez forms
the plan for
his retreat.*

*He begins his
march in the
night.*

*He is attacked
and driven to
the last extre-
mities, but
accomplishes
his purpose.*

a of the country, in the middle of the night, when they were least expected. Every side of the causeway was covered with the canoes; and *Cortez*, with all his men, must, in despite of their valour, have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of those barbarians, had they continued the engagement with the same regularity and order observed in the first attack; but the discipline soon yielding to fury and impetuosity, they pressed in tumultuously. The canoes crowded upon each other, and were dashed in pieces against the causeway; and little else remained for the *Spaniards*, than to kill and slay this naked, disorderly multitude. Even this exhausted their strength and spirits, when a fresh attack, in front, required a farther exertion of their valour. Great numbers of *Indians*, impatient of delay, had flung themselves in the water, and scrambled up the causeway at some distance, where the *Spaniards* were to pass, formed themselves into tolerable order, and obliged *Cortez* to present b a double front, and renew the engagement. Actuated by despair, the *Spaniards* now fought with such irresistible impetuosity, that, unable to sustain the shock of the swords and fire-arms, the *Indians* gave way, were pursued with incredible slaughter, and forced to plunge in crowds into the water, by which several thousands perished. *Herrera* says, the carnage was so great, that the canal was choked up with dead bodies, where they served for a bridge on which the army passed over; but, besides the improbability of this circumstance, it is observable that the *Spaniards* had already passed over the first chasm in the causeway; it was, therefore, the second pass which they were now disputing; and here *De Solis* observes, they found a beam of sufficient breadth, which the enemy had c neglected cutting away, and upon this the soldiers passed over in files, guiding their horses through the water by the bridles.

In this manner the vanguard got over the second breach, while the rear was hard pressed by the enemy; to relieve which, *Cortez* returned with several officers. Immediately he ordered the artillery to be thrown in the water, and employed all his people in repulsing the assault. It was dreadful to hear the piteous lamentations of the *Spaniards*, breathing their last, mingled with the shouts of the *Indians*, and especially as the excessive darkness of the night prevented all possibility of giving succour. Many were slain, others fell into the hands of the *Mexicans*, and all was confusion, dread, and anguish. However, the valour of *Cortez* saved many lives; he pierced, with five horse, into the midst of the d enemy, and opened a path for his own men, who were in the greatest distress. *Alvarado*, who was on the opposite side of the breach, in the causeway, owed his life to his own agility, having, with an astonishing leap, assisted by his lance, cleared the pass, which, to this day, is distinguished by the name of *Alvarado's Leap*; others, who endeavoured to follow his example, plunged into the water and perished, while some of less resolution suffered themselves to be made prisoners. Extremely fortunate it was, that the remaining *Spaniards*, fatigued, exhausted, and dispirited with the misfortunes of their companions, met with no opposition at the last breach, over which the soldiers waded on account of the shallowness of the waters. Upon this, *Cortez* halted in the neighbourhood of *Tacuba*, to give time for those who could escape from the battle to join the army, and likewise to e refresh his people; nor was the precaution unnecessary, as several *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* were by that means saved. Yet still the loss was very considerable. Upon mustering the troops, it appeared, that above two hundred *Spaniards*, a thousand *Tlascalans*, and forty-six horses, had either been killed or taken by the enemy; and it was afterwards known that all the prisoners were sacrificed. Besides, all the artillery, baggage, and treasure, was either lost or fallen into the hands of the *Mexicans*. *Cortez* wept with anguish, especially at the unfortunate end of some of his bravest officers, among whom was *Diego Velazquez*, his faithful friend, who had deserted the interest of his relation the governor, to follow the fortune of a man, whose valour he esteemed and imitated. Never did he stand so much in need of his magnanimity and resolution to temper his grief, which he no f sooner vented by a flood of tears, than, summoning up all his constancy, he animated his men, and disposed them to prosecute their march to *Tacuba*, where the troops were well entertained, greatly contrary to expectation.

As it may appear extraordinary, that the *Mexicans* should now have dropped the pursuit, and suffered the *Spaniards* to cross the last breach in the causeway unmolested, it may be proper to account for their conduct; although *Herrera* relates, that they kept up a perpetual attack quite to *Tacuba*^b. We find in *De Solis*, that among the slain were the sons of *Moteczuma*, detained by the *Spaniards*, whose bodies the *Indians* discovered in the morning, as they were stripping the killed and wounded. They stood amazed and confounded at the shocking spectacle of three princes of the blood, murdered by the same g hands that brought on the death of their sovereign. They beheld them with the same

Moteczuma's sons killed.

^b Dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. 3.

reverence shewn them in the life-time of their royal father. Those who first saw the a
mangled bodies drew back, that others might approach, and all were silent with surprize.
When the sad news spread among the troops, they were seized with terror, not doubting
but the vengeance of the gods would succeed this repetition of their sacrilege. A panic
diffused through the whole, and action immediately ceased. Their resentment for the
Spaniards was absorbed in grief for their own guilt, and pity for the unhappy fate of the
innocent princes. An account of this melancholy event was sent by the chiefs to the
new emperor; and he, forced to affect a share in the general despondency, ordered the
army to halt, that the last duties might be paid to the deceased. Instead, therefore, of
pursuing the *Spaniards*, a funeral procession was begun, by which means *Cortez* was allowed b
time to draw off in the manner we have described, and to reach *Tacuba*. In this respect
the circumstance proved fortunate to him, though he greatly lamented the loss of the
princes out of personal regard, and because he founded part of his future hopes on their
claim to the imperial diadem, and the strong faction their influence might form among
the *Mexicans*.

Difficulty of
retreat.

WHEN *Cortez* had refreshed his men by a short halt, he proceeded on his march before
the *Indians* should renew their attacks. He had not marched far when several small corps
of *Indians* were seen at a distance, as harbingers to the main army. Their numbers con-
tinually increased in proportion as they gained ground on the *Spaniards*; and in a little time
they amounted to a considerable army, that began a sharp engagement, which obliged c
Cortez to order the fire-arms and cross-bows to form a front in the rear, and keep a con-
tinual discharge to cover the rest of the forces. The horse too, sallied out, and made great
slaughter; but as the enemy were continually multiplying, and there was no place of
retreat, the danger appeared as great as ever, and the *Spaniards* grew tired of repulsing
without conquering. Their strength was almost exhausted, and their spirits quite sunk,
when *Cortez* observed a tower upon an eminence, at some distance, of which he resolved
to gain possession as a convenient place of rest; but there were almost insurmountable
difficulties in the execution of this scheme. He was obliged to keep a front to the enemy,
and continue fighting while he ascended a steep hill. At length he overcame all obstruc-
tion, gained the tower, and here found the advantages which he expected of a defensible d
retreat: a few provisions left behind by the fugitive priests, proved a high regale to the
hungry *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, though a very small portion fell to the share of each. The
Mexicans did not venture to ascend the eminence; but they surrounded it, as if with inten-
tion to blockade the tower, of which *Cortez* was greatly afraid, until he saw them take
the road of *Mexico*, at the approach of night. Immediately he placed centinels to guard
against surprize, ordered fires to be lighted, sent the soldiers to rest, dressed the wounded,
and frequently relieved the watches, that all might enjoy an equal share of refreshment,
while himself deliberated with his principal officers concerning their future proceedings.
A variety of propositions were made; but, what in the end gained universal approbation,
was the general's own opinion, that they should march the same night, the space of two
or three leagues, in order to gain ground upon the enemy. This resolution was put in e
practice after the troops were somewhat refreshed by a short sleep of two hours. The
march was continued for the whole night, amidst perpetual alarms from the surrounding
peasants, who had assembled in small parties, but gave little interruption; and, by the
morning, the *Spaniards* reached a village advantageously situated, where they met with
refreshments of provision sufficient to stay the craving of appetite for that day. Here
they fixed their quarters for the night, and next day pursued their journey thro' a barren,
rough, and rocky country, keeping at a distance from the great road, and persevering in
their march under the united calamities of fatigue, thirst, and hunger, feeding upon herbs,
roots, and the flesh of one of the horses that perished. The soldiers animated each other,
necessity whetted their valour, and the hope of ending all their miseries at *Tlascala* cheered f
their spirits under the severest trials. The second day's laborious march ended at a village,
where the *Spaniards* were received with a suspicious civility, the inhabitants not only
freely giving them all the provision of which they were possessed, but also borrowing large
quantities from the adjacent villages, insomuch that the half-famished soldiers began to
forget all their past sufferings in the present enjoyment, without the least reflection upon
the consequences of their security. In fact, this was a stratagem of the *Mexicans* to blind
the vigilance of *Cortez*, which, however, they disclosed by their own eagerness and sim-
plicity. Donna *Marina* heard them frequently repeat, "Go on, tyrants, to that place
"where you will quickly perish;" words which some applied to the *Tlascalans*, imagining
that some change might have happened in the affections of the republic, while *Cortez* g
inferred that an ambuscade was laid on the way by which they must pass.

HAVING

The whole Mexican army defeated in the valley of Otumba.

a HAVING sufficiently recreated themselves, and recruited their exhausted strength by rest and sustenance, the *Spaniards* proceeded on their journey, climbing up the high mountain by which they were to descend to the valley of *Otumba*. Scarce had the van reached the summit, when some soldiers were dispatched to the rear, with advice to *Cortez*, that the enemy occupied the whole valley, and blocked up all the passes with an incredible multitude of people. This was the same army that had pursued them to the temple, reinforced by fresh troops and other commanders, and composed, as appeared, of the strength of the whole *Mexican* empire. It was the last effort to destroy the *Spaniards*, and it was determined to make sure of victory, as far as depended upon numbers. The front took up the whole breadth of the valley, and the depth reached beyond the horizon, although b beheld from an eminence. The ensigns of a great variety of nations waved in the air, and in the centre of the multitude was distinguished the captain general, supported upon the shoulders of *Indians*, in a rich chair, in which was erected the royal standard of *Mexico*, which could only be entrusted into the hands of the commander in chief. Nothing could exceed in magnificence this standard, composed of a net work of massy gold, fixed upon a solid staff of the same precious metal, and adorned with beautiful plumes of various colours. It was always surrounded by a choice body of the nobility, as upon the fortune of the standard depended victory or defeat; the loss of it essentially proving decisive, and the *Mexicans* never believing themselves thoroughly defeated, while they retained in their hands this emblem of their honour and valour. Such a spectacle could not fail of appearing c formidable to a handful of men already upon the brink of sinking under misfortune; but, instead of intimidating, it served only to inflame the courage of the *Spaniards*, who were fully persuaded that now the enemy made their last push, and that upon the issue of this affair depended their fate. *Cortez* examined the countenance of his soldiers, and finding them eager to engage, cried aloud, "Our case is now come to that pass, that we must "conquer or die: the cause of our God fights for us." After which he extended his front, and united the cavalry on the wings to the centre of the army, giving charge to the former to be careful of the rear and flanks. In this order he rushed upon the enemy, after a general and fortunate discharge of the fire-arms and cross-bows, which made the *Mexican* battalions in front reel back on the second line. The consequent disorder was happily d improved by the cavalry, who penetrated into the midst of the enemy, and bore down all before them, clearing a path for the infantry to follow. The *Tlascalans* imitated the *Spaniards*, fought with desperate fury, and with insatiable thirst after *Mexican* blood. The slaughter was dreadful; but, as fresh crowds supplied the place of the slain and wounded, the *Spaniards* must have sunk under the fatigue of unremitting fighting, had not the valour and presence of mind of the general decided the victory, and put an end to all resistance. At the head of the cavalry, he pushed his way, on a gallop, towards the royal standard, upon which he knew the issue of the battle depended, trampling under foot whole battalions; and arriving at length at the corps of nobility round the person of the captain-general, who made a furious resistance, *Cortez* left his companions to keep e them in employment, while he made a desperate effort, and broke quite through to the standard, closed with the *Mexican* general, and at one stroke of his lance tumbled him mortally wounded out of his litter. *Juan de Salamanca*, a private soldier, but a gentleman by birth, had bravely followed *Cortez* to the side of the litter, knocked down the royal standard, which he gave into the general's hands, and put the finishing stroke to the life of the *Mexican* commander. The consequences were just what they expected. The enemy seeing the imperial standard taken, and not doubting but their general was either slain or made prisoner, lost all courage, threw away their arms, fled for protection to the neighbouring mountains, and were pursued with all the rigour of war by the conquerors, who made terrible destruction. It is affirmed by almost all the *Spanish* writers, that not less than f twenty thousand *Mexicans* perished in the field of battle; a circumstance not more extraordinary than that an army of two hundred thousand men, inflamed by resentment and revenge, and fighting for their liberty, property, and religion, should be defeated by a body of *Spaniards*, not exceeding six hundred and fifty, assisted by about a thousand *Tlascalans*. Both would, indeed, exceed belief, were not writers unanimous in their relations, with respect to these particulars (B). Most certainly the victory obtained in the valley of *Otumba* was the most celebrated recorded in the conquest of *Mexico*, and equal to any we meet with in the annals of mankind. The booty was very great, as the *Mexicans* had come

(B) To render these facts more credible, the *Spanish* writers, *Herrera* and *de Solis*, have recourse to miracles, which easily removed the difficulty that *Cortez* should defeat such a numerous army, and make such dreadful carnage. They insinuate, as if *St. James* the apostle

had likewise, on this occasion, fought on horseback for the *Spaniards*; but *de Solis* seems ashamed to lay much stress upon a vulgar notion, raised by superstition, and received by credulity.

dressed in their richest ornaments and apparel, as to a certain victory; *Cortez* gave it all to the soldiers, in reward of their valour, as a recompence for their sufferings, and compensation for the gold they lost in the retreat, and left at *Mexico*.

HAVING now gained complete possession of the field of battle, and driven the enemy to the mountains, *Cortez* assembled his men, who were busy in pillaging; and pursued his march, lest the enemy might have time to recover their confusion, and give him farther annoyance. He knew they would not venture again upon a pitched battle, but even their skirmishing might prove very troublesome to them, who were almost spent with fatigue. He made all possible dispatch; yet it was impossible, that day, to gain the *Mexican* frontier, before he passed which he could not expect perfect security. It was necessary to make allowance for the wounded, and to give them time for rest, after being exhausted with loss of blood, and continual motion and agitation for the space of six hours. The general, therefore, possessed himself of nine houses, at some distance from the field of battle, where he passed the night, not without apprehensions, and next day found the roads quite abandoned by the enemy. This day he reached the frontier of *Tlascal*, and finished a retreat no less memorable than that of *Xenophon*, with his ten thousand *Greeks*, had it been recorded by an eye-witness, equal in abilities to that elegant historian, and renowned general. The whole army expressed their joy and triumph by loud acclamations, and the *Tlascalans* threw themselves upon their faces, kissing the ground, to express the pleasure they felt in returning victorious to their native country. Here they found the first opportunity of quenching their thirst, after the toils of the battle, and succeeding march; whence they proceeded to *Gualipa*, a considerable town belonging to the republic. They were met on the road by the inhabitants, who received them with open arms, accommodated them in their houses, and furnished them with abundance of the best provision which the country afforded. *Cortez* accepted the invitation; but as he could not be certain that the republic still entertained the same friendly sentiments, he quartered the soldiers with great caution, and kept strict watch, as if in the country of an enemy.

Cortez is honourably received by the Tlascalans.

July, 1520.

FROM *Gualipa* the general dispatched an account to the senate of *Tlascal* of his retreat and success; but fame had already carried the news of his victory, without diminution of his glory. The messengers were met in the road by *Magiscatzin*, the blind *Xicotencal*, his son, and other nobility, dispatched by the senate to compliment *Cortez* on his return to their dominions, and extraordinary conquests. All embraced him with the most cordial friendship, except the young *Xicotencal*, who appeared cold and reserved in his salutations; a circumstance which at that time made no impression, though it came afterwards to be recollected. They acquainted *Cortez*, that the republic had assembled an army of thirty thousand men for his defence; and they offered, should this prove insufficient, to collect the whole strength of *Tlascal*, and her allies, to punish the traitorous *Mexicans*. It was extremely pleasing to *Cortez* to find that the republic had retained the same friendly disposition, and he expressed his acknowledgments in the warmest terms that real gratitude could dictate. He perceived, that although the *Tlascalans* were now sensible the *Spaniards* were not immortal; yet their victory at *Otumba* had raised them in their esteem, as the most gallant and valiant people in the universe. They invited him to take up his quarters in their city; but they willingly admitted his apology for not immediately accepting the offer, as they had determined to make vast preparations for his reception, and to celebrate his entry with the same solemnities used in the triumphal processions of their own generals. When the day arrived, which was appointed by the senate, the caziques and principal members of the republic, in their senatorial robes, accompanied by a numerous attendance, went out to meet the *Spanish* army. The road was covered with a multitude of people, who expressed their congratulations by loud shouts and acclamations, mingled with reproaches of the *Mexicans*, and the highest encomiums on the valour of the strangers. *Herrera* affirms, that the number of spectators amounted to two hundred thousand people; certain it is, that the concourse was very great, the whole city of *Tlascal*, as well as the adjacent towns and country, having poured forth their inhabitants to behold the conquerors of the whole power of *Mexico*. *Magiscatzin* insisted upon having *Cortez* for his guest; while the old blind *Xicotencal* paid the same compliment to *Alvarado*, whose valour, strength, and activity, had been reported to him by the auxiliary *Tlascalans*. The whole evening was spent in festivity and mirth, concluding in a dance, the diversion of the multitude, whose disorderly tumultuous joy finished the demonstrations of their applause. It greatly increased the esteem conceived for the *Spaniards*, that *Cortez* and his soldiers generously divided the spoils taken at the battle of *Otumba* among the *Tlascalans*; which proved the more acceptable, that they were the trophies taken from their inveterate enemies. In the midst of this intercourse of civilities, both the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* were plunged into despondency. *Cortez* was seized with an ardent fever, in consequence

a of a contusion on the forehead, received in the late engagement, the perpetual fatigue he had undergone, and the unremitting vigilance with which he watched over the security of his people. The *Spaniards* dreaded the issue of his malady, as upon him they reposed their future fortune; and the *Indians* bewailed him as a hero worthy of immortality, and inferior to the gods only in that circumstance. The senate assembled all the physicians most celebrated for their knowledge in medicinal plants in *Tlascala*, and promised them the highest rewards if they succeeded in restoring the general's health; which they undertook with a confidence that appeared well founded; for by means of their cooling applications, and the strength of his natural constitution, a favourable crisis was produced, and *Cortez* was again able to appear in public, to the inexpressible joy of his own people and the
b republic.

NOR was this the only accident which happened to disturb the peaceable repose of the *Spaniards* in *Tlascala*. Advice about this time arrived from *Vera Cruz*, that a corporal and eight *Spanish* soldiers sent some time since to *Tlascala* from the settlement, were not yet returned; and that it was reported among the *Indians*, they were massacred in the province of *Tepeaca*. It was likewise supposed, that the same misfortune had befallen forty-two wounded soldiers of *Narvaez's* army, who on their recovery set out in small parties to join *Cortez* in *Mexico*, which they considered as the centre of all their wishes. The general had relied upon this reinforcement, and such a piece of intelligence was of the utmost consequence, when the life of every *Spaniard* was invaluable. It was afterwards proved,
c that the eight soldiers had left *Tlascala* with the treasure, and were actually murdered in *Tepeaca*, which province had thrown off the allegiance promised to *Cortez*, about the time of their departure, either for the sake of the gold, or at the instigation of the *Mexicans*. There appeared a necessity for punishing this act of infidelity, and reducing the province, because it obstructed all intercourse between *Vera Cruz* and *Mexico*; and it fortunately happened, that the republic had equal cause of complaint against the *Tepeacans* as *Cortez* himself, for they had lately made an irruption into the frontiers of *Tlascala*. The senate, therefore, came to a resolution to chastise them, in which they desired the assistance of the *Spaniards* at the instant when *Cortez* was deliberating how he should engage the republic in his revenge. Accordingly preparations were making on both sides for an expedition
b against this province, when ambassadors from the new emperor of *Mexico* to the republic arrived on the frontiers, where they waited for permission to advance. This was matter of astonishment at *Tlascala*, which had never before been honoured with so formal an embassy. The senate was not ignorant that the purport of it was to engage the republic against the *Spaniards*; it was therefore debated whether the *Mexicans* should be received, and carried in the affirmative, with the approbation, as is reported, of the *Spanish* general. They entered the city with great solemnity, and were introduced into the senate with the usual formalities, where, in the name of the emperor, they made an offer of perpetual peace and friendship between the two nations, a perfect freedom of commerce and community of interests, on condition the republic would join the *Mexicans* against the *Spaniards*;
e a proposition no sooner made, than a confused murmur of disapprobation was heard over the whole assembly. Many of the members were on the point of breaking out into indecent expressions of resentment against the ambassadors, when one of the old senators stood up, and told him, that their request was contrary to justice, reason, and the constant practice of the republic. No interest could seduce the *Tlascalans* to violate the laws of hospitality, or perfidiously betray the voluntary friendship conceived for the *Spaniards*, confirmed by an exchange of obligations, and sealed by the most sacred engagements. This answer was sufficient to convince the *Mexicans*, that the purpose of their embassy would not answer; and, as they feared some popular commotion, they withdrew privately, and posted with all expedition to the frontiers.

The *Mexicans* endeavour to gain the *Tlascalans* from the interest of *Cortez*.

f THIS disappointment of the *Mexicans* was subject of triumph to the *Spaniards*, as it shewed the good disposition of the republic. Nevertheless it was soon discovered, that all the members of the senate were not equally sincere in their professions of friendship. The young *Xicotencal* could never forget that he had been foiled by *Cortez* in the military art, upon his skill in which he founded his highest reputation. He considered the superiority of the *Spanish* general as a real injury to himself, and watched an opportunity to gratify his revenge, which he thought offered at this juncture. In the senate he concealed his sentiments; but he represented privately to the people, that the peace offered by the *Mexicans* was mutually advantageous, as the emperor required no other condition than what the senate, for their own interest, ought to grant. "Should we forgive the *Spaniards*,"
g "said he, their evil inclinations against our religion, yet we have reason to resent their endeavours to subvert our constitution and government, by converting into a despotic monarchy this venerable republic, and reducing us under the odious domination
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“ nion of an emperor ; a yoke which we have broke at the expence of our blood, and
 “ which it grieves us to see even on the necks of our bitterest enemies.” These sentiments
 he enforced with abundance of eloquence, insomuch that he gained so strong a party, as
 encouraged him to become more public in his declarations. The senate no sooner had
 intelligence of his designs, than they ordered him to be taken into custody, and immedi-
 ately deliberated on his punishment. Many gave it as their opinion he deserved death, of
 which number was the blind *Xicotencal*, his venerable parent, who treated his crime as per-
 fidious to his friends, ungenerous to strangers, and highly dangerous to his country. All
 agreed that he was seditious, envious, and guilty of practices which disgraced the resolu-
 tions of the senate, and stained with dishonour the national character : however, out of re-
 spect for the father, they mitigated the punishment, by decreeing, that the criminal should
 be brought prisoner to the senate, reprimanded for his treachery and insolence, and de-
 prived of his truncheon, and other employments, by the ceremony of throwing him down
 the stair of the tribunal. Immediately he fell into disgrace with all degrees of people, es-
 pecially those who either entertained an unfeigned friendship for the *Spaniards*, or were at-
 tached only to the good fortune of *Xicotencal*. He found himself desolate and abandoned
 in the midst of society, and without hopes of recovering the esteem of his country, except
 through the intercession of the person against whom all his practices were leveled. To
Cortez, however, he ventured to apply, and, by means of his influence, was again re-
 stored to his employments ; which he soon after forfeited, with his life, for a repetition of
 his perfidy.

WE must not omit another circumstance that occurred as a farther trial of the perseve-
 rance and courage of *Cortez*, just as he had surmounted the dangers planned by *Xicotencal*.
 The republic was making preparations to punish the hostilities committed by the *Tepea-*
cans, and assist *Cortez* in his meditated revenge ; but the *Spanish* soldiers, especially the
 troops of *Narvaez*, very strenuously opposed a fresh expedition. Neither the arguments
 used to move their compassion, nor rouse their indignation against the barbarous *Tepe-*
acans, produced any effect : the remembrance of past fatigues rendered them averse to
 new exploits. They sighed after repose, and their possessions in *Cuba* ; and strenuously
 insisted they should immediately be led back to *Vera Cruz*, in order to equip the fleet for
 their voyage. *Cortez* assembled them, and perceiving they were to be influenced only
 by considerations of interest or of fame, he told them, that the enemy had secured the
 passes in such a manner, as rendered the march to *Vera Cruz* impossible, except by wading
 through blood, and encountering the greatest difficulties and dangers ; that they must rely
 upon their own strength, as it was improbable the *Tlascalans* would lend any assistance
 to a retreat undertaken against their inclinations, and indeed equally contrary to the ho-
 nour and interest of the *Spaniards* and the republic. In this situation, therefore, he advised
 that they would preserve the friendship of the *Tlascalans*, by entering cheerfully upon the
 expedition, as the only secure means by which their design of re-entering *Vera Cruz* could
 be accomplished ; and promised, in the strongest terms, that as soon as they had reduced
 the *Tepeacans*, all who were not willing to follow his fortune should have liberty to depart :
 but it was his duty, as their general, to keep them from running into such imminent dan-
 ger, as was unavoidable, if they begun their march in the present circumstances of affairs.
 By this means he engaged them in his designs, after remonstrating to them, that it was
 not possible to pursue their own intentions with any degree of security ; and indeed *Cortez*,
 upon this, and divers other occasions, afforded strong instances of his perfect skill in the
 operations of the human mind, and the motives which generally impelled to action.

WHEN the *Spanish* soldiers gave their assent to his proposal, *Cortez* drew out eight thou-
 sand select *Tlascalans*, commanded by officers whose valour and fidelity he had experienced
 in divers engagements in *Mexico* ; leaving the care of assembling the main body of the re-
 publican army to *Xicotencal*, whose friendship he imagined he had secured by his late con-
 duct. With this force, and four hundred and twenty *Spaniards*, he began his march, and
 halted that day at a village within the enemies frontiers, at the distance of five leagues
 from *Tepeaca*, the capital of their province. Here he took some of the peasants prisoners,
 and by kindness and presents prevailed upon them to carry a message to the caziques, and
 the principal men at *Tepeaca*, acquainting them, that he was now at the head of an army
 to revenge the death of the *Spaniards*, whom they had so barbarously and treacherously
 murdered ; but that if they would take up arms against the *Mexicans*, and join in alliance
 with the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, he would pardon their heinous transgression, and receive
 them into his friendship ; otherwise they must expect the utmost rigours of war. The an-
 swer returned by the *Tepeacans* was an insolent defiance, and a menace, that they would
 carry all the *Spaniards* in chains to be sacrificed at the altars of their gods. He repeated
 his propositions, and received answers still more bold ; upon which he led his army into
 the

a the capital, fully resolved to destroy it with fire and sword. The *Tepeacans*, reinforced by a body of *Mexicans*, lay in ambush in the way; but their impatience discovering them, they were attacked with such fury as soon put them to flight, in the greatest disorder, and with great slaughter: but recovering themselves, and rallying in a manner very unusual among barbarians, they made a stand, renewed the battle with great obstinacy, and were a second time so completely defeated, that both *Mexicans* and *Tepeacans* abandoned the country, and left the whole province at the mercy of the conquerors. The inhabitants of *Tepeaca* were so terrified with the misfortune and retreat of the army, that they sent deputies with their submission to *Cortez*, requesting, that he would not wreak his vengeance upon an innocent people, misguided and forced, contrary to their own inclinations, into hostilities against the *Spaniards* by their leaders, who were entirely in the interest, and at the disposal of the emperor of *Mexico*. Upon this *Cortez* marched to the capital, received the homage of the people in the name of his Catholic majesty, whom he ordered to be proclaimed, pardoned their transgression, took the people under his protection, and, by his well-timed lenity, gained their affection and esteem. As his principal design, in this expedition, was to preserve a free communication between *Vera Cruz* and *Mexico*, he ordered a trench to be drawn round the city, fortified with palisadoes; and not only raised works for the defence of several passes, but erected a kind of citadel, which would be sufficient security against any sudden assault from the *Mexicans*. Here *Cortez* left a garrison of *Spaniards*, calling the place *Segura de la Frontera*, which was the second establishment in the *Mexican* empire. It reflects but little honour upon his humanity, that, after pardoning the townsmen, he ordered all the prisoners to be sent to *Tlascala*, and sold for slaves; a practice that continued until the Catholic king interposed his authority some years afterwards, and put an entire stop to a custom favouring strongly of barbarity.

Cortez reduces the Tepeacans.

Segura de la Frontera founded.

A FEW days after the victory came up *Xicotencal* with the main body of the *Tlascalan* army. The appearance of such a croud of enemies, amounting to fifty thousand men, greatly alarmed the *Tepeacans*, which determined *Cortez* to employ the troops in useful expeditions. Accordingly he divided the *Tlascalans* in several bodies, which he detached against certain strong towns in the province, that were held by the *Mexicans*. Each corps was attended with about thirty *Spaniards*; who had directions to use force, if persuasion would not answer the purpose, of bringing the enemy to submission. The orders were punctually executed; and though the enemy made a shew of resistance, all the towns were subdued, with very considerable loss, several thousand prisoners were brought back, and the captains enriched by the sale of the captives, and other booty.

It was about this time that the new emperor *Quatlavaca* resigned his last breath; upon which the people conferred the imperial diadem on the young prince *Guatimozin*, nephew and son-in-law to *Moteczuma*, as knowing him to be of an active warlike genius, and in all respects capable of supporting the regal dignity with honour. This change was, by no means, favourable to the *Spaniards*; as the young emperor had a capacity far beyond any of his predecessors, and great virtues, untinged with any of the vices frequent in despotic monarchs, if not inseparable from their absolute power. *Guatimozin*, aware of the danger arising from too unlimited an authority, and determined to guard against pride, and whatever could alienate the minds of his subjects, began with resigning into their hands a variety of privileges, of which they had been deprived in the two preceding reigns. He employed his whole time in the service of the public, encouraged the soldiers with rewards and honours, moderated the excess of veneration paid to the throne, exempted the nobility from all servile attendance, admitted them into his intimacy, and eased the people from excessive taxes and tributes. To the caziques on the frontiers he made large presents, to indemnify their extraordinary losses and expences in the war; and then detached an army of thirty thousand men to support them against the *Spaniards*. *Cortez* had notice of these changes in *Mexico*; but instead of discouraging him from his enterprise of again attempting the conquest of this vast empire, it only animated him to a double exertion of his abilities. A messenger had been sent by the cazique of *Guacachula*, a populous city, considered by the emperor as one of the bulwarks of his dominions, acquainting him, that an army of *Mexicans* was arrived there, committing such violences, as obliged the people to have recourse to the protection of the *Spaniards*. The cazique mentioned, as a kind of claim to the assistance of *Cortez*, that he was one of the nobility who promised obedience to the king of *Spain* in the assembly held by *Moteczuma*; and that he had ever since favoured the cause of the *Spaniards*, for which he was now punished with the utmost rigour. The messenger said, that in the city were twenty thousand *Mexican* troops, and about ten thousand more quartered in the surrounding district; but he gave such demonstrations of the facility with which they might be attacked and defeated, and such proofs of the cazique's sincerity, that *Cortez* determined upon the enterprise. That very day he drew together three hundred

Guatimozin elected emperor of Mexico.

Spaniards

Expedition to
Guacachula.

Spanish foot, thirteen horse, and about thirty thousand *Tlascalans*, whom he dispatched under *Christopher d'Olid* to *Guacachula*. *D'Olid* marched with great expedition to within six leagues of the city, where the mutinous spirit of some of the *Spanish* soldiers obliged him to halt. It had been reported, that the emperor of *Mexico* was in full march, at the head of his whole army, to *Guacachula*; and this produced such an effect upon the minds of the soldiers, who were tired with fruitless victories, that they refused to proceed. This, with some other concurring circumstances, obliged *Cortez* to join the army, and take upon himself the command. Every thing put on a new face at his appearance, all discontents and jealousies were banished, and the soldiers, to a man, declared they would die by the side of their general; but that they could not pay the same regard to *Christopher d'Olid*, who abused his authority, and treated them with rigour. Immediately he began his march, and gave notice to the cazique of *Guacachula* of his approach with a numerous army. The *Mexicans* were posted on the further side of the city; but on the first advice of the *Spaniards*, they drew out in order of battle, and advanced beyond the city, to dispute a pass. The battle began and raged with great obstinacy, and doubtful success, when the cazique of *Guacachula* seized this opportunity of proving the sincerity of his professions, fell upon the rear of the *Mexican* army, and at the same time shot his darts and arrows from the walls with such alacrity, as soon determined the victory in favour of *Cortez*. In less than half an hour the *Mexican* army was entirely defeated, upwards of half the number being slain in the field of battle, or taken prisoners; while the loss on the side of the confederates was trifling.

This, and his preceding victories, gave such reputation to *Cortez*, that a multitude of *Indians* submitted, and several caziques joined him with forces; insomuch, that his whole army now exceeded a hundred thousand men, besides the *Tamenes*, or persons appointed to carry the provisions and baggage. With this force he laid siege to the strong city of *Guacachula*, the cazique, and chief inhabitants of which served in his army, while the place was held by ten thousand desperate *Mexicans*, who drove forth all the suspected citizens, with intention to defend the place to the last drop of their blood. The situation was strong by nature, and fortified with all that the limited knowledge of the *Indians*, in the art of war, could bestow. Before it flowed a deep river, which *Cortez* had to pass, and here the *Mexicans* made a stand; but those obstructions appeared nothing to troops who were accustomed to conquer difficulties. *Christopher d'Olid*, with the van, threw himself into the river, gained the opposite shore, under showers of darts and arrows, and soon drove the enemy from their posts to the city, after he had received a wound in the thigh, and had his horse killed under him. It was expected the enemy would have vigorously defended the city, and the height of the walls made *d'Olid* apprehensive that the assault would be bloody; but such was the panic infused in the *Mexican* garrison, upon the flight of the party appointed to dispute the passage of the river, that they immediately gave all up for lost, and left *Guacachula* as the reward of the conquerors, without striking a blow. By this time *Cortez* came up with the main body, and suspecting a stratagem, detached a body of *Tlascalans* to examine the town, and pursue the enemy; when finding that the place was entirely forsaken, he took possession, and published a general pardon to all who had taken arms for the *Mexicans*, if they would return to their habitations. The same conduct he observed in a variety of other expeditions, by which means he reduced a great number of towns and provinces under the obedience of his Catholic majesty (A).

The small-pox
appears in
Mexico.

It was about this time that the small-pox committed dreadful ravages among the *Indians*, and raged with extraordinary fury in *Tlascala*, where it carried off the good *Magiscatzin*, the firm and faithful ally of the *Spaniards*. The *Indians* regarding it as a scrophulous disorder, thought to cure it by bathing; they opened the pustules, plunged into the water, and generally perished a few hours after, until the *Spaniards* taught them the *European* practice, from which time the disease became less fatal. All their care could not, however, save the valuable life of *Magiscatzin*, who is reported to have died a sincere convert to Christianity, the first proselyte of distinction made since the arrival of *Cortez* in *Mexico*. The death of a nobleman, who had contributed so powerfully to establish him in the friendship of the republic, was a severe blow to *Cortez*; but it was in some measure compensated by a fortunate accident which occurred extremely seasonably to moderate his affliction. At this juncture *Pedro de Barba* arrived at *St. Juan de Ulva*, with a small ship, thirteen soldiers, two horses, with provision and ammunition to reinforce the army under *Narvaez*; who was supposed, by this time, to be in possession of the bulk of the conquests made by

Cortez is
reinforced by
various acci-
dents.

(A) *Antonio de Solis* demonstrates, from the journal of *del Castillo*, who served in the army, affirms the contrary; but it is to be observed, that *Castille* was at this time at *Seguro de la Frontera* (1).

- a *Cortez*. This was the same person who had been of service to *Cortez* at the *Havannah*, in enabling him to escape the snares laid by *Velazquez*. The ship was no sooner discovered by *Cavallero*, who commanded on the coast, than he sent out a boat to welcome the strangers, and found their intentions, drawing them on shore by an artifice, excusable enough in the circumstances of *Cortez's* affairs. Perceiving that *Barba's* design was to reinforce *Narvaez*, he told him, that this general was not only in health, but in high prosperity, *Cortez* having taken refuge in the mountains. By this means he got *Barba* and all his men in his power, and sent them to *Segura de la Frontera*; where they were so kindly treated by *Cortez*, that, after being undeceived, the commander and soldiers entered cheerfully into his service. A few days after *Cavallero* made another acquisition of eight *Spanish* soldiers, sent to reinforce
- b *Narvaez*, by a singular stratagem, all of whom followed the example of the former party. These succours, of men and ammunition, were of the utmost importance at this juncture; but still there were great difficulties attending the prosecution of the design formed of invading *Mexico* a second time. The almost total want of powder rendered the fire-arms useless, and there appeared no remedy, until it was recollected, that *Diego d'Ordaz* had discovered abundance of fine sulphur in the volcano, which he had the curiosity to examine in the burning mountain of *Popocatepec*. What was then deemed a rash and foolish inquisitiveness, turned out now highly to the advantage of the expedition. A party was dispatched for a sufficient quantity of sulphur; of which, and other ingredients, a powder was composed, which well enough answered the purpose, without the assistance, as we are
- c told, of nitre or saltpetre. To this fortunate discovery was added another circumstance of peculiar advantage, especially as the soldiers of *Narvaez* insisted upon the general's promise of leave to return to *Cuba*, as soon as the expedition against *Tepeaca* should be finished; a promise which he now executed punctiliously, providing shipping for the malcontents, among whom was the secretary *Andres de Duero*, who had always professed the strongest friendship for *Cortez*. As his little army of *Spaniards* was now diminished by the loss of forty able bodied soldiers, it was a peculiar providence, that captain *Camargo* should arrive so opportunely upon the coast to repair the loss deemed irreparable. The reader may remember, that *Francisco de Guray*, governor of *Jamaica*, had, soon after the arrival of *Cortez* on the coast of *Zempoala*, fitted out a small armament, to establish a colony in
- d the province of *Panuca*; a design that was frustrated by the diligence of the *Spanish* general. The same enterprise was resumed with a stronger force; but it proved equally unfortunate. *Camargo* had scarce debarked his forces in the river *Panuca*, when he was vigorously attacked by the natives, defeated, and forced to embark with all expedition, being pushed down the river by a multitude of canoes, filled with armed *Indians*. At sea the ships were separated, and after encountering many difficulties, they all arrived, much about the same time, without knowing each others intentions, at *Vera Cruz*, where they resolved to enlist with *Cortez*, as the surest prospect of making their fortunes. The vessel commanded by *Camargo* in person, had on board sixty soldiers; another, under the conduct of *Miguel Diaz de Auz* carried fifty men and seven horses; and the third had
- e forty soldiers and ten horses on board, with large store of arms and provisions. All immediately repaired to *Tlascala*, and thus brought *Cortez* a seasonable and unexpected reinforcement, just as he was greatly embarrassed with the loss sustained by the departure of *Duero* and the soldiers of *Narvaez*. Such were the extraordinary and peculiar events that supported *Cortez* in the prosecution of his arduous undertaking.

S E C T. VII.

In which Cortez invades Mexico a second time, is defeated by the Mexicans, lays siege to Mexico, and reduces that capital, and the rest of the empire.

Cortez resumes the conquest of Mexico.

THE reinforcements mentioned in the preceding section now enabled Cortez to resume his enterprize of conquering Mexico with some prospect of success. Besides a considerable body of Spaniards, he was at the head of a numerous army of Tlascalans, and other nations, all declared enemies to the monarchical government of the Mexicans, and strenuous in procuring or defending their liberty. The passage of the lake, indeed, presented a formidable obstruction; which, however, yielded to the good fortune inseparable from Cortez. There was no depending upon portable bridges after the late fatal experiment; the general, therefore, proposed building a number of small vessels, which should not only be able to resist all the efforts of the Mexican canoes, but also to transport his troops over the lake, without trusting to the causeway. These he proposed building at Tlascala, and transporting in pieces, on the shoulders of Indians, for fourteen leagues over the mountains of Tlascala, to a river that discharged itself into the lake of Mexico. The task was arduous; he communicated the design to his ship-builder Martin Lopez; and that ingenious mechanic agreed to the possibility of the enterprize, and undertook to carry it into execution. Immediately a body of Indians was set to work to cut down wood, while another party was dispatched to Vera Cruz, for the iron work, rigging, and materials belonging to Narvaez's squadron.

He transmits an account of all his transactions to the court.

IN the mean time he thought it necessary to transmit to court an account of his actions, and to enforce the solicitations made the preceding year by the captains Portocarrero and Montejo, of whose success he had yet received no information. Here he gave, in a letter to the emperor Charles V. king of Spain, a faithful recital of all his adventures, prosperous and adverse, from the time he first quitted Zempoala, until he was forced to evacuate the capital of the empire. He informed his imperial majesty of his present condition and designs, and craved succours for the expedition, as well as speedy justice against the unfair proceedings of Velazquez, governor of Cuba. He told his majesty, that several Indians of consideration had submitted to be baptized, represented the necessity of sending some ecclesiastics to assist father Almedo in the pious task of converting the Indians, as the surest method of attaching them to the interest of Spain, and enforcing their obedience. Alonzo Mendoza, and according to de Solis, Diego de Ordaz, were dispatched with this letter, with strict injunctions, that before they revealed their commission, or made any declarations that they came from him, to find out his father, and the agents sent the year before; and jointly to push their applications, as circumstances should require. With this letter was also remitted a present of gold and jewels, to which the soldiers voluntarily contributed their share of the treasure left at Tlascala, when they first marched to Mexico, and of the booty acquired at Tepeaca and Guacachula. A ship was equipped with all dispatch at Vera Cruz, to carry the commissioners to Europe; and Cortez, that he might omit nothing which could promote his designs, applied to the royal audience of St. Domingo for succours, because this tribunal had always favoured his expedition, and used the utmost endeavours to defeat the practices of Velazquez. Here, however, he was disappointed; the audience expressed all possible respect for his person, promised to support his applications to the emperor, but excused themselves with respect to the succours required, under pretence of inability.

Fruit of his negotiation in Spain.

To prevent interrupting the chain of our narrative, it may be proper to take a view of the issue of the solicitations made to the court of Spain, although the relation be somewhat premature. Portocarrero and Montejo, seconded by Martin Cortez, father to the general, had paid long and fruitless attendance upon the Spanish ministry. The intricate and unsettled state of the kingdom at that period employed the whole attention of the court upon matters more immediately interesting, and, indeed, the strong faction formed by the friends of Velazquez, at the head of which was the bishop of Burgos, threw almost insurmountable obstructions in their way. At length, by dint of perseverance, the commissioners obtained the honour of an audience of the emperor, who informed himself exactly of the transactions in New Spain, and from thence conceived a high opinion of the merit of Cortez, and the utility of his project. However, the variety of business in which his imperial majesty was engaged, prevented his entering deeply into the dispute between Cortez and Velazquez; so that on his departure for the Netherlands, he was obliged to recommend the affair to the cardinal Adriano, governor of Spain, in his absence. The cardinal entertained the same favourable sentiments with the king his master, of the merit of Cortez; but

a but as all the informations relative to the affair must pass through the council of the *Indies*, of which the bishop of *Burgos* was president, he found himself embarrassed how to proceed. He could easily perceive that the strongest prejudice against *Cortez* reigned in the council; but to come to a decisive resolution, it was necessary to be acquainted with the naked facts, divested of disguise and partiality. Other affairs, in the mean while, occurred, to divert the attention of the minister; so that *Martin Cortez* and the commissioners, tired out with attendance, withdrew, disappointed, from court, with a resolution to wait the emperor's return. In this situation were the affairs of *Cortez* when the new commissioners, *Ordaz* and *Mendoza*, arrived at *Seville*. The instructions given them by the general appeared now to be necessary; for they no sooner touched land, than they were
b informed of an order, issued out by the bishop of *Burgos* and the council of the *Indies*, to imprison all persons coming from *New Spain*, and to seize upon all the gold and presents they should bring, whether on the account of *Cortez*, or by way of commission. Immediately they retired privately to *Medellin*, where they learnt that *Martin Cortez* and the other commissioners resided, saving only their letters and dispatches, and leaving their treasure in the hands of the officers under the direction of the council of the *Indies*. Here it was resolved among them to continue in the most private retirement, until the affairs of the kingdom should assume a more favourable aspect, and the emperor either return, or the cardinal-minister be more at leisure to examine their dispatches. The first of these wished-for events soon happened. The emperor returned, and his presence instantly restored the
c public tranquility. *Martin Cortez*, therefore, judging that now was the season for application, set out for court with the four commissioners; where, after some delay, they had a long audience of the cardinal regent. They gave the minister a succinct relation of the progress made in the conquest of *Mexico*, referring to the letters of *Cortez* for particulars: they acquainted him with the orders for seizing them issued by the bishop of *Burgos*, and the fate of the presents they had brought for the emperor. They set forth the reasons they had to distrust the president and council of the *Indies*; desiring liberty to except against the bishop of *Burgos* as a judge in an affair in which he had made himself a party, and offered to support their exception with sufficient arguments, or to suffer the penalty of their irreverence for so high a personage. The cardinal's answer was favourable. He told
d *Martin Cortez*, and the commissioners, that they might take their remedy against the bishop at law, and that he would protect them against all violence in the course of the process. With this encouragement they entered their exception against the president of the council in his own court; and supported it with such irrefragable arguments, that the council did not presume to alter the course of justice. After a full hearing, the bishop was absolutely prohibited from interfering in the dispute between *Hernan Cortez* and *Velaquez*, his orders were revoked, the embargo at *Seville* was taken off, and the importance of the expedition to *Mexico* was set in its true light; that of being honourable and beneficial to the nation. This decree received the approbation of the cardinal regent and council of state; and so zealous was the former in the cause of *Cortez*, that, upon his exaltation to the papal dig-
e nity, he laboured to remove all impediments to a conquest, which was to open a free passage for the lights of Christianity to shine in countries hitherto involved in the obscurity and darkness of superstition and the grossest idolatry.

THE accusation of the bishop of *Burgos* was finally confirmed by the emperor in person, after he had given audience to the agents of *Cortez* and *Velaquez*; and commissaries were also appointed to decide the point in controversy. Their judgment was, after closely examining the facts alledged on both sides, "That *Velaquez* had no right to claim to himself
" the honour or advantages resulting from the conquest of *New Spain*, without a better
" title than that of having expended some money in the preparations for that enterprise,
" and nominating *Cortez* for commander. That he could only have an action at law for
" the money expended out of his own estate to equip the armament sent upon this expedi-
f tion, and not for any of the effects belonging to the king in his government. That the
" nomination of *Cortez* afforded him no pretence, either to the glory or profit of the ex-
" pedition, as he not only granted that commission without the authority of the ministers
" of the royal audience, whose orders he should have received, but likewise revoked it,
" and thereby left *Cortez* at liberty to act as he should think most advantageous to the pub-
" lic interest, with the troops, which, for the most part, he had raised at his own ex-
" pence." The commissaries very prudently winked at the irregularities in the beginning of this enterprise, from a just consideration of its importance, and regard for the extraor-
dinary merit of the general, who had prosecuted it with unparalleled vigour and alacrity.
g They even censured *Velaquez* as a person who had shewn an ungovernable ambition, and expressed a rancour and malignity extremely prejudicial to the public service. This sentence was laid before the emperor, and confirmed. *Cortez* was, besides, declared to be a faith-
ful

ful minister and good subject ; his officers and soldiers were honoured with similar applauses ; perpetual silence on the subject of any pretensions to the conquest of *Mexico* was imposed on *Velaquez* ; and thus the affair terminated, and dispatches to that purpose were immediately sent away to the *Indies*, with orders to the royal audience at *St. Domingo* to assist *Cortez* with all their power. A letter from the emperor was sent to *Cortez*, not only approving his past conduct, but likewise his present design and dispositions for the reduction of *Mexico* ; and the letter concluded with the strongest assurances, not only of the imperial favour, but of the most substantial proofs of acknowledgment for such important and eminent services.

Cortez receives a supply.

He reviews his army, and issues orders to be observed in the march.

WHILE this affair was terminating in *Spain*, *Cortez* was preparing to march, with his whole army, into the heart of *Mexico*. Just as he was on the point of setting out, he had the good fortune to receive a supply of arms and ammunition from *Vera Cruz* ; a merchant vessel from the *Canaries* having arrived there, freighted with implements of war, which were designed to be sold to the troops engaged in this conquest. He could not wait for the finishing of the brigantines, as the troops of the country flocked in to him in such crowds, that he feared some bad consequences from their inaction. In a council of war, it was resolved to march directly to *Tezeuco*, and at all events to gain possession of that city, which, from its situation, would afford a good retreat, and likewise facilitate the means of procuring reinforcements. Next day succeeding this resolution, *Cortez* mustered his *Spanish* troops, and found they amounted to five hundred foot and forty horse, with nine pieces of artillery, brought on shore from the vessels last arrived on the coast. *Xicotencal*, general of the *Tlascalans*, followed his example, and passed his troops in review before the *Spaniards*. It is reported they amounted to sixty thousand men. Besides these, *Cortez* had a great number of other auxiliary troops, brought in by the neighbouring caziques ; inso-much, that, at the siege of *Mexico*, his army amounted to two hundred thousand fighting men. He began with publishing certain regulations to be observed, under pain of death, by all the soldiers. Among these were the following : That no man should presume to draw his sword against another, either upon his march, or in quarters. That no *Spaniard* should abuse a confederate *Indian*, either in word or action. That no indecencies or violence should be offered to a woman, even though she should happen to be a captive. That no soldier should straggle from the army, or go without leave, and a sufficient party, in quest of plunder : and, lastly, it was enjoined, under pain of death, that the soldiers should not game away their arms and horses, in which particular their discipline had hitherto been too remiss. The interpreters, *Donna Marina* and *Aguilar*, repeated the same orders to the *Indian* chiefs, in the presence of *Cortez*, and desired they might be frequently published at the head of the *Indian* army. To these regulations the general added a short exhortation, which was received with the acclamations of the soldiers, both *Spaniards* and *Indians* ; the latter echoing the shouts of the former. In course of his march, *Cortez* encountered some difficulties, arising from the nature of the country, the prodigious number of his troops, and the wiles and stratagems of the *Mexicans* ; but he happily surmounted them, without any considerable loss. He ascended a steep mountain, all the passes of which the enemy had blocked up by trees cut down, and laid across, and sharp stakes fixed in the ground, to wound and incommode the cavalry. *Cortez* ordered two thousand *Tlascalans* to the van, to clear away all impediments ; and they executed their orders with so much alacrity, that the army soon gained the summit of the mountain, from whence they could discover the lake of *Mexico*. Having advanced a few leagues, the *Mexican* army was seen drawn up in order of battle, in a large plain, where they seemed determined to make a stand, although they had taken the necessary precautions for a retreat. All rejoiced at the opportunity of coming so early to action ; but the transport of the *Tlascalans* rose to a kind of fury, which *Cortez*, and his captains, could hardly restrain within the bounds of order and discipline ; but the enemy seeing the *Spaniards* attended by so numerous an army, dropt their intentions of disputing the passage of the valley, and began a precipitate retreat. *Cortez* regarded this as a fortunate incident ; for on his approach to the place, where the enemy had taken post, he found a deep trench, made by a brook running from the mountain, which it was difficult to pass, even without resistance from the *Mexicans*. Pursuing his way to *Tezeuco*, he was met about three leagues from the city, by messengers from the cazique, or king of that city, with proposals of peace and alliance, that appeared very suspicious ; the ambassadors were, however, dismissed with a civil answer, the confederates marched quite up to the walls, and took up their quarters for that night in the fields, keeping strict watch for fear of being surprized. Next morning it appeared that the city was deserted by the cazique and principal nobility ; but the latter soon returned to their habitations, entered into an alliance with *Cortez*, complained of their cazique as a monster of treachery, tyranny, and cruelty, and desired the protection of the *Spaniards*. *Cortez* was now

He advances to Tezeuco.

- a now informed that the proposals made to him were treacherous, as he suspected, and with design to lull him into security; but that the cazique finding his troops numerous, beyond expectation, yielded to his fears, and relinquished his project. He was also informed that the same *Caminatzin*, who had before conspired against him, and was for that reason deposed by *Moteczuma*, had now recovered the throne, and was countenanced by the reigning emperor, as an inveterate enemy to the *Spaniards*. The nobles also informed him that *Caminatzin* had no original right to the throne of *Texcoco*, to which he had made his way, before *Moteczuma* arrived at the imperial dignity, by killing, with his own hands, his eldest brother *Nezahual*, and seizing the crown, in prejudice to the right of his own nephew, son of the deceased prince. To this they added, that the lawful prince was now at their head, and requested the general's countenance. It immediately struck *Cortez* that this circumstance might be turned to his advantage. He went up to the prince, and after paying him the compliments due to his quality, he assembled the nobles, and recommended the lawful heir to the crown, in such strong terms, and with such assurances of protection, that they immediately deposed *Caminatzin*, and raised his nephew to the throne of *Texcoco*. Next day was appointed for the coronation of the prince; *Cortez* assisted at the solemnity; he placed the regal sceptre in the hands of the young monarch, and by this means acquired not only a firm ally, but the reputation of paying the strictest regard to equity. The people in a manner adored *Cortez*, and the king himself appeared in his presence as if he was his subject, and held his crown of his bounty; carrying his gratitude and respect for his benefactor so far, that he embraced the Christian religion, and received baptism.

Makes some alterations in the government of that city.

- EVERY thing being adjusted at *Texcoco* to the general's entire satisfaction, he left a body of troops in the city, and began his march for *Iztapalapa*, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of a place which afforded shelter for their canoes, and disturbed his workmen employed in widening the canals so as to allow a passage for the vessels building at *Tlascala*. This city, as already observed, was situated in such a manner, that the greater part of the building was on the lake. *Cortez* charged himself with this expedition, taking with him three hundred *Spaniards*, and ten thousand *Tlascalans*. The young monarch of *Texcoco* offered to accompany him; but this *Cortez* refused, saying, that his presence would be useful in the city, where his authority was not yet sufficiently established. On his approach to *Iztapalapa*, a body of citizens, amounting to eight thousand men, advanced with great resolution beyond their walls, and began an engagement, which they supported with equal courage, though inferior in number; retreating gradually towards the city, and at last flying with a feigned appearance of confusion and disorder. *Cortez* suspected a stratagem, by seeing the gates left open; he therefore pursued with all imaginable caution, entered the town, found it deserted, drew up his troops in the principal square, and made dispositions, as if he expected to be attacked. It appeared, however, that the enemy had formed a different design. It was scarce dark, when the *Spaniards* perceived that the canals began suddenly to overflow their banks, the water rushing impetuously into the lower grounds, whence they immediately conjectured that the enemy had opened their sluices, with intention to drown that part of the city. The danger was imminent, and *Cortez* gave orders for retreating with all expedition, not without censuring himself for having been outwitted by a people whom he considered as barbarous. He pursued his march all night to *Texcoco*, and next morning perceived that he was in a manner hemmed in by a numerous army of *Mexicans*. Finding his people eager to engage, he led them on, and soon obliged the enemy to retire in some confusion; however, they rallied, and made three several attacks, in all which they were repulsed, with the loss of six thousand men, which determined them to drop the pursuit. By this means *Cortez* arrived safe at *Texcoco*, reserving any farther attempts on *Iztapalapa* to a more seasonable opportunity.

He is in great danger.

- THIS retreat was deemed inglorious by the *Spaniards*, who had now been accustomed to carry before them all obstructions; it did not, however, diminish their reputation among the *Indians*, who were daily offering their submissions. The provinces of *Chalco* and *Otumba* dispatched messengers at this time to *Cortez*, offering him obedience, and requesting his assistance against the *Mexicans*, who had just invaded the frontiers of their provinces with a numerous army, for having refused to take up arms against the *Spaniards*. They expressed their resolution to stand in their defence, if they were sure of protection; and *Cortez* thinking it advisable to raise as many enemies as possible to the imperial power, and to secure provinces which must contribute to keep open communication with *Tlascala*, instantly dispatched *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Francisco de Liego*, with two hundred *Spanish* foot, fifteen horse, and a sufficient body of *Tlascalans*, to the assistance of his new allies. The *Mexicans* lay in ambush for this reinforcement, but they were defeated by the vigour and resolution of *Sandoval* and the *Spaniards*. As *Sandoval* approached the frontiers of the allied provinces, he found that a numerous *Mexican* army had occupied all the posts on the road,

which it was necessary he should take; he thereupon advanced in order of battle, sustained the attack of the enemy with calm intrepidity, and then made a furious discharge of fire-arms, cross-bows, and arrows, closing immediately with the *Mexicans*, and breaking their ranks, obtained a complete victory with inconsiderable loss on his side, and dreadful slaughter of the enemy. It augmented the carnage, that the people of *Otumba* and *Chalco* were no sooner alarmed with the noise of fire arms, than conjecturing that the *Spaniards* were engaged, they sallied out upon the rear of the *Mexicans*, continued the pursuit with great obstinacy, slew several thousands, and took a great number of prisoners, eight of the principal of whom were brought to *Sandoval*, to be examined about the farther designs of the enemy. From their account it appeared, that the *Mexicans*, discouraged by their defeat, had entirely abandoned their project of revenge, and returned to the capital; after which *Sandoval* left the defence of the provinces to the inhabitants, and returned with his army to *Tezeuco*, after reconciling the *Tlascalans* and *Otumbans*, who had always been declared enemies. As to the *Mexican* nobles taken prisoners in the late action, they were presented to *Cortez*, who ordered them to be unbound, and embraced this opportunity to justify to his allies the war he had undertaken, by making farther advances to an accommodation. He told the prisoners, that although by the laws of war, and the example of their country, he might treat them with the utmost rigour, he nevertheless gave them life and liberty, on no other condition than that they would acquaint the emperor with his intention to demand satisfaction for the death of *Moteczuma*, and the unjust war made upon the *Spaniards* when last in *Mexico*. "Tell him, said *Cortez*, that I have an army reinforced not only by a number of invincible *Spaniards*, but by a variety of nations who abhor the *Mexican* tyranny. Tell him, that in a little time I intend to seize him in the midst of his palace, surrounded by his court, bringing in my train all the horrors of war, and resolved never to lay aside my just indignation, until I have reduced all the cities in his dominions to ashes, and washed away the memory of his name by the blood of his subjects: nevertheless, if, to avoid the impending ruin, he is desirous of listening to reasonable terms of pacification, I am ready to grant them; for the arms of my king, like the lightning of heaven, fall only where they find resistance, and are always more ready to obey the dictates of humanity, than the impulses of revenge." With this message he dismissed the prisoners, under an escort; they promised to bring back an answer, but they never returned: possibly the message was of such a nature as they durst not deliver to a prince full of vigour and courage.

Message to
Guatimozin.

Vessels built at
Tlascala, and
transported to
Mexico.

Nothing was now wanting to begin the siege of *Mexico*, besides the brigantines building at *Tlascala*, of which *Cortez* received advice from *Martin Lopez*, that gave great satisfaction to the whole army. The vessels were now ready to be transported over the mountains, and the republic had provided ten thousand men for that business, under an escort of an equal number of soldiers commanded by *Chichemecal*, a young nobleman of spirit and courage, who had already in his twenty-fourth year, acquired the reputation of one of the best generals in *Tlascala*. *Lopez* acquainted the general of the day he intended beginning his march, and desired he might be met by a *Spanish* convoy at *Gualipar*, not thinking it advisable to attempt a passage through the *Mexican* territories with *Tlascalans* only. On his arrival at this place he halted for the reinforcement of *Spaniards*, a delay which extremely displeased *Chichemecal*, who thought himself a match for the whole power of the *Mexican* empire. However, he resolved to obey the orders of *Cortez*, and imagined he had performed no inconsiderable exploit by this proof of his obedience. Much about the same time *Cortez* detached *Gonzalo de Sandoval* with a strong body of *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, this officer stopping a day at the little town of *Zalepeque*, to revenge the murder of some *Spaniards* who were going from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, which he effectually performed, by obliging the inhabitants to the most abject submission. He then joined *Chichemecal* at *Gualipar*, and both arrived with the materials for the shipping, without any memorable accident at *Tezeuco*; only that the *Tlascalan* general had almost bred a mutiny in his troops, by resenting, in such high terms, his not having the van and post of honour. Immediately *Lopez* and his workmen set about constructing the brigantines from the materials which they had already prepared; but *Cortez* understanding that they could not be finished in less than twenty days, resolved not to lie unactive. It was his intention to examine all the posts which might prove useful to the projected siege of *Mexico*, and he entered upon this design with an expedition to *Yaltocon*, in which he was accompanied by *Chichemecal*.

The reasons which induced *Cortez* to chastize the inhabitants of this place were, that they had lately returned an insolent answer to the proposals which were made to them of peace, and wounded the messenger, without regard to the privileges shewn to ambassadors, even among barbarous nations. He took with him the captains *Alvarado* and *Olid*,

- a *Old*, two hundred *Spanish* infantry, twenty horse, a numerous body of *Tezeucan* nobility, and *Chichimecal* with fifteen thousand *Tlascalans*, to whom were joined five thousand of the republican forces, commanded by *Xicotencal*, who was left at *Tezeuco*, with the remainder of the *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* army. After marching five leagues, *Cortez* discovered a numerous army of the enemy, drawn up in order of battle, in the open field, at some distance from the city. Orders were given to attack them; and this was executed with such alacrity, that the enemy retreated precipitately, leaving a great number of dead and wounded on the field of battle. The confederates advanced full of confidence to carry the place at the first assault, on account of the panic which the defeat of the army must infuse into the garrison; but they soon found that the *Mexicans* had broke the cause-
- b ways, and rendered it impossible to pass the breach without either bridge or boats. *Cortez* was contriving how to fill up the chasm with earth and fascines, when an *Indian* of *Tezeuco* offered to guide the army to a ford at a little distance; a proposal that was readily embraced. *Cortez*, attended by the *Indian* guide, marched directly to the place, and ordered a party of sixty *Spaniards*, and a body of *Tlascalans*, to make the experiment, which succeeded, after an obstinate conflict with the enemy, who defended the passage with more courage than they had shewn upon the late occasion. The confederate party entered the town with the flying *Mexicans*, took possession, pillaged the place, set fire to several houses, and then rejoined the main army, the whole advancing to *Calbatitlan*, a large town, which was found deserted by the inhabitants. The large towns of *Tenayuco* and *Izcapuzalco*,
- c both upon the lake, were also forsaken by the natives; *Cortez* lodged a night in each, and took an exact view of their respective distances and situations. From the last of these towns the city of *Tacuba*, the rival of *Tezeuco*, was distant about half a league. It was situated upon the extremity of the causeway, was considered as the key to *Mexico*, and was therefore of the utmost importance in forming the siege of that capital. It was for this reason that *Cortez* resolved to view it accurately, without any design of possessing a city that could not be held conveniently, on account of its distance from the head-quarters of *Tezeuco*. With this purpose he marched in good order towards the city, and was encountered on the way by a numerous army of the *Tacubans*, who were desirous of trying their fortune in the open field with the *Spaniards*, the city being incapable of containing all the troops.
- d They advanced and charged with great fury, but were driven back by the fire-arms and cross-bows in the van. Afterwards they rallied, the rest of the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* came up, *Cortez* penetrated into the very center of the multitude; notwithstanding which, the *Tacubans* yielded the field reluctantly, after several thousand of their forces had been slain and wounded. That night the confederates remained on the field of battle, endeavouring to secure several advantageous posts in the night. Early next morning, the enemy were seen advancing, as if with intention to redeem the honour of the preceding day; but they were defeated with a facility which gave room for suspicion that some stratagem was intended. For five days *Cortez* remained without the walls of *Tacuba*, skirmishing every day with the enemy, with intention to waste the garrison by sallies, in which they
- e were constantly repulsed. The ardour of his troops determined him to attack the town contrary to his first design; and he was accordingly taking his measures, when a party was observed advancing upon the causeway. Their intention was to draw *Cortez* gradually upon the causeway, where it was impossible he could form his men, and then to charge him on every side from their canoes. The project succeeded beyond expectation; and all the *Spaniards* must have been cut off, had they not exerted an extraordinary portion of valour. *Cortez* no sooner pursued the enemy upon the causeway, than he saw himself attacked in front, by a numerous army, and on both sides by a multitude of canoes. Courage alone could now extricate him; he fought desperately, effected a retreat with no great loss, and repaired the consequences of his oversight, by such a degree of personal bravery,
- f as equally astonished the *Spaniards* and *Indians*. It was in this action, that *Juan Volante* fell, with the colours in his hand, over the causeway, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and put into a canoe, with design of being presented with his trophy to the emperor. *Volante* suffered himself to be carried away, pretending the utmost submission, until he found himself at a sufficient distance from the rest of the canoes, when he plunged with his colours into the water, swam ashore, and joined the rest of the *Spaniards*.

A variety of measures previous to the siege of Mexico.

- g WHEN *Cortez* returned to *Tezeuco*, he found himself reinforced by several *Spanish* soldiers, sent to his assistance by the royal audience of *St. Domingo*. None of the *Spanish* writers ascertain the number, but from the rejoicings in the confederate army it was probably considerable. About the same time messengers arrived from *Chalco* and *Themanalco*, that the *Mexicans* had resumed their operations against the frontier provinces. The new emperor *Guatimozin* was perpetually contriving means to cut off the communication of the

the *Spaniards* with *Tlascala*, and prevent succours from joining them from *Tina Cruz*. This was a point of such consequence to *Cortez*, that he found himself, at all events, under the necessity of supporting these allies, to whose fidelity he owed the preservation of this essential opening. Accordingly *Sandoval* was dispatched with a sufficient number of *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, to the succour of the *Chalqueses*, whom, on his arrival, he found assembled in a considerable army, to oppose the *Mexicans*. The enemy, who were still superior in number of forces to the confederates, possessed themselves of some hollow-ways, in order to bring on an engagement, in a place where the *Spanish* cavalry could not act. It was necessary to drive them from this situation; and *Sandoval* entered upon the attack with such resolution, that he accomplished his design, though not without bloodshed, several *Spaniards* having been dangerously wounded, a few killed, and a great number of the confederate *Indians* slaughtered, but with still greater loss on the side of the *Mexicans*, though they had sufficient courage to rally and renew the engagement. *Sandoval* having overcome the difficulty of the valley, and fighting now upon equal terms, obtained a complete victory, after a conflict in which the enemy behaved with great gallantry, and a fury bordering upon desperation. The same night he advanced to *Guajapeque*, where he hoped his fatigued troops might be able to rest securely; but scarce had they laid aside their arms, when the scouts brought advice, that a fresh army of *Mexicans*, amounting to fifteen thousand men, was advancing to attack the confederates before they should be able to draw breath. Resolution was the only remedy. *Sandoval* animated his people, and then led them against the enemy, whose front was soon put in disorder by the fire-arms and cross-bows. By this means an opening was made for the cavalry to charge without danger. Their onset was irresistible; the *Tlascalans*, at the same time, fell upon the flanks, and the *Mexicans* finding themselves assaulted on both sides, fled precipitately to *Guajapeque*, where they hoped to meet with protection; but the confederates returning to the town with them, divided themselves into several bodies, scoured all the streets, and again drove the enemy into the open fields, pursuing them with great slaughter.

This victory was followed by the reduction of *Capistan*, a strong town, situated on the summit of a rocky eminence, and secured on the back-side by a deep, rapid, river. It was distant about two leagues from *Guajapeque*, and thither the routed *Mexicans* crowded as to an impregnable fortress; nothing, however, could withstand the confederate army flushed with conquest. *Sandoval* resolved to drive the enemy from this post, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of so convenient a rendezvous for troops destined for the invasion of the frontier provinces. Perceiving there were only three ways by which he could make the attack, all of them difficult, he ordered the *Tlascalans*, and *Chalquese*, to advance in the front, as more accustomed to those steep and rugged passes. They obeyed, but so reluctantly, that *Sandoval*, impatient of delay, rushed with his *Spaniards* into the thickest of the danger, which so animated the *Indians*, that they forgot the difficulty of the attempt, and seemed emulous who should first gain the summit of the eminence. In many places the path was so steep, that they were altogether employed in conquering the ascent, it being impossible to use their hands, either in defence, or attack, without fear of tumbling down to the bottom; while the *Mexicans* were all the while rolling down great stones, and showering darts and arrows upon them. At last, they gained the top by the assistance of the fire-arms, which drove the enemy from the brow of the hill, and left a clear passage for the confederates. Now they attacked with incredible valour, as if determined to revenge the difficulties and dangers they had just escaped; they forced their way through all opposition, beat the *Mexicans* back to the town, pursued them so closely, that, entering with them, they gained possession, and forced the enemy to the brink of the precipice, where all those were put to the sword who did not throw themselves over. On this occasion, the slaughter is reported to have been so prodigious, that the *Spaniards*, who had run to the river to quench their thirst, were obliged to refrain from drinking, on perceiving its streams tinged with blood. In a word, the victory was decisive, but it was obtained with very considerable loss on the side of the confederates. *Sandoval* had his armour broke in different places; several *Spaniards* were dangerously wounded, and above six hundred *Indians* slain in climbing up the ascent. Imagining he had now sufficiently deterred the *Mexicans* from any farther attempts, *Sandoval* returned to *Tezcuco*, where he was scarce arrived, before advice arrived from *Chalco*, that the province had been again invaded, but that the enemy were defeated by the natives: a piece of intelligence that gave great satisfaction, as from hence it appeared the frontier provinces were in a condition to undertake their own defence.

A. D. 1521.

a As the shipping destined for the siege of *Mexico* was not yet completed, *Cortez* resolved to examine the situation of *Sachimillo*, a place situated on the *Mexican* lake, and communicating with *Mexico* by a broad causeway, of which he hoped to make his advantage in his enterprizes against the capital. On the fifth day of *April* he set out from *Tezeuco*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, several thousand confederate *Indians*, and the captains *de Olid*, *Alvarado*, and others, the command of the rest of the army in *Tezeuco* being left with *Sandoval*. He marched with such diligence that he arrived the same night at *Chalco*, just as the inhabitants were arming to oppose a new army of *Mexicans*, sent to invade their province. This seasonable assistance was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the *Chalquefe*, who entertained no doubt about victory, when they were commanded b by the *Spanish* general. They desired to be led immediately against the enemy, ambitious of signaling their valour before so perfect a judge of military merit; but the *Mexicans*, upon advice of the arrival of the *Spaniards*, had separated into small parties, and thrown themselves into certain fortresses, situated on different mountains round the frontier, whence *Cortez* resolved to dislodge them, that no time might be lost in marching to *Sachimillo*. Having assembled all his forces, he began his march by break of day towards the mountains, and ascended a steep eminence, at the top of which was a fort, defended by so numerous an army as must have appeared formidable in a less advantageous situation. The *Mexicans* sent forth parties to provoke the confederates to an engagement in the midst of those precipices, where the difficulty of the way was alone sufficient c obstruction; and these succeeded so well in their reproaches, that *Cortez*, giving way to his passion, ordered two companies of musqueteers and cross-bows to advance to the attack. This detachment was headed by *Pedro de Barba*, accompanied by several volunteers of distinction. As the *Spaniards* ascended the hill the *Mexicans* retired, feigning confusion, in order to draw *Barba* on with the more security; and when they found him embarrassed in the most difficult precipices, they returned to the charge with loud shouts, tumbling down from the top such a torrent of great stones as swept all before it, and wounded several *Spaniards*, among whom was the commanding officer. Sensible of his error, *Cortez* immediately ordered the party to retreat, which was effected with great difficulty, and with some of his captains he reconnoitred the ground, and sought a less b dangerous path by which he might wreck his revenge. His enquiries proved fruitless, and he was equally unfortunate in all his endeavours to draw the enemy from their retreat. Three days had now been consumed in the midst of barren mountains, and the troops began to sink under the pressure of thirst, famine, and fatigue, insomuch, that without accomplishing his design, he was forced to proceed to *Guastapeque* to refresh his army. Here he was sumptuously lodged, together with his whole army, in the cazique's palace, which yielded but little in extent and magnificence to the imperial residence.

CORTÉZ staid but one night at *Guastapeque*, when advice came, that the enemy had abandoned the fortresses on the mountains, and assembled at *Quatlavaca*, where their e army was numerous, and determined to make an obstinate resistance to all the power of the confederates. He set out immediately for that town, and advanced to the moat which was eight foot deep, extremely wide, and filled with water that tumbled rapidly down from the adjacent mountains. The *Mexicans* had cut down the bridges, and covered the opposite bank with such a multitude of soldiers, that the passage seemed altogether impracticable to the bulk of the confederates, although *Cortez* did not despair. He drew up his army at a little distance, ordered the musqueteers to keep up a perpetual fire to cover his approach, and went in person to view the ditch. Having discovered a part much narrower than the rest, he ordered two or three bridges to be constructed, which he threw f over; and by this means enabled the infantry to pass over with difficulty, while the fire-arms, and cross-bows, kept the enemy at a distance. The van-guard, composed chiefly of *Spaniards*, no sooner reached the opposite side, than they formed into a battalion; and the *Mexicans*, sensible that they ought to have disputed the passage more vigorously, now poured down in such multitudes, that the confederates could hardly maintain their ground, though they were constantly receiving supplies by the troops who were filing over the bridges with all possible expedition. The event would have been very doubtful, had not *Cortez* fortunately found a passage for the cavalry, with whom he charged the enemy in the rear, assisted with a body of infantry, seasonably brought up by the historian of this expedition, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*. The *Mexicans*, now distracted by this g double attack, gave themselves up for lost, fled with great precipitation, and made their escape to the mountains, leaving *Quatlavaca* to be pillaged by the conquerors. The submission, however, of the cazique, and principal inhabitants, saved the place from the

fury of the soldiers. They desired leave to return to their habitations, to prepare quarters a for the confederate army, which was granted, after *Cortez* had fully assured himself of their sincerity.

CORTEZ staid but one night at *Quatlavaca*, setting out next morning for *Sackimillo*, a place of the greatest importance, on account of its vicinity to *Mexico*. The march was difficult and fatiguing, the soldiers having almost perished with thirst, in a long, barren, sandy defile, where they were exposed to the reflected beams of the sun at mid-day. The night brought relief, and great abundance of good provision, in a village, which the enemy had just abandoned. As the general expected a vigorous resistance, he drew up his army, at break of day, in order of battle, imagining the enemy would have taken every possible precaution to fortify a post of so much consequence as *Sackimillo*, a conjecture that was verified by the view which he had of an incredibly numerous army drawn up in battalia, on a plain at some distance from the city, having a rapid river in front that discharged itself in the *Mexican* lake. They had doubled their lines on the banks of this river, and disposed their main body for the defence of a wooden bridge which they left standing, after barricadoing it with planks and fascines; believing, that if this fortification should be forced, they would be able to cut off the confederates in the narrowness of the pass, with little difficulty. *Cortez* extended his front along the opposite bank of the river, and ordered the *Spaniards* to advance and attack the bridge, which they performed with great gallantry, though they were vigorously opposed. Three times they renewed the charge, and at last gained the pass; with which the *Mexicans* were so much disheartened, that they began every where to give way, their commanders ordering a retreat, that they might have an opportunity of rallying. They drew up a second time under the walls of the town, and were again attacked so impetuously by the confederates, whose van consisted of *Spaniards*, that they were driven for shelter into the city, losing great numbers of men as they crowded in at the gates. *Cortez* pursued, and ordered the works they had erected for the defence of the streets to be forced. Here the general, transported by his courage, engaged himself so deeply with the enemy, that, after he was tired fighting, his horse killed under him, and all his endeavours to regain his troops were foiled, he was made prisoner by the enemy, and rescued by the extraordinary valour of a *Spanish* soldier, *Christoval de Olla*, who at a distance beheld the accident. *Herrera*, without any proofs, d ascribes the general's delivery to a *Tlascalan*, who was neither known before nor after, and works it up into a kind of miracle; but we had rather credit *de Solis*, who transcribes from *Diaz del Castillo*, an eye-witness of the engagement. All agree that the danger was imminent, that *Cortez* lost his horse, and received two slight wounds, and that *Olla*, his deliverer, came off with three cuts of a sword, of which he wore the scars all his life after. When he rejoined his forces, he pushed the enemy with so much vigour, that they fled to that part of the city which stood in the water, leaving the *Spaniards* masters of all the streets upon the firm land.

MEAN-WHILE, that part of the army left without the walls, under the conduct of *de Olid*, *Alvarado*, and *Tapia*, was deeply engaged with a body of *Mexican* nobility, who endeavoured to force themselves into the city. They were supported by two thousand select men sent from *Mexico* in canoes, who landed at some distance, and intended to fall upon the rear of the confederates. Astonished to find an army without the walls, where they expected no resistance, they determined, however, to cut their way through: they fought with great fury, but were in the end obliged to retreat to their canoes, leaving a great number of dead on the field. The three *Spanish* captains, and a great number of *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* soldiers, were wounded, but few were slain on the side of the confederates. *Cortez*, being now master of the principal streets, took possession of a temple, which, from its height, commanded a view of the whole city and lake. Here he placed a garrison, with orders to keep continual watch, and observe the motions of the enemy; a precaution that soon appeared necessary. At the close of the evening two thousand canoes were seen advancing with all the speed they could make. The guards were immediately doubled, and every measure was taken to give the *Mexicans* a warm reception. They landed in the morning at a considerable distance. *Cortez* advanced against them with the bulk of the confederate army; and the enemy, who were fifteen thousand men strong, did not decline the combat; but the resistance they made was so faint, and their flight so sudden, that the advantage gained by *Cortez* scarce merited the name of a victory. Four days after this the confederates continued in *Sackimillo* for the recovery of their wounded; half the forces always continuing under arms, upon account of the facility with which they might be attacked on the side of *Mexico*. Having now made sufficient observations, and the wounded being in a condition to travel, he began his retreat for *Tezcuco*, and completed it

^a it without much difficulty, though the enemy did not fail to throw obstructions in his way.

By the time the expedition to *Sackinillo* was finished, the brigantines were in readiness, and the canals to the lake sufficiently widened to receive vessels of much greater bulk. Every preparation for the siege went on with alacrity; and the caziques, in the confederacy, were required to attend, with all their forces, on a day appointed, at the head-quarters. While his whole thoughts were occupied with this important enterprize, an accident happened that gave much trouble, and required the exertion of all his conduct and valour. A soldier, who had been long in his service, came to him, full of concern, and desiring to speak with him in private, revealed the whole secret of a conspiracy formed to

A conspiracy discovered.

^b take away the general's life, and also to murder, or confine, the principal *Spanish* captains. In this plot the *Indians* had no share; it was first projected by *Antonio de Villafarra*, a *Spanish* soldier, whose intention was originally no more than to escape from an enterprize, the difficulties of which appeared to him insuperable. He soon communicated his sentiments to his companions, who readily embraced them, formed themselves into a faction, and immediately proceeded to dangerous resolutions. They blamed the general for his obstinate pursuit of a conquest that must terminate in his destruction; declaring, they would not sacrifice their lives in complaisance to a man who was intoxicated with ambition. Hitherto their design was only to withdraw themselves from the army; but the impossibility of procuring ships at *Vera Cruz*, to transport them to *Cuba*, without a passport from the

^c general, occurring, they resolved to conquer this difficulty by shedding his blood. Afterwards they extended their plan, and thought it necessary to kill the chief captains, and then to elect a general, who would be less sanguine upon the ideal conquest of *Mexico*. An instrument was drawn up, whereby they obliged themselves to stand by each other, and follow *Villafarra* in this execrable undertaking. They drew great numbers of the soldiers to sign the writing; and had not the discovery been seasonably made, the contagion would have spread beyond the power of any remedy. The persons marked out for destruction were the general, *De Olid*, *Sandoval*, *Alvarado*, *Tapia*, the historian *Castillo*, and a few others. They were to forge a packet from *Vera Cruz*, which was to be given to the general while he was at dinner with his officers, all the conspirators going in together, under pretence of hearing the news; they were then to stab the destined victims with their poignards, and to proclaim liberty in the streets, which they imagined would be sufficient to engage the rest of the army in their cause. *Francisco Verdugo* was thought to be the person pitched upon to succeed *Cortez* in the command; but as they knew him to be strongly attached to the general, and punctilious in points of honour, they would not acquaint him with their design, before it was fully executed. This was the relation of the soldier, who was drawn in to sign the instrument, had been present at some of the meetings of the conspirators, and now demanded his life and pardon as the reward of his fidelity. *Cortez*, attended by the two alcades, went immediately to seize *Villafarra*, whom he found in his quarters, in deep consultation with three or four of his accomplices. His

^e fears sufficiently proved his guilt. *Cortez* ordered him to be put in irons, and his accomplices to be confined in another apartment. Then he examined him in private, and extorted the instrument from him, together with a full discovery of the ultimate intention of the conspiracy. The seizing of the paper left no room for doubt. *Villafarra* was condemned the same night, and next morning he was seen hanging over the window of his own quarters. It was matter of grief and astonishment to the general, to see so long a list of soldiers who were engaged in this plot; but this was not a time to satisfy justice, at the expence of so many lives, which were invaluable in the present conjuncture. He could not punish such a number of *Spaniards* without relinquishing his designs upon

^f *Mexico*; a stratagem therefore was contrived to satisfy justice, and to avoid punishing the guilty, without seeming to connive at the crime, or to be afraid of executing his authority. It was reported that *Villafarra* had swallowed the paper containing the engagement and names of the conspirators; *Cortez* assembled his army, related the horrid design and execution of *Villafarra*, and declared that he thought himself extremely happy in not knowing whether he had any accomplices; adding, that he only desired to be informed of any complaints which his soldiers might have against his proceedings, since he was as ready to satisfy them, and correct his faults, as he was able to execute the dictates of rigorous justice, where the lenity of his punishments made them lose their influence. This declaration,

^g filled with several kind expressions and soothing professions, gave universal satisfaction; the conspirators rejoicing that they had not been discovered, and endeavouring to efface all suspicion of their crime, by their future conduct. The soldiers, who had been taken into custody with *Villafarra*, were released, under pretence that no evidence appeared against them;

them; and thus *Cortez*, by his spirited and sensible measures, suppressed a dangerous faction, and reconciled the minds of his soldiers, only by sacrificing the first projector and chief instrument of the conspiracy. He likewise made use of this opportunity to strengthen his authority, by appointing a body-guard of twelve faithful soldiers, commanded by an officer; a step which might, at any other time, have given umbrage, though it was now regarded as necessary.

SCARCE was this dangerous faction suppressed, when another accident fell out, that reduced *Cortez* to great perplexity. *Xicotencal*, general of the *Tlascalan* forces, either upon some fresh disgust, or that he had not yet laid aside his ancient animosity, withdrew privately from the army, with a body of men, whom he had engaged in his interest. The general was informed of his retreat by the *Tlascalans* themselves, few of whom approved of his conduct. This behaviour of a commander, so considerable among the *Indians*, was of the most dangerous consequence, at a juncture when *Cortez* was entering upon an enterprize that required the utmost unanimity. He was in great difficulties how to proceed, and first resolved to send some of the principal *Tlascalan* nobility to endeavour to persuade him to return. This expedient proved fruitless. *Xicotencal* not only refused listening to their admonition, but he dismissed them with a contemptuous answer; which so enraged *Cortez*, than he immediately sent a party to take him prisoner, and to kill him if he resisted. The latter was put in execution. *Xicotencal* fought obstinately, and was slain, his companions making but a feeble resistance. *Herrera* alledges, that he was brought back prisoner to *Tezeuco*, and publicly hanged, by virtue of a power from the republic of *Tlascala*, to try, condemn, and execute him, if found guilty. We have followed the relation of *de Solis*, as the most probable; it being unlikely that *Cortez* would venture to execute an *Indian* of so high quality among such a number of his countrymen, who could not but resent the indignity of so shameful a punishment.

Siege of Mexico,
May 22.

THESE impediments being happily removed, *Cortez* ordered the brigantines to be launched, and then reviewed his *Spanish* army, which consisted of eight hundred and seventy-six foot, of whom near two hundred were musketeers and cross bows, eighty-six horse, together with eighteen pieces of cannon, the three largest of iron, and the rest small field-pieces of brass. He had now likewise sufficient store of powder and ammunition, and every thing else which he judged necessary to the success of the enterprize. He laboured diligently to get all things in readiness. On board each of the thirteen vessels he put twenty-five *Spaniards*, and twelve *Indian* rowers, with one piece of cannon. Then he resolved to possess himself of the causeways of *Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Cayoacan*; for which purpose he divided his army into three bodies, each under the conduct of *Alvarado*, *de Olid*, and *Sandoval*, assisted by proper officers. It is reported, that the *Indians*, who assisted the *Spaniards* in those three attacks, amounted to an hundred thousand men; although *Castillo* reduces the number to twenty-four thousand, without at all accounting for the great number who rendezvoused at the head quarters when the brigantines were launched. The attack on *Tacuba* was intrusted to *Alvarado*, with the title of commander in chief in that district. *Sandoval* had charge of the expedition against *Iztapalapa*, with a similar title; and the attack against *Cayoacan* was headed by *de Olid*, who had honours conferred on him equal to those of the two other commanders. As for *Cortez* himself, he took charge of the fleet, determined to make himself master of the lake, and to assist at that quarter which should appear to be the hardest pressed.

ALVARADO and *de Olid* marched in company to *Tacuba*, which city they found deserted by the inhabitants; the greater number of whom were gone to defend *Mexico*, and the rest retired to the mountains, where they were forming a considerable army, to protect the aqueducts which came from the mountains of *Chapulteque*. As the city was entirely supplied with fresh water by these and other conveyances, the emperor had destined an army for the defence of each aqueduct, as soon as he was informed that *Cortez* was resolved upon the siege. The two *Spanish* captains led their troops against the enemy, defeated them after a warm engagement, and then destroyed all the pipes, suffering the fresh water to take its free course, and discharge itself in the lake. This was the first step to the siege of the capital, and it was important; because the conveyances of water being cut off, the *Mexicans* were forced to seek it at a distance in the brooks that ran from the mountains, which put them to great inconvenience, and employed a number of hands, that might otherwise assist in the defence of the city. When this business was finished, *Olid* marched with his detachment, and took post at *Cayoacan*, as he had been directed by the general. His attempt on the causeway would have been attended with difficulty, had he not been assisted by *Cortez*, who had, by this time, measured his strength with a vast fleet of *Mexican* canoes. The general was preparing to assist at the several attacks, when a

fleet

- a fleet of five hundred canoes, filled with the principal nobility, was discovered, advancing towards him, from *Mexico*, followed by another fleet, so numerous, that the whole might amount to above four thousand vessels of different sizes. *Cortez* did not think it advisable to leave this formidable power behind, nor to decline a combat that was expected by the whole city of *Mexico*, as appeared by the crowds of people which filled the windows and balconies. His officers concurring with his opinion, he drew up his squadron in form of a crescent, that he might extend his front, and engage with freedom; and then advanced slowly towards the enemy, that his rowers might break in with greater force upon the canoe fleet, when they were within a proper distance. It was perfectly calm at this time, so that his whole dependence in sinking the enemy was upon the vigour of his rowers; but a breeze springing a-stern, *Cortez* hoisted sail, and bore down with such irresistible force, that the ships overturned every thing in their course; while the artillery, fire-arms, and cross-bows, played with great fury, and extraordinary success. The nobles of *Mexico*, who led the van, made some resistance; but the rest was all disorder and confusion, the canoes running foul, and shattering each other, to avoid being run down by the brigantines, or sunk by the artillery. In a word, the *Mexicans* suffered a complete defeat, some hundreds of canoes were destroyed, and several thousands of their people slain by the arms, or drowned by the vessels of the *Spaniards*, who now gained the reputation of being invincible on the watery element, and rode triumphant on the lake, insulting the city of *Mexico* with impunity.
- c AFTER this victory, *Cortez* resolved to proceed to *Iztapalapa*, to assist *Sandoval*; but a fleet of canoes having been discovered, making all possible dispatch to *Coyoacan*, he thought *de Olid* might stand in more immediate need of succour. In vain he exerted his utmost endeavours to come up with the canoes, as a calm obliged him to trust wholly to his oars; however, he arrived very seasonably to give *de Olid* relief. That officer was engaged on the causeway, and was obliged to make a front to the enemy that defended it, and to the canoes, who attacked him on each side. He was on the point of retreating, and yielding up the ground he had gained, when the *Spanish* squadron arrived. The *Mexicans* had drawn up the bridges, towards the city, over those chasms by which the waters of the higher lake discharged themselves into the lower. Behind the bridges they had fixed planks, in such a manner, that they could annoy the *Spaniards* over the tops; and, in case they should be forced to retreat, they had raised farther obstructions, by trenches filled with water, which they dug behind, over which were laid loose planks, that could easily be removed after they had retired. In this manner were the three causeways fortified, and such were the difficulties *Olid* was endeavouring to surmount. He had already made himself master of the first trench, from which he drove the enemy by his fire-arms; then filled it up with fascines, over which the troops marched to attack the second trench. The *Mexican* canoes now obliged him to act defensively; but they were soon put in confusion by the brigantines, who likewise played their artillery so briskly upon those who defended the trenches, that they fled in disorder to the last rampart between them and the city. Night now came on, and prevented the confederates from pursuing their advantage, by falling upon the *Mexicans*, who defended the last bridge, before they had time to recover from their panic. However, they maintained the ground which they had purchased so dearly, and next morning advanced to the attack. They found the bridge fortified with such variety of strong works, and defended by such a multitude, that the enterprize seemed hazardous, if not impracticable. Yet the greatest difficulties appeared after they were engaged, and where a retreat would be disgraceful. The artillery from the ditch, and destroying the fortifications on the causeway. When he had completed this business, he began his attack, and was seconded by *Cortez*, who landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and infused such spirit into the troops, that they drove the enemy before them into the city, gained the principal street, and forced a strong temple filled with troops, without a single repulse. Immediately that whole quarter of the city was deserted by the enemy, and *Cortez* had thoughts of maintaining the ground he gained, and removing his headquarters thither from *Tezeuco*, when he dropped his project by the advice of his officers, who represented the danger to which his troops would be exposed, from the perpetual attacks of the *Mexicans*, and the difficulty of bringing provision. It was the general sense of the council of war, that they ought to make their advances equally at each of the attacks, in order to divide the enemies forces, until all had carried their approaches into the city, and drawn so near, that they could be mutually assisting to each other. *Cortez* felt the conviction of the arguments used by the officers, and immediately relinquished his own design.

AFTER the troops were refreshed, by resting a whole evening in the post they had gained in the principal street of *Mexico*, *Cortez* proceeded in the morning to *Iztapalapa*, where he found *Sandoval* reduced to great extremity. He was pinched within narrow quarters, and in a manner besieged by the *Mexican* canoes, although he had defeated repeated reinforcements sent from the city. In this situation he was when *Cortez* arrived, and played the artillery of his brigantines so successfully upon the canoes which beset *Sandoval*, that they retired in the utmost confusion into the canals leading through the city into the lake, and were overturned by the pressing in of people from the banks. There was scarce any attempt made to resist the *Spanish* squadron; yet the numbers that were drowned greatly diminished the *Mexican* forces.

CORTEZ now perceived, that it would be impossible to use the causeway to advantage, until he had destroyed that part of the city *Iztapalapa*, which afforded a retreat for the *Mexican* canoes. This would occasion such delay as might prove fatal to the other attacks; he therefore determined to evacuate this post entirely, and send the body of forces under *Sandoval*, to seize upon *Tapeaquilla*, where there was a causeway, less commodious for attacking, but more advantageous to the design he now had of starving the *Mexicans* into submission. *Sandoval* marched, as he was ordered; and, on his arrival at *Tapeaquilla*, found the place evacuated. *Cortez*, who had escorted him with the brigantines, set sail for *Tacuba*, where he found *Alvarado* in possession of the city, but skirmishing continually with the enemy, that his loss of men more than overbalanced the advantage of the post. It was this which made *Cortez* issue orders, that all attacks should cease, and apply himself to assembling a fleet of canoes sufficient to obstruct all convoys to the city. When he had collected the number he thought necessary, he manned them with *Indians*, and distributed this reinforcement among the brigantines, which he now divided into three squadrons. From this time an entire stop was put to the insults of the *Mexicans*; and the besieged found themselves greatly straitened for water and provision. To remove these obstructions the *Mexicans* employed all their address and ingenuity; and, indeed, the variety of contrivances upon which they fell, sufficiently evince, that the *Spaniards* had to do with a subtle enemy, fruitful in stratagem and invention. Perceiving that all their endeavours to fortify the causeways were abortive, they sent by secret and different passages several canoes of pioneers, to clear the ditches which the *Spaniards* had filled up, that they might fall upon them with their whole force, when they should be obliged to retire. This stratagem not succeeding to their expectation, they made perpetual sallies in the night, and kept the confederates in continual alarm, with intention to attack them with all their strength when they were spent with fatigue. But the scheme which most discovered their ingenuity, was that formed against the brigantines, whose superior force they aimed to destroy by separating them, and engaging them single. They built thirty of their large canoes, which the natives called *piraguas*, of a larger size, and strengthened them with great planks, to receive the shot, and engage under shelter. With this fleet they sallied out in the night, and took their station behind the reeds in the lake, which grew so high and thick, that they formed several groves impenetrable to the sight. To draw the brigantines into the ambuscade, they had provided some canoes, laden with provision, as a bait, and had also fixed stakes in the water, so that the points were covered, in hopes either to founder the brigantines, or entangle them in such a manner, that they might be engaged to advantage. Two of the brigantines being soon after observed cruising near this station, the *Mexicans* put out their canoes, in order that the *Spaniards* might give chase. The stratagem succeeded. The *Spaniards*, who had no suspicion, pursued the flying canoes with all the force of their oars, fell in amongst the hidden stakes, and were so embarrassed, that they could neither retreat nor advance, when they saw the *piraguas* coming with desperate fury to fall upon them. A sharp engagement now began; the *Spaniards* plied their muskets and artillery with all possible diligence, while the chief endeavour of the *Mexicans* was to board them, in which they were always foiled. However, all the valour of the *Spanish* mariners must have sunk under the weight of numbers, had not the shock of the cannon somewhat disengaged their vessels, which were afterwards quite cleared off by the endeavours of some expert swimmers; who, by dint of strength, and the assistance of hatchets, removed the stakes. Being now at full liberty, they made dreadful destruction among the enemy, sunk and destroyed most of the *piraguas*, and pursued the rest as far as their own security would admit. The victory was compleat, but it was dearly purchased, at the expence of the lives of *Barba* and *Pertillo*, whose valour contributed chiefly to the success.

It was not long before *Cortez* had an opportunity of revenging the death of those brave officers. Having received notice that the enemy had repaired their vessels, and stationed them

Stratagem of
the Mexicans.

a them behind the reeds, in order to draw the *Spaniards* to an engagement, under the same disadvantages as before, he resolved to countermine their plot. Six brigantines were concealed among some reeds, not far from where the piraguas lay. One of those was ordered to cruize about, as if in search of canoes with provision, and afterwards to draw as near the concealed piraguas as was necessary to let them see they were discovered; and when they gave chase, she was to make all the dispatch possible to the place of the counter ambuscade. Every thing succeeded to their most sanguine expectations. The *Mexicans* gave chase to the brigantine as to a sure prize, and were suddenly saluted with the artillery of the rest of the squadron. Their attempt to retreat was now in vain; the *Spaniards* poured in their shot with so much fury, that not a single piragua escaped being
b sunk or taken.

THOSE successes, though no ways decisive, served to animate the confederates, and dishearten the enemy; who, according to the advices received from the city, were now reduced to great want of provision. It was also reported, that the necessities of the common people had rendered them clamorous, which *Cortez* thought a fit opportunity for renewing his pacific overtures; for though he had the utmost reason to believe he should succeed in the reduction of *Mexico*, yet, he was sensible, it must cost blood, and it be-
fides grieved him to destroy so beautiful a city; without which, he found, he should hardly be able to gain possession. Some noble *Mexican* prisoners were sent with the proposals, which were received, with more temper than was expected, by the emperor. It was afterwards affirmed by the prisoners, that he called a council of his principal officers and ministers, and laid before them the wretched condition of the city, the prodigious diminution of the number of inhabitants, the murmurs of the people on their being reduced to scanty allowance of provision, the destruction of so many houses and temples; in a word, all the consequences of the war were recited; after which, he asked their opinion touching the proposals made by the *Spaniards*, and expressed his own inclination for peace, as far as was consistent with the character of a prince of martial genius and invincible courage. It was the universal sense of the members of this council, that the overtures for peace ought to be admitted; but when the proposition was referred to the priests, they opposed it with the utmost violence, foreseeing the overthrow of their temples, and of consequence the ruin of their influence over the minds of the people. They pretended to have received certain answers from their idols, which gave them fresh assurances of victory; which so animated the council, that all, except the emperor, changed their sentiments, and declared for the continuance of the war. *Guatimozin*, or *Quautimoc*, as *Herrera* calls this emperor, then declared, that although his own sentiments were pacific, he would nevertheless give up his opinion to the clergy and council; withal prohibiting any one from ever again presuming to mention peace, from whatever consideration, on pain of capital punishment. By this declaration he thought to animate the *Mexicans* to desperate efforts, and by that means bring the war to a happy conclusion, since he could not effect this by the way of negotiation.

c WHEN the emperor's resolution was brought to *Cortez*, he determined to resume his attacks by the three causeways, and to carry fire and sword into the very heart of the city; sending orders to his officers to begin their operations at *Tacuba* and *Tapesquilla*, while he charged himself with the necessary approaches by the way of *Cayoacan*, assisted by *Christopher de Olid*. During the cessation of operations by land ordered by *Cortez*, the *Mexicans* had cleared the breaches in the causeways, and erected some works, which were now soon destroyed by the artillery of the shipping. They had, however, dug one ditch of such depth and breadth, that it cost the confederates a great deal of trouble. The *Mexicans* had broke down about sixty feet of the causeway, to enlarge the ditch, which they filled with the waters of several canals. The opposite bank was covered with fortifications. There a strong work was raised of timbers, covered with planks, with several rows of loop holes, through a trap, to ply their darts and arrows under cover. This work was garrisoned with a multitude of select troops; but it soon gave way to the artillery. The only difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear; for whenever that was effected, every shot broke the fortification to pieces. No sooner had the *Spaniards* gained this breach and strong post, than more obstructions appeared; but with such fury did they ply the artillery, that the *Mexicans* were driven from all their trenches, and a sudden faintness, seemingly the effect of some new order, appeared in their operations. It was then supposed that the *Mexicans* were commanded by the emperor to prepare their whole strength to attack the enemy in their retreat. *Cortez* suspected his intentions; but he had then scarce time to return to his quarters before night, and yet found it impossible to maintain the posts he had gained without the most imminent danger. After setting fire to several
houses,

Cortez is
defeated.

houses, to prevent their obstructing his next assault, he began to retire, and was soon ^a alarmed with the shouts of an infinite multitude, and the sound of the *sacred trumpet*, which being permitted only to the priests, intimated that something extraordinary was transacting. The noise was dismal and unharmonious; but adapted to inspire those barbarians with a kind of savage rage, that made them despise life, through motives of religion. Their van was composed of select warriors, who fell upon the rear of the confederates with inexpressible fury, and were received with proportionable courage by the fire-arms and cross-bows, with *Cortez* at the head of the cavalry. The great ditch now stopt the retreat, and *Cortez* exerted his utmost endeavours to give a check to the enemy, until bridges could be laid over, on which the troops might pass in safety; but he found it impossible to preserve order among the confederate *Indians*, who precipitated themselves ^b into the canal, in the greatest confusion, leaving the general and the *Spaniards* to maintain the engagement against the whole force of *Mexico*. The slaughter he made was terrible; but the enemy pressed on undaunted, took forty *Spaniards* alive, wounded the greater number, and must have inevitably destroyed the whole, had not the brigantines come seasonably to their relief, and carried off *Cortez* wounded, disappointed, defeated, and chagrined. It is affirmed, that some thousands of *Tlascalans* perished in this retreat, that a piece of cannon fell into the enemies hands, and that the *Mexicans* celebrated the victory the same night, with great rejoicings, and the sacrifice of the *Spanish* prisoners, the blood of whose leaping hearts was sprinkled upon the altars of their horrible idols.

WHILE the attack on the side of *Cayoacan* terminated in this unfortunate manner, the operations of a similar nature, carried on by *Sandoval* and *Alvarado*, by the causeways of *Tacuba* and *Tapeaquilla*, were not more prosperous, although the loss was not so considerable. They gained bridges, filled up ditches, drove the enemy from their posts, but were so vigorously attacked in their retreat, that twenty *Spaniards* were killed or taken, some thousands of *Indians* slain or drowned, and the two corps absolutely defeated. This circumstance extremely dispirited the troops, especially as the *Mexicans* in this instance appeared to be victorious, without the concurrence of any accident in their favour; whereas *Cortez* sustained his defeat in consequence of *Julian de Aldarate* the treasurer's neglect of orders. As soon as the great ditch was carried, the general had given him ^d directions immediately to fill it up to secure a retreat; but *Aldarate's* ardor and sanguine expectations, that *Mexico* would certainly be carried at this assault, looked upon the employment destined him as neither necessary nor honourable, at a time when the rest of the army was engaged. He, therefore, advanced to the battle, and his neglect was not discovered before the retreat, when it was too late to repair his error. Sensible of his fault, he now hastened to the general, and offered his head as an atonement for his crime; but *Cortez* satisfied himself with a severe reprimand, not chusing to dishearten the troops, or deprive himself of a good officer, upon account of an oversight arising from excess of courage.

Artifice of
Guatimozin.

THE *Mexicans* were highly elated with their advantage, and *Guatimozin* used every arti- ^e fice to improve it, by weakening the enemy, and inspiring his own people with confidence. He spread a report that *Cortez* was killed in the late action, he sent the heads of the sacrificed *Spaniards* to all the neighbouring towns, that these proofs of his victory might bring back those who had deserted him; and he asserted with the assurance of self-conviction, that the gods being now appeased with the blood of their enemies, had informed him they would put a speedy issue to the war, and in the space of eight days destroy all who neglected these warnings. At the same time he employed a number of emissaries in the *Indian* camp, which spread these menaces of the gods among the confederates, by which contrivance he succeeded so happily in his designs, that in the space of three ^f nights *Cortez* found himself almost entirely deserted, scarce any remaining besides the officers and nobility. Even the *Tlascalans* were terrified with the dreadful denunciation of the gods, and disbanded, in order to avoid the consequence of their wrath. At first *Cortez* was alarmed by so extraordinary an accident, and despaired of the success of his enterprise; but when he was made acquainted with the occasion, he sent their commanders after them to temporize with their fears until the time of the prediction should be expired, and the *Indians* thoroughly convinced of the fallibility of the oracle; a contrivance which produced the effect. When the eight days were expired, this ignorant people yielded to persuasion, laid aside their fears, and returned with fresh vigour and resolution to their quarters; by ^g which means the army was greatly augmented, the spirits of the people took a sudden turn, and they flocked in such crowds to the camp, that *Cortez*, in a few days, found himself at the head of two hundred thousand fighting men.

The Indians
desert from
Cortez.

HOWEVER,

- a** HOWEVER, the *Mexicans* reaped some advantage from their stratagem. They reduced the *Spaniards* to the necessity of suspending all hostilities, during which time they made frequent sallies, which extremely harraßed the enemy, but without being able to regain the posts of which *Cortez* had taken possession. Hence the famine was daily gaining ground, and *Cortez* was informed by the prisoners he had lately taken, that the army was dissatisfied, and the people reduced to extreme necessity for want of bread and water. They were forced to drink the brackish water drawn from pits, which produced a variety of diseases, of which great numbers died. The inconsiderable supplies of provisions brought by the canoes were equally distributed among the nobles, which became an additional subject of discontent. In a word, they reported that the vulgar, in general, became so clamorous, as to give suspicion of their fidelity. Such intelligence was of the utmost importance, and that it might not be lost, *Cortez* assembled his officers to deliberate upon the measures necessary to be pursued in the present situation of affairs. In this council it was unanimously resolved to continue their attacks, and push both the siege and blockade. For this purpose strong garrisons were to be left at the head-quarters and posts, while the rest of the forces made an assault by the three causeways, endeavouring to unite in the great square of *Mexico*, where it was proposed to establish a footing, and thereby prevent the necessity of always retreating to quarters. Water, provision, and whatever was necessary for the subsistence of his troops, where a scarcity prevailed, being in readiness, the army marched out of quarters in three divisions, under the same officers who led the former attacks, repaired to their respective posts on the causeways as before, and were each supported by a number of canoes and brigantines. They now had to dispute all the breaches again, as the enemy had drawn up the bridges, and erected new fortifications. The brigantines plied their cannon, and the soldiers kept up so furious a discharge of fire arms and cross-bows, that all these impediments were soon removed, the three divisions arriving about the same time in the city. Here they easily gained several ruined streets, as they were but faintly defended by the enemy, who relied chiefly upon those streets where the tops of the houses were strongly garrisoned, or rather crowded with soldiers. It was wonderful to observe how the three several corps of the confederate forces observed the same regulations, as if they had been animated by one soul. Although they had as yet no communication, all contented themselves for that day, with having got a footing in the city, and used their endeavours to fortify quarters, in which they might rest with tolerable security for that night, fully determined next morning to proceed in their attempt to reach the great square of *Tlatelcuco*, which was the center of their several expectations, to which they tended by different lines.
- b** It was matter of surprize and disappointment to the *Mexicans*, that the confederates had made good their quarters in the city. They had directed all their measures to harraß them in their retreat, and those were now entirely broken and defeated. The rumour immediately spread through the city, and every mind was employed in contriving some new resource. The nobles flocked in consternation to the imperial palace, in order to prevail on *Guatimozin* to retire to a place of more security; but he positively declared that he would share in the fate of his people. Several expedients were proposed, and among others, that the confederates should be attacked early in the morning with all the power of *Mexico*, and, if possible, dislodged; a proposal that met with the emperor's approbation. Accordingly preparations were made, and, as soon as dawn appeared, the whole forces of *Mexico*, in three bodies, began their attacks upon the three different lodgments. This was a definitive effort, and every *Mexican* determined to succeed or to perish in the attempt; but they no sooner came within reach of the artillery planted in all the passes before the *Spanish* quarters, than their resolution vanished. The cannon made such dreadful slaughter in the van, that it fell back upon the center, and threw the whole army in confusion. Divers efforts were made to rally the troops; but the confederates kept up so incessant a fire of artillery and musquetry, that it was impossible for the *Mexicans* to advance near enough to employ their weapons. Thus were they completely defeated, without the loss of a single man on the side of the besiegers. Nevertheless, the confederates had still manifold difficulties to encounter. For the space of four days they were in continual action, disputing every inch of ground; and beating the *Mexicans* from the trenches dug, and the works erected in every street; at the same time they were under the necessity of fortifying fresh quarters for their defence in the evening. At last, after encountering a multiplicity of dangers, and conquering an infinity of difficulties, *Pedro Alvarado* arrived in the spacious square of *Tlatelcuco*, where he found the *Mexicans* drawn up in battalia; but he charged them with such vigour that they fell in confusion, abandoned the square, and retired to the adjoining streets. He had just possessed himself of a large temple in
- c**
- d**
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- g**
- Cortez again pushes the attack on Mexico.*
- Establishes a footing in the city.*
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the neighbourhood, on the top of which he had made a signal to his friends of his success, when *Cortez* and *de Olid* arrived with the division under their command, driving before them a multitude of *Mexicans*, who now were enclosed between the two corps of confederates, and so warmly attacked in front and rear, that few of them escaped. Not long after *Sandoval* brought up his division, and gave up the crowds of *Mexicans* he was driving before him to the fate of their countrymen, that of perishing by the swords of the enemy, by whom they were enclosed. The carnage was so great, that several companies of *Indians* were employed the whole evening in clearing the square of dead bodies; and the *Spaniards* were forced to keep the strictest watch to prevent their allies from running away with their wretched burdens, in order to feast deliciously on the human flesh, according to the detestable rites with which those savages celebrated their victories. Here *Cortez* took up his quarters for the night, after having used every precaution to defend himself against the sudden attacks of an enemy now driven to despair.

*Progress of the
siege.*

IN the morning the troops were drawn out to renew the attack, intended against the quarter of the city, into which the emperor and court had retired. All the streets in that district were seen full of armed men, behind whom were a great number of workmen diligently employed in erecting fortifications, against the last misfortune that hung over this almost ruined city. *Cortez* did not doubt but the *Mexicans* would dispute this last stake with obstinacy; it was therefore adviseable, he thought, to spare the effusion of blood, by renewing his overtures of peace, at a juncture when he imagined they would hardly be rejected. Accordingly he chose out four noble prisoners to carry a message to the emperor, and acquaint him, that the *Spanish* general was far from desiring the destruction of so fine a city, and would willingly avoid shedding the blood of a greater number of *Mexicans*, provided they would listen to equitable terms of accommodation. This produced a suspension of hostilities, the enemy expressing the utmost desire to forward a pacification. In the mean time *Cortez* employed himself in reconnoitring the ground, and viewing those fortifications the *Mexicans* were erecting, which, after all their labour, he found, must soon yield to his artillery. Nor did he meet with any opposition, the *Mexicans* signifying by their silence and stillness, that the negotiation was popular. The art with which they endeavoured to disguise their necessity was very remarkable. They took the utmost pains to persuade the *Spaniards*, that although they were no way averse to the peace in agitation, yet they were able and willing to prosecute the war. They sent out several soldiers of gigantic stature, to challenge any of the *Spaniards*, or *Tlascalans*, to single combat; and this practice they continued until they so far roused the indignation of *Mercado*, a youth of seventeen, who acted in the capacity of page to *Cortez*, that he flung himself into the canal, which separated him from the *Mexicans*, swam to the opposite bank, engaged the challenger, and thrust his sword into his breast, laid him dead on the ground, to the great joy of the *Spaniards*, and astonishment of the *Mexicans*, who beheld this exploit, in a youth, as a specimen of the general valour of the enemy.

AFTER a suspense of three days, during which all action ceased, an answer arrived from *Guatimozin*, expressing his desire to terminate differences in an amicable manner; which, however, proved only an artifice to gain time to pursue certain measures which had been projected in his council. It was afterwards known, that he had frequently assembled the nobility to deliberate upon the answer he should return. A majority voted for admitting the proposed treaty; and this opinion would have prevailed, had not the priests again interposed. They gave fresh assurances of victory from pretended oracles delivered to them by their idols; they excited a kind of fanatical fury in the breasts of the council, by calling this cause the cause of heaven, and they practised with the utmost address all those frauds by which the pious impostors of all nations are accustomed to delude the ignorant. Upon this, it was unanimously resolved to run every hazard in the prosecution of the war, and immediately to renew hostilities, as soon as the piraguas and canoes should be provided to favour the emperor's retreat, in case the enemy should prevail. In consequence of this determination, orders were issued to collect all the vessels in *Mexico*, to a bay of the lake that run in upon one side of the quarter of the city in which the court at present resided. *Cortez* had notice of the motions made to execute this order; and judging of the design, directed *Sandoval* to have a watchful eye with the brigantines upon the bay. Then he marched forward to the enemy's works; but the *Mexicans* had already received orders to stand on their defence, and they had declared the breach of the treaty by their hostile cries, before the *Spaniards* levelled a shot, or threw an arrow. *Cortez* began the attack, and the courage of the enemy forsook them, on perceiving the havock made among their wooden fortifications by the first discharge of the cannon. They had imagined

a gined these works were impregnable, and when they saw them shattered in pieces, they were seized with dread, and gave immediate notice of their situation to the emperor. It was now necessary to have recourse to artifice to gain time; *Guatimozin* accordingly sent word, that they should demand a parley, which was done by signs, and granted without hesitation, the general entertaining no doubts of their sincerity on account of their defenceless situation. *Cortez* gave them to understand by the interpreters, that whoever had any proposals to offer from *Guatimozin* might advance and deliver them in perfect security; upon which four nobles advanced to the brink of the trench, and acquainted the general, that the supreme majesty of *Guatimozin* had deputed them, his servants, to treat of an amicable accommodation, and to demand any proposals which the captain of the *Spaniards* had to offer, in order to report to his sublime highness the articles of capitulation. The reply made by the general was, that his only view was peace; and although he now had it in his power to give law to the refractory *Mexicans*, yet he was ready to renew the treaty which they had wantonly broken. To remove all difficulties, he said it was requisite that the emperor should either appear in person, or, at least, draw nearer with his council, the sooner to terminate such disputes as might arise in adjusting their differences. He assured the ambassadors, that he would willingly agree to every thing that was not injurious to the authority of his own master, the king of *Spain*; and he promised in the most solemn manner, that he would not only cause all hostilities to cease, but take particular care that his royal person should be in the utmost security, and treated with all the respect due to the exalted character of an emperor of *Mexico*. For the space of four days *Guatimozin* continued this feigned negotiation, until all the vessels were ready for his retreat; and *Cortez* was so persuaded of his sincerity, that he made some preparations for his reception. At length notice was brought of what was transacting on the lake; and *Cortez*, now sensible that he was the dupe of these barbarians, swore revenge. Orders had already been given to *Sandoval*, narrowly to watch the *Mexican* piraguas and canoes, and *Cortez* was purposing to give the assault early next morning. *Sandoval* acted in the most judicious manner. He kept out small canoes, hid among the reeds, to observe the enemy, and when he received advice, that great numbers of people were seen embarking in the canoes and piraguas, he advanced slowly with his fleet of brigantines, until he was near enough to play his artillery: on the first discharge of the cannon, all the enemy's canoes, and several brigantines, fell upon him with great fury, resolving to maintain the fight until the emperor had made his escape. The nobles had charged themselves with this business; and, indeed, they made desperate efforts in defence of their sovereign, attacking the brigantines with undaunted courage, notwithstanding the terrible havock made by the cannon. In the midst of this engagement *Sandoval* observed, that five or six piraguas were making the best of their way, with the utmost force of oars, from the bottom of the bay, and suspecting that the emperor might be on board, he dispatched captain *Garcia de Holguin*, with one of the brigantines, to take them with as little damage as possible. This officer executed his orders with punctuality, directing his attack against the foremost piragua, which seemed to command the others; and he had no sooner seized upon this vessel, than all the others lay upon their oars, calling out not to fire, for that the royal person of the emperor of *Mexico* was on board. To make themselves the better understood, the crew threw down their arms, and put on all the appearance of submission; upon which the *Spanish* captain, and some soldiers, leaped into the prize and secured her. The emperor immediately discovered himself by the dignity of his manner. He got up, and advanced with an air of intrepidity, offered himself the captain's prisoner, and only expressed his concern for the honour of his royal consort, who then accompanied him. He made a signal to the other piraguas, and they instantly lay upon their oars, ceased hostilities, and submitted. When the nobility, who were deeply engaged in their canoes with *Sandoval*, and had undertaken, at the expence of their own lives, to effect the liberty of their prince, were informed of the emperor's fate, they not only surrendered without further resistance, but besought the *Spaniards* they might be sent on board the same vessel, that they might die at the feet of their sovereign. The same happened on the shore. *Holguin* had detached a canoe to acquaint the general with his good fortune, the news spread through the confederate army, and seized the *Mexicans* as if by sympathy; they deserted their works, began dismal lamentations, and offered submission at the discretion of the conqueror. Two companies of *Spaniards* were sent to the banks of the lake to conduct the imperial prisoner to the army; and orders were issued that all hostilities should cease, and the army remain in the present situation until further directions. *Cortez* went out to meet the captive monarch, received him with the most profound reverence, and was astonished at the magnanimity which that prince shewed under the pressure

Negotiations of peace.

Guatimozin's policy.

The emperor taken prisoner, and Mexico reduced.

pressure of misfortune. When they arrived at the general's quarters, *Guatimozin* and the empress went first into the tent, intimating thereby, that they had no reluctance to their confinement. Both took their seats; but the emperor rose up of a sudden, and desired *Cortez* to take his seat, telling him at the same time by the interpreters, and putting his hand upon the general's sword, "Why do you hesitate to take away my life? Prisoners of any rank are only a trouble to the conqueror. Let me then, at once, have the satisfaction of dying by your hand, since I have not been so fortunate as to lose my life in the defence of my people."—Here his constancy failed him, and he dropped some involuntary tears, which drew the sympathetic drops from the eyes of *Cortez*; endeavouring to suppress those tender emotions, he replied to the emperor, "That he was not his prisoner, nor had his dignity fallen into so inglorious a condition; but that he was the prisoner of so great and powerful a monarch, that the whole universe could not produce a potentate equal to him in grandeur, dominion, or noble qualities. From him he might not only hope to regain his liberty, but likewise the throne of his ancestors, with the honourable addition of his friendship; and, until he could receive his sovereign's instructions, he should be respected by the *Spaniards*, and treated in such a manner, that he should not be able to distinguish their services from those of his own subject;" a promise to which he ought to have adhered more rigorously, as it was made voluntarily (A).

Aug. 13, 1521.

In this manner ended the conquest of the vast empire of *Mexico*, the whole depending upon the fortune of the sovereign, and the capital. Some provinces still held out, but we shall see how easily they were reduced. The siege lasted near three months; it cost *Cortez* the lives of near a hundred *Spaniards*, and an infinity of *Indians*. The loss of the *Mexicans* exceeded an hundred thousand men, at the most moderate computation; besides those who perished of disease and famine. Some thousands of nobility were among the slain; but the pestilence and famine chiefly afflicted the lower sort of people, who ate the most nauseous food in their necessity, and drank salt water. What greatly contributed to spread the contagion, was the intolerable stench produced from the heaps of corrupted carcases, all the slain having been heaped together in empty houses, that their funeral obsequies might be celebrated at more leisure. The women displayed all the noblest qualities of the mind during the whole course of the siege. They attended the sick, dressed the wounded, made slings, and other weapons, carried water from the most distant pits, and even fought occasionally with truly masculine valour. The city, according to *Herrera*, was given up to be plundered, and the booty was immense, although it was suspected that *Moteczuma's* treasures were concealed. *Cortez* expressed his acknowledgments to the Almighty for the signal success of his arms by a solemn thanksgiving, after which the troops were led back to *Coyoacan*, and the bulk of the confederates dismissed, with large presents and honourable rewards of their fidelity and important services. Many of the *Mexican* nobility were set at liberty, and *Cortez* exhorted the inhabitants to a perfect resignation and submission, which alone would secure them in all the privileges they enjoyed under the government of *Guatimozin*. With respect to *Moteczuma's* treasures, the most diligent search proved fruitless. It was well known that when *Cortez* resided in the court of that monarch, he was possessed of immense wealth, which might have possibly been now expended in supporting the war, and preserving the fidelity of the provinces and nobility. This was a consideration that never once occurred to the minds of the *Spaniards*, who regarded the riches of *Moteczuma* as altogether inexhaustible. Fully persuaded they would become their own property as soon as *Mexico* was reduced, they pushed the siege with redoubled vigour, and now were chagrined with disappointment, in proportion to their sanguine expectations. The soldiers cried out, that *Guatimozin* had concealed the treasures; and it was indeed affirmed by some of the *Mexican* nobles, that he had often declared his resolution of throwing all his wealth into the lake, whenever he found resistance would be fruitless, and *Mexico* must fall. Many, however, suspected, that this declaration was an artifice, and so impatient were the soldiers, that *Cortez* yielded to their

Search after the imperial treasure, and cruelty of the Spaniards.

(A) *Guatimozin* was a young prince of extraordinary qualities, high birth, great courage and ability in the art of war, although he was prevented by the policy of his court from leading his own armies in the attacks on the *Spanish* quarters, knowing that the fate of the city depended on his safety. He was tall, robust, well proportioned, handsome in his features, and so fair in his complexion, that he scarce resembled an *Indian*. In his

air he was noble and majestic, preserving even in his captivity such a dignity of carriage as commanded the respect of his conquerors. The empress was also young, but so graceful in her manner, and so lively in her mien, that she attracted admiration and reverence. She was niece to the great *Moteczuma*; and this circumstance more strongly recommended her to the *Spaniards* (1).

(1) *De Solis, lib. v. cap. 25.*

- a pressing instances, to bring the monarch and his prime favourite to a strict account. The latter was put to the torture, but confessed nothing, casting his eyes, as he was expiring upon the rack, upon his sovereign, with all the expression of inviolable tenderness and fidelity, which some construed into a presumption that he was possessed of the secret, but resolved to carry it with him to the grave. It was this suspicion that produced the resolution of trying the effects of torture upon the monarch himself; imagining, possibly, that his constancy might yield to the excruciating pangs of the rack: an action which reflects eternal disgrace upon *Cortez*, who had passed his word for the emperor's good usage. It was piteous to behold the effects which this unworthy punishment of her lord produced on the empress, which even mollified the hearts of the brutal soldiers, and drew forth
- b tears of compassion from the eyes of the general, who now ordered *Guatimozin* to be taken from the wheel, after he had endured, without shrinking, the extremity of pain. *Cortez* afterwards excused himself, for this breach of his engagements, and act of barbarity, by alledging, that he was accused of being privy to *Guatimozin's* concealment of the treasure, with intention to deprive the soldiers of their proportion; a suspicion which it was incumbent on him to remove. But the method which he took to clear himself was by no means approved. The soldiers, who had insisted upon his making strict inquiry for the treasure, now taxed him with perversity and cruelty; they were moved with the heroism with which the monarch supported his sufferings, and glad to shift off from themselves the odium of so detestable an action, though at the expence of the honour of their commander. In a word,
- c the glory of one of the noblest conquests related in the annals of mankind, was sullied by avarice and cruelty; and the reputation of *Cortez*, which would otherwise have been handed down to posterity with untainted lustre, was greatly obscured, by suffering an act equally mean, sordid, and perfidious.

It was now the general's endeavour to restore peace and tranquillity in the new conquest, knowing that the security of the *Spaniards* depended greatly upon the degree of ease and felicity which the inhabitants enjoyed under their government. His first measure was to establish a civil policy, by appointing alcades, regidors, and other magistrates, agreeable to the *Spanish* constitution. Next he determined to transmit an account of his successes to court, to exhort his majesty to continue and confirm the new magistrates in their

d respective employments, and to make grants of lands to those who had performed the most eminent services. *Alonso d' Avila* and *Antonio de Quimanes* were the persons selected to carry these dispatches, the king's fifth of the booty, the presents from the army, and the private remittances of *Cortez* to his father and other relations. Among the other presents sent to the king, to give him a proper idea of the importance of the new conquest, was an emerald of prodigious size, of a pyramidal form, pearls of immense value set in bracelets, rings, jewels, and other ornaments, wore by the *Indians*; a number of gold and silver cups of curious workmanship, considering the low condition of the arts in that barbarous country; figures of fishes, birds, and other animals, in solid gold; vizors of mosaic work, in fine stones; pictures of feathers; historical paintings on cotton; priests vestments; with an infinity of other particulars, valuable either for their curiosity or intrinsic

e worth. The new magistrates wrote a letter to his catholic majesty, extolling the gallantry and prudent conduct of their general, to whose measures they ascribed all their good fortune; and *Cortez* himself sent a minute relation of every particular, requesting that some person of ability and integrity might be sent to survey the wonders of the new conquest, and make a just report to his majesty; and that a sufficient number of the clergy might be ordered to *New Spain*, to take care of the interests of religion, and assist in the propagation of the gospel.

Cortez sends an account of his success to court.

- f Soon did the fame of the reduction of *Mexico* spread itself among the provinces, like the motion communicated to the waters of a stagnated lake, passing from the centre to the extremities in circles, that multiply as they advance. Every tongue spoke the praises of the *Spaniards*, and their admiration of the wonders they had wrought in the downfall of so vast an empire. The very terror of their name was sufficient to procure the submission of a great number of different caziques, of whom *Cortez* never heard before. A *Spanish* soldier had been seduced by the *Indians* into the territories of the sovereign of *Mechoacan*, where he was civilly used, and dismissed with such presents, as induced *Cortez* to send an embassy to that monarch, whose kingdom was reported to extend near three hundred leagues, in order to obtain some account of a country, which would make a valuable
- g accession to the *Mexican* empire. *Montano*, with three other *Spaniards*, and about twenty *Indians* of the first distinction, were appointed for this service. They set out on their journey, and in four days arrived at *Taximaroa*, a town on the frontiers of *Mechoacan*, by the cazique of which they were treated with great respect. On approaching the capital,

Several provinces submit to the Spaniards.

they were met by a numerous and splendid deputation from the sovereign lord of *Mechoacan*, who assured them of his friendship and protection, out of regard for their valiant exploits, their conquests over his enemies, and the great reputation in arms which they had so justly acquired; however, when he once had them in his power, he altered his tone, questioned them with great severity about their intentions, and delivered them over to his guards to be sacrificed to his gods. Influenced by the remonstrances and persuasion of one of his counsellors, he dropped his design, and sent them away to *Cortez*, with presents, attended by an embassy of some of the prime nobility of his court, a promise of subjection to the king of *Spain*, and an assurance that he would soon make his acknowledgments in person. The presents in gold were estimated at upwards of a hundred thousand pieces of eight, besides several valuable curiosities in feathers, stones, and pieces of elegantly wrought and figured cotton. These ambassadors returned with so favourable a report of their reception, the courtesy and magnanimity of *Cortez*, as well as the wonders beheld in the *Spanish* quarters, of thunder, and other extraordinary particulars, that the king was more than ever inflamed with curiosity; however, prudence restrained his eagerness, and determined him first to send his brother, to make sure of the good intentions of the *Spaniards*. At last he ventured in person upon the visit to *Coyoacan*, where *Cortez* at that time resided, and began his journey with a retinue scarce inferior in splendor to that of the emperor of *Mexico*. The ceremonies of the salutation were extraordinary and formal. The king never condescended to address himself to the interpreter, but first spoke to his general, who reported the words to a person of inferior quality, and he to some other in a subordinate capacity, until after passing thro' several hands, they at length reached the interpreter, who explained them to *Cortez*. The king made a long speech, in which he acknowledged his vassalage to the king of *Spain*; but no formal instruments were made out, as was usually practised upon similar occasions. He was treated with the most profound reverence; he made presents of great value, received some trinkets in return, and then departed with the highest sentiments of the generosity, genius, and valour of the strangers.

RELYING upon the king's protestations of eternal friendship and fidelity, *Cortez* detached *Christopher de Olid*, with forty horse and a hundred foot, to take possession of the kingdom of *Mechoacan*, in the name of his catholick majesty, and settle a colony at *Knitzitzilla*, and was very well received by the monarch, and for some time met with no opposition in founding the projected settlement, as he proceeded gradually in his endeavours to civilize the native barbarians. It was the general's intention to open a way to the *South Sea*, for which purpose *Olid* had instructions to penetrate into the provinces of *Colima*; in which divers *Spaniards*, who had been sent on the same design, were murdered, at the time when *Cortez* was driven out of the city of *Mexico*. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* was detached with two hundred foot, and thirty-five horse, to facilitate the scheme, by reducing all the nations lying towards the north-sea, in order to open an immediate communication. It was in this excursion, that *Sandoval* built the town of *Espiritu Santo*. Some disturbances in the provinces called *Misteca*, obliged *Cortez* to send *Alvarado*, with a party, to reduce the inhabitants to obey the *Spanish* government, which he effected by blockading an army of natives within a fortified inclosure of stone they had erected near *Ytzquintepcc*. Their fortification was said to have been a league in compass, and it required all the ability of the *Spanish* commander, assisted by a large body of confederate *Indians*, to prevent the enemy from introducing provisions. At last he obliged them to surrender for want of water, after being reduced to such extremity, that they were forced to quench their thirst with drinking their own urine. Upon the report of some *Spaniards*, who had been sent to the provinces of *Tipecoantepec*, and *Zacotecla*, on the *South Sea* coast, *Alvarado* was ordered to assist the cazique of *Tecoantepec* against another neighbouring cazique. This success was purchased by presents, and promises of acknowledging the sovereignty of the *Spanish* government. *Alvarado* quartered his troops in the capital of his enemy, whom he made prisoner by a stratagem, releasing him afterwards on his paying a high ransom. The country being rich in mines, *Alvarado* founded a colony at *Tatutepec*, which he called *Segura*, intended for the security of the province: it was soon after abandoned, in consequence of the private disputes of the inhabitants. Upon this the natives revolted; *Alvarado* again marched into the country, reduced them to obedience, and entirely subdued the provinces of *Sacoresco* and *Guimala*.

GREAT discoveries were now made in the most remote provinces of the *Mexican* empire. Five *Spaniards* travelled through the interior countries, between the ridge of moun-

* HERRERA, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. i.

a rains and the north-sea, passing *Xaltepeque*, along the foot of *Chiapa*, until they arrived at *Socomejco*, being about four hundred leagues. By this means great part of the *South Sea* coast was discovered. *Cortez* ordered ship-builders to go to *Zacotecla*, to set about equipping a fleet, which he destined for the *Molluco* islands; all the rigging, and other materials, being brought from *Vera Cruz*. *Christopher de Olid*, at that time with a party in *Mechoacan*, was ordered to assist in this business; and he set out with his *Spanish* corps and a body of *Indians*, had several engagements with the *Catimens*, sustained considerable loss, and was forced to abandon the enterprize, until he could be reinforced. *Sandoval* was sent to his assistance, and he was attacked by the *Catimens* before he could unite himself with the troops under *Olid*. The battle was obstinate and bloody, the *Indians* fought with uncommon fury and good order; but they were in the end compleatly defeated, and so weakened, that they submitted without further resistance. A colony was founded at *Colima*, and lands were divided among the *Spanish* soldiers.

OLID having erected a settlement in *Mechoacan*, proceeded towards the coast of the south, upon being reinforced by *Anárca de Tapia*. On his arrival at *Zacotecla*, he committed the charge of directing the shipping to his colleague, and returned to *Mexico*, to assist in the expedition which *Cortez* was meditating in person against *Garay*, who had now made another attempt to settle in *Panuco*. The general began his march with three hundred *Spanish* foot, eighty horse, forty thousand *Mexicans*, and several field pieces. In his way he engaged the inhabitants of *Ayotuxtellatlan*, who, confident of victory, fell upon him with a greatly superior force, and were defeated. Not dispirited with this stroke of adverse fortune, they retired behind their lakes and morasses, rejected all overtures of peace, and even destroyed the messengers sent with proposals by *Cortez*, which obliged him to march to *Chila*, where *Garay's* men had formerly been defeated, to assemble some boats in the night, cross the river with a hundred *Spanish* foot and forty horse, and endeavour to fall upon the enemy by surprise. His scheme, however, was frustrated. In the night he found the country totally abandoned; but no sooner had day-light appeared, than he was attacked with great impetuosity, by such a multitude of *Indians*, as reduced him to as dangerous a situation as he had ever experienced. He triumphed, however, in the issue, by dint of valour and good fortune. The confederate *Indians* observing, from the opposite side, that he was engaged with the enemy, crossed the river, fell upon the *Panucans* in flank and rear, and made a dreadful carnage before they would yield the victory. At last, being entirely broke, the *Panucans* retreated with great precipitation, suffering *Cortez* to quarter his troops that night in a neighbouring town, where he found the cloaths and arms of *Garay's* soldiers hung up in triumph, and the skins of their faces stuck up to adorn the walls. In proceeding to the capital, a body of the enemy lying in an ambush, was discovered by the horse, and vigorously attacked. The courage and discipline of the *Indians* never shone so conspicuous as upon this occasion. They kneeled, shot their arrows, fought resolutely, and though their lines were put in confusion, rallied with the greatest exactness of the military art, and at last retreated in good order to the opposite bank of a river, where they maintained their ground until night put an end to the engagement. Next day, however, they abandoned the country, suffered the *Spaniards* to range about unmolested, and at last to attack their capital in the night, which yielded after great slaughter was made of the inhabitants. In consequence, all the adjacent country submitted, and *Cortez* founded the colony named *San Estavan del Puerto*, in the neighbourhood of *Chila*. This great town and *Panuco* he wholly destroyed, in revenge for the obstinacy with which they had been defended; or, as *Herrera* alleges, because the inhabitants were *Anthropophagi*, sacrificed their prisoners, and fed deliciously upon human flesh (B).

San Estavan built.

From hence the general directed his course to *Tatuepec*, and other towns, which had rebelled, and destroyed all the country that continued faithful to the *Spaniards*. He vanquished the enemy, hanged the cazique of *Tatuepec*, and after reducing the whole territory to obedience, returned triumphant to *Mexico*, where he applied himself diligently to repair the city, greatly damaged during the late siege. We have already mentioned his having appointed magistrates, and formed a regular government and police, which he sent to be ratified by his catholic majesty. He now drew a plan of the city, divided the ground among the conquerors, allotted a particular quarter for the residence of the *Spaniards*; and marked out places for churches, markets, and other public structures. He

(B) This expedition put *Cortez* to great expences. Horses were now become so scarce, that two thousand pieces of eight were given for this animal. It was the same with iron, and a horse shoe was valued at fifty pieces of eight, and every iron nail deemed worth its weight in gold (1).

(1) Dec. iii. l. i. cap. iii.

surmounted

surmounted numberless difficulties in the execution of this project, suppressed a variety of conspiracies formed to obtain the emperor's release, or to murder the general. To gratify the *Mexicans*, he committed the superintendency of building one of the wards to *Xibwara*, who had been general of the imperial forces. To *Pidro Motezuma*, son to the emperor of that name, now baptized, he gave in charge the direction of another, allotting certain islands and streets to other persons of quality, to be disposed of at their pleasure. *Cortez* built a magnificent palace for himself, the work went on cheerfully, several thousand hands were continually employed, the idols were destroyed, arsenals were formed, and *Mexico* not only resumed its ancient lustre, but great addition of strength, beauty, and extent (C).

Attempts of
Garay defeated.

It was about this period, that the commission and imperial grants made to *Cortez* by *Charles V.* came to his hands; in consequence of which he redoubled his endeavours to bring the whole *Mexican* empire under the *Spanish* dominion. He was preparing to dispatch troops to the most distant provinces, when another attempt made on *Panuco*, by *Garay* in person, obliged him to send *Alvarado*, with a small party, to that country, hoping that the certainty of the royal grants to *Cortez* would deter him from pursuing a design expressly contrary to the emperor's meaning and intention. *Alvarado* met with *de Avalle*, one of *Garay's* officers, who was ravaging the country; he laid before him the intention of his arrival, and acquainted him with the extent of the commission lately received by *Cortez*; upon which they both agreed to prosecute the public service in peace and amity. *Garay* was not so fortunate as his officer. Having sent some of his people to sound the inhabitants of the new colony of *San Estavan del Puerto*, he was invited thither, set upon by the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in the interest of *Cortez*, and defeated, with the loss of forty of his men taken prisoners. Four of his ships were also lost upon the coast, and the rest were one by one put by their commanders into the hands of *Cortez*. His affairs being quite desperate, the finishing blow was struck by *Vallejo*, governor of *Estavan*, who arrested *Garay*, but released him afterwards at the intercession of *Ocampo*; upon which he went to *Mexico*, threw himself at the general's feet, was pardoned, and treated with the utmost kindness and humanity.

A. D. 1524.
The farther
actions, and
the death of
Cortez.

EVERY thing being settled on this side, *Cortez* bent his thoughts on finding a passage from *Honduras* to the *South Sea*, so little was the country known after the many expeditions made to it by the *Spaniards*. The command of this enterprise he conferred on *Christopher de Olid*; who had, upon many occasions, signalized his zeal and valour, and eminently distinguished his good sense and spirit. Five ships, well provided, and five hundred *Spaniards*, were assigned him, with which he had orders to repair first to the *Havannah*, where he was to purchase a great quantity of arms, provision, and other necessaries. He was to proceed afterwards to *Ibuera*, and there to found a colony. It was during his residence at the *Havannah* that he was persuaded, by the friends of *Velaquez*, to throw off all obedience to *Cortez*, and commit the first breach of that fidelity, which he had hitherto inviolably preserved upon the most trying occasions, and amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune. As to any private motives he could have, they were never known; but it is certain, that on his return to the continent, after building the town called *Triumpho de la Cruz*, in the neighbourhood of *Cavallos*, he openly avowed his intentions. Against him

(C) It merits observation, that while *Cortez* was thus employed in *Mexico*, there were many considerable discoveries made by *Gonzalez d'Avila*, in the large province of *Nicaragua*. Having built four vessels in the bay of *Panama*, *Gonzalez* set sail on the 21st of *January* 1522, and coasting about an hundred leagues westward, landed with a hundred men, and proceeded up the country to *Nicota*, where the cazique made him rich presents, and embraced christianity. From thence he proceeded to *Nicaragua*, the monarch of which province received him with equal civility, having been prejudiced in their favour by the loud report of the valour of the *Spaniards*, the sharpness of their swords, and the docility of certain warlike animals in their army, by which was meant their horses. This prince followed the example of the cazique of *Nicoya*, made presents to the amount of twenty-five thousand pieces of eight, and received baptism, together with nine thousand of his subjects; on condition, however, that they should be allowed to dance when they were drunk, as being a harmless recreation; to make war upon their enemies, and to wear their plumes, military trophies, and usual weapons. The cazique was very desirous of

knowing, whether the Christians had any knowledge of the flood that destroyed the world, and was equally astonished at their answering in the affirmative, as they were at his question. He whispered the interpreter in the ear, asking whether those knowing people came from heaven? and whether they were not wafted upon clouds? Prodigious presents in gold plates were made by the women that received baptism, that tender sex generally carrying superstition to the greatest pitch of extravagance. But the people did not long continue their reverence for the *Spaniards*. They were disgusted with their rapacity and avarice. The curiosity which they expressed to know where the mines of the precious metal lay, roused their jealousy that they entertained designs of subjecting the country, and establishing colonies. The natives assembled in their own defence; they attacked the *Spaniards*, who were carelessly dispersed in parties round the country, skirmished with some success, but could not prevent them from uniting, and retiring to their ships with the presents they had received, valued at twelve thousand five hundred and twenty-four pieces of eight in gold, besides pearls and other jewels.

Cortez,

- a Cortez sent *Francisco de la Casas*, who arrived at the new settlement at the time when *Olid* had fitted out two vessels at the new town *Saint Gil Buenavista*, one of the many settlements already planted in this country by the *Spaniards*. At first the parties cannonaded each other from their vessels, by which one of *Olid's* caravals was sunk. This obliged him to make overtures of submitting to *Cortez*, on condition that he should be allowed to keep his command. In the midst of the treaty a tempest arose, *Casas's* two ships were driven a-ground, forty of his soldiers drowned, and the rest, with their commander, forced to save their lives by swimming, and to throw themselves upon the mercy of *Olid*. He treated the prisoners with so much kindness, that most of the soldiers enlisted under his banner; and being thus reinforced, he made prisoners several out-parties belonging to
- b *Cortez*, and among others, one very considerable detachment, commanded by *Giles Gonzalez*. Neither gratitude nor honour could engage the affections of *Cortez's* soldiers who had enlisted with *Olid*; it is probable they were instigated by *Casas*. First they demanded their dismissal, which being put off under various pretexts, they broke out into murmuring, and at last formed a conspiracy, which proved fatal to the life of *Olid*. He was assassinated in a base manner, as the just punishment of his perfidy to *Cortez*, who had always treated him with the marks of the strongest friendship.

SOME writers ascribe the divisions among the *Spaniards* in *Mexico* to the policy of *Charles V.* who dreaded the ambition and popularity of *Cortez*. He imagined that his towering spirit, the elevation of his genius, and the veneration in which he was held by the *Mexicans*, might stimulate him to usurp an independent authority, over this vast empire, and throw off all obedience to the *Spanish* crown, at that time rather splendid than powerful, upon account of the discord that prevailed among the different members of the widely extended imperial dominions. *Herrera* insinuates the jealousy of the court, by observing, that *Charles* paid little regard to the complaints of his general against the mutinous spirit of his officers; "thinking it convenient that so great a government should be divided," there being now little danger that the *Mexicans* would attempt to throw off the *Spanish* yoke. *Cortez* was preparing to set out against the revolted *Olid*, of whose death he had yet received no intelligence, when a number of officers, appointed by the king, arrived in *Mexico*. *Alonso de Espada* was sent in quality of treasurer, one

d *Albernon* came in the character of comptroller, *Alernoz Chirinos* was inspector, and *Gonzalo de Talazar* took upon him the quality of factor and agent, employments which they began to exercise with all the petulance of office, making reformatations in the whole œconomy of *Cortez*, endeavouring by every means to retrench his authority, and grate his spirit. They exerted themselves to frustrate the expedition meditated against *Olid*; but *Cortez* pursued his measures with success, in despite of all opposition, set out with above a hundred horse, a hundred and fifty *Spanish* foot, and three thousand armed *Indians*, for *Ibueras*. He was no sooner gone, than the government, now lodged in the hands of the treasurer, and the other *Spanish* officers lately arrived, fell into anarchy and confusion. Every man was eager to engross more power than fell to his share; and these magistrates accorded in

e nothing but their enmity to *Cortez*, and a resolution to plunder his house, and make their own fortunes, upon a report that he perished in the attempt to reduce *Olid*. There was something unaccountably licentious in their behaviour. They sold off the general's goods, and those of his principal officers, as if themselves had been the nearest heirs, and they had been certain of his decease; they even arrested, tortured, and hanged the faithful *Frederic Paze*, the steward and kinsman of *Cortez*, because they supposed he had concealed the general's treasure. The treasurer carried his insolence and cruelty to such a pitch, that he ordered a *Spaniard's* wife to be publicly whipped, only because she expressed her suspicion, that the report concerning the general's death was ill-founded.

A. D. 1525.

- f In this manner was *Cortez* treated by his ungrateful countrymen at *Mexico*, while he was hazarding his life, and supporting incredible fatigue, in the service of the public. He passed through a wild, uncultivated, desert, marshy country, having, in the space of thirty-five leagues, crossed fifty rivers, over which he laid bridges with infinite labour, and subdued various nations, who had been seduced to revolt by the civil divisions among the *Spaniards*. After a victory obtained over the lord of *Patouchan*, he founded a little settlement in his dominions. For the space of several months he traversed barren countries, untrod by christian feet, suffered all the extremities of want, exhibited fresh and astonishing proofs of constancy and perseverance, built *La Natividad* on the bay of *St. Andrews*; and, after passing through the vast tract of country between *Mexico* and *Honduras*, returned again to the capital. It appears from *Herrera's* relation, that *Cortez* took with him the royal captive, *Guatimozin*, upon this expedition; probably to prevent any designs to set him at liberty, during his absence from *Mexico*. This monarch still retained
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the ambitious notion of one day re-ascending his throne, for which purpose he was continually forming some new conspiracy. At this juncture, when *Cortez* was pressed with the united misfortunes of famine, fatigue and disease, he set on foot a project for murdering him and his principal officers, sending advice of his design to his friends in *Mexico*, that they might be in readiness to second his enterprise. Happily, however, remorse seized the breast of *Mexicalsin*, one of the conspirators, who discovered the whole affair to *Cortez*, and at the same time confirmed his relation, by giving the names of all the accomplices. The general called a court martial: the emperor, and his principal officers, were tried, condemned, and hanged, with all the formalities which the situation of the place would permit; the credulous *Mexicans* persuading themselves, that he came to the knowledge of their contrivances by means of a sea-compass, which he always carried with him, and which he now made subservient to his policy, by cherishing the delusion of the *Indians*. It was at *Tlaxillo* that *Cortez* was first made acquainted with the disturbances in *Mexico*, the sale of his own effects, the death of his steward, and the arbitrary conduct of the new officers, with whom he had intrusted the government. No time was to be lost in deliberation; he immediately issued out commissions to some of his friends, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to supersede the present magistrates, and take the government upon themselves, until his arrival. These he dispatched by a trusty *Spaniard*, escorted by some *Indians*. The arrival of this messenger, and the certainty that *Cortez* was living, diffused the utmost satisfaction among his friends in the capital, and confounded his enemies, who were immediately deposed and taken into custody, to answer for their crimes to the general.

As it would be descending to unnecessary minuteness, to trace *Cortez* through every step of this and other expeditions, made into the provinces, in order to accomplish the whole reduction of the empire of *Mexico*, we shall only observe, that the expedition to *Xbuera* was not finished before the year 1527. The next year he found it advisable to make a voyage to *Spain*, to solicit the court in person for more ample powers, to justify his conduct from the aspersions raised by the malignity of his enemies, and to procure a stronger curb on the seditious, headstrong humour of the inferior officers, each of whom aspired at being the first in command. He was well received by the emperor *Charles V.* who created him marquis of *Guaxaca*, procured him an honourable marriage, and conferred on him the whole viceroyalty of *Atrisco*, as the inadequate reward of his eminent services; but, however, he suffered *Cortez* to return the ensuing year to *Mexico*, with a very limited commission, which did not at all answer the purpose of his application. In progress of time the marquis of *Guaxaca* lost all civil authority, a viceroy being appointed; but retained the dignity and power of captain-general. The conduct of an ungrateful court to him, was indeed similar to what was formerly shown the celebrated *Columbus*. The very extraordinary services of both, made them envied by the ministry, and suspected by the monarch. When *Mendoza* came over to *Mexico*, with the commission of viceroy, the government was immediately distracted by the opposition between the civil and military officers. Like *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Mendoza* could not brook a superior, nor *Cortez* an equal. He had conquered *Mexico*, and he reasonably imagined he should reap the reward, by enjoying the full authority, civil and military, during life. However, he never once lost sight of his patriotism, nor suffered private animosity to prejudice the service of his country. He went on with all possible alacrity in reducing provinces, and making discoveries in the most remote parts of the southern continent of *America*. He even co-operated cordially with his rival, in attempts towards the discovery of a north-west passage, and likewise in the reduction of the provinces of *Sibola* and *Quivera*, situated at the immense distance of five hundred leagues from *Mexico*. A great number of expeditions were made to the northward. The *Spaniards* went to a country governed by a great lord, called *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe*, who received them hospitably, and sent ambassadors to *Cortez*, imagining that he had dropt from the clouds, and believing his vessels to be sea-monsters of an extraordinary nature. This prince greatly admired the *Spanish* horses and fire-arms; he offered them fifty thousand men to assist in reducing *Tatepec*, who had declared himself his enemy, on account of his partiality to the *Spaniards*. In the year 1542, the marquis of *Guaxaca* resolved to make another voyage to *Spain*, in consequence of certain disputes with the viceroy, relating to the late discoveries. His reception, and the success of his application, were the same as before; he was much respected and caressed by the emperor, who, however, artfully evaded taking cognizance of the dispute between the marquis and viceroy. *Cortez* was too penetrating not to discover the partiality of the court to his rival; however, he determined to extinguish every spark of suspicion by his conduct. He redoubled his assiduities towards the emperor, attended him in the famous expedition against

a against *Algiers*, charged as a volunteer, was unhorsed in battle, and is reported to have lost two emeralds in the field of immense value. This was the last military action of his life; the remainder of it was spent in a retired manner; and he yielded up his last breath at a village near *Seville*, on the second day of *December*, in the year 1554, in the sixty-third year of his age.

b SUCH was the end of this illustrious conqueror, the greatest hero, and one of the brightest ornaments in the *Spanish* annals; who, by dint of merit, raised himself from the lowest and most adverse fortune to the highest pinnacle of wealth and renown, in despite of the malice of public and private enemies. Courage, magnanimity, constancy, prudence, and deep policy, conspired to form the soldier and the statesman; and if we find his character stained by a few blemishes, they vanish like the spots on the body of the sun, before the radiance of his glory. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his picture; the whole series of his conduct, from his first arrival on the coast of *Mexico*, sufficiently speaks his extraordinary qualities; to contract the lineaments into miniature, would only serve to weaken the distinguishing features (D).

(D) The reader may observe that we have purposely omitted a variety of expeditions mentioned in the *Spanish* writers, because they were necessary consequences of the reduction of *Mexico*, and would only swell the volume, without contributing either to his instruction or amusement. We now propose to defer the account of the present state of *Mexico*, until we have concluded

the conquest of *Peru*, to avoid interrupting the narrative of hostile transactions, and that the whole of the *Spanish* dominions in *America* may appear under one uniform point of view, which we imagine will have a better effect on the memory, than giving historical, natural, and geographical detached pieces.

SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

Containing the first Discovery of Peru; and the Progress of the Conquest of that Kingdom.

Attempts to-
wards the dis-
covery of Peru.

Pizarro, Al-
magro, and
De Lue,
engage in an
expedition to
country.

Pizarro set
sail.

WE have already mentioned the intimations which *Nunez de Balboa*, in his expedi-
tions, had in *Peru*. After this officer was superseded in his command, and after-
wards put to death by *Peter Arias d'Avila*, several attempts were made to prosecute the
enterprize, but unsuccessfully. The navigation southward, from the bay of *Panama*, was
at last deemed impracticable, on account of the winds and currents driving northward.
Hence the towns of *Porto Bello* and *Panama*, situated on opposite sides of the *Isthmus*, be-
gan to flourish extremely, particularly the latter, which appears to have been the seat of
government, or at least the residence of the governor. Early in the year 1526, *Arias*
made an expedition to *Nicaragua*, on pretence that *Hernandez*, one of his officers, had
revolted, although it was generally supposed his intention was to oppose *Cortez* in the re-
duction of that province, and prevent his penetrating farther to the southward. He knew
he was to be supplanted in his government by *Pedro de los Rios*, who was daily expected
from *Spain*, and he wanted to make a new establishment independent on the new gover-
nor. Thus the discoveries southward were wholly abandoned; however, *Arias* had, previ-
ous to this undertaking, authorised an enterprize concerted by *Francisco Pizarro*, *Jacobo*
Almagro, and *Ferdinando de Lue*, of making discoveries to the westward. It is sufficient
presumption that no opinion of the success of this expedition was entertained, that the
governor stipulated for himself no share of the profits which might arise, as was usual
upon similar occasions (A). These three adventurers entered into articles never to aban-
don each other, or to be discouraged by any hazards or disappointments, until they had
fully executed their design of discovering and conquering *Peru*; an agreement to which
they swore in the most public and solemn manner, each of them taking upon him a cer-
tain department. In this triumvirate *Pizarro* shone the brightest character, upon account
of the nobility of his birth, and the reputation he had acquired by former desperate and
bold actions. He served in all the wars in the island of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, and afterwards
accompanied *Ojeda* to the gulph of *Uraba*, as hath already been related, where he saved
from destruction the infant colony of *Darien*, by his prudence and valour. He was one of
the captains who had the good fortune to make the first discovery of the *South Sea*; he
attended *Arias* when he settled the colony of *Panama*, and was employed by that officer in
the reduction of *Veragua*. When he entered upon this enterprize, *Pizarro* was in the de-
cline of life; his fortune was sufficiently easy to sit down contented; but he had a restless
enterprising disposition, and eagerly aspired at being the rival of *Cortez* in glory. As to
Almagro, he was of obscure birth, but had raised himself by his conduct to affluence and
considerable reputation; while the third partner in the expedition, *Ferdinando de Lue*,
was an ecclesiastic, proprietor of the island of *Tobago*, who had avarice and spirit enough
to embark his fortune with those bold adventurers.

THE commission was no sooner granted, and the agreement between the parties finished,
than two ships were purchased, the command of one of which *Pizarro* took upon himself,
and set sail from *Panama* in the month of *November* 1525, having on board one hundred
and fourteen *Spaniards*, according to *Garcilasso*, or eighty men and four horses, if we chuse
to follow the relation of *Herrera*. It was matter of astonishment to see persons of discre-
tion and property embark their fortunes in an enterprize already judged, by repeated
experiments, to be desperate; but our adventurers were not discouraged. Arriving at
Port Pinas, *Pizarro* landed with his soldiers, leaving the mariners on board, marched up
the country along the banks of the river *Biru*, in expectation of finding provisions in the
territories of the cazique of *Biruquetta*, and encountered all the difficulties which the
roughness of the country, the want of provision, fatigue, and heavy rains, could throw
in his way. Necessity obliged *Pizarro* to embark, though he persuaded himself that he
was now in the fair tract to *Peru*; that the river *Biru* took its rise in that kingdom, and
that the dominions of the cazique of *Biruquetta* bordered immediately upon those of the

(A) *Herrera* indeed alledges, that *Arias* demanded to have that proportion of the profits usually assigned to the governors (1); but we prefer the authority of *La Vega*.

(1) *Herrera*, Dec. iii. lib. iii. chap. 1.

- a *Incas.* He continued his course for ten days, every man on board being limited to two ears of *Indian* corn a-day, a pint of water, and scarce any animal food; a scarcity that obliged him to put to shore at the first port, land with his soldiers, and send the ships back for provision to the *Pearl Islands*, in the neighbourhood of *Panama*. During the absence of the vessel he was reduced to the utmost extremities, and forced to live on bitter palmetoes and a kind of acorns, in consequence of which twenty of his people perished. At last he met with some cocoa-nuts, and a bushel of *Indian* wheat, which the natives had left behind. This was immediately seized as a treasure of inestimable value. In a word, the necessity to which the *Spaniards* were driven in this inhospitable country, exceeds description; but they were soon forgot on the return of the ship loaded with wheat, animal food, and great abundance of fruits, roots, and pulse.

The distress he underwent.

- By this time twenty-seven of the crew were dead; but *Pizarro* kept up the spirits of the survivors by promises, and vast expectations of wealth and glory. Again they all embarked with a full determination to proceed, and after sailing some days, landed in a bay, which they called *Puerto de Candelario*. They marched up the country, perceived by the tracts cut through the woods that it was populous, came to a town which was deserted by the natives, and here met with great abundance of provision, and a booty of six hundred pieces of eight in gold. Afterwards they proceeded by sea to a place called *Pueblo Quemado*, from whence the ship was dispatched to *Panama* to be careened, *Pizarro* and his soldiers resolving to employ the intermediate time in discovering the nature of the country. The natives assembled to oppose them, and placed centinels all round the *Spanish* quarters to watch their motions, in order to fall upon the out-parties. An action was soon brought on, in which the *Spaniards* lost three soldiers, killed by the *Indian* poisoned darts, which so elated them, that they attacked *Pizarro* with great resolution in the town, while *Mentengro* was absent with sixty men. They were received with valour; but the *Spaniards* must have sunk under the infinite superiority of numbers, had not the out-party returned seasonably, fallen upon the rear of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory. Not many days after the ship returned refitted, bringing a reinforcement of men, and supplies of provision, to the great joy of the adventurers. They proceeded to *Chinchama*, and were there joined by *Almagro* with another ship, sixty-four *Spaniards*, and abundance of arms, ammunition, and provision. Here fresh consultations being held, it was resolved their force was too inconsiderable, and that *Almagro* should return to *Panama* to enlist more soldiers, while *Pizarro* endeavoured to gain some farther knowledge of the country. It was not long before *Almagro* returned with a commission from *Arias*, by which he was raised to an equal command with *Pizarro*; this was an affront to the pride of the latter, but he then suppressed his sentiments, and determined to make use of the fresh supplies towards promoting the end of the expedition.

- SAILING in company from *Chinchama*, they coasted along to a river, which they called *St. John's*. On the banks of this river they surprised a town, where they found a booty of fifteen thousand pieces of eight, with some provisions. A new resolution was now formed to apply the profits of the expedition towards raising a still more formidable armament, for which purpose *Almagro* again returned to *Panama* with the treasure. *Pizarro* continued on shore with the bulk of the soldiers; and the pilot, *Bartholomew Ruyz*, was dispatched, with the other ship, to make discoveries along the coast. He advanced to the island *Del Gallo*, discovered the bay of *St. Matthew*, and took a large float, with a triangular sail, upon which were two boys and three women, who appeared to be *Peruvians*, which afforded the utmost satisfaction. *Ruyz* proceeded on his course, until he arrived at *De Raffado*, under the line, and then returned to *Chinchama*.

The Spaniards find some treasure.

- THE new governor, *Pedro de los Rios*, gave more countenance to the enterprize than his predecessor. He assisted *Almagro* in enlisting troops, gave him forty of the soldiers he had brought with him from *Spain*, equipped him in every necessary, and put on board several horses, with which supply *Almagro* joined his colleague *Pizarro*. All now advanced under the direction of *Ruyz* to the island of *Gallo*, where a dispute arose between the commanders, that had almost blasted the whole hopes of the enterprize. This infused doubts, fears, and jealousies, among the troops, who were all unanimous in returning to *Panama*; but these murmurs were at length quieted, and *Almagro* once more dispatched to *Panama* for further succours. We are thus minute, only to shew the difficulties which attended this great undertaking, which, from a very unpromising aspect, terminated successfully, beyond the most sanguine expectations. All possible care was taken to prevent the soldiers from transmitting home an account of the unfortunate occurrences of the voyage, the sickness and famine that prevailed.

Desperate state
of the Spaniards.

It was from the island of *Gallo* that *Almagro* took his departure. Here *Pizarro* thought of remaining till his return; but perpetual rains pouring down from the heavens, the great scarcity of provisions, the discontent which appeared among the natives, and the prodigious swarms of musquitos that tortured the soldiers, and occasioned ulcers and sores in different parts of their bodies, obliged him to make preparations for returning to the continent. While he was thus employed, a vessel arrived from *Panama*, with advices from *Almagro*, upon which the people grew clamorous to return, obliged the captain to take them on board, and only thirteen *Spaniards* and a mulatto remained with *Pizarro*. a

The Spaniards
arrive at Puna.

In all appearance the enterprize was now entirely defeated, *Pizarro's* affairs appeared quite desperate; but he determined to perish in the attempt, rather than return disappointed in his expectations. Mean time supplies arrived from *Almagro*, who, incensed at the desertion of the troops, immediately sent another ship to carry off *Pizarro*, with his few faithful attendants. *Bartolomew Ruyz* commanded this vessel, and he concerted with *Pizarro* to pursue their discoveries, instead of returning to *Panama*, according to the intention of *Almagro*. Holding their course south-west, they arrived, in twenty days, at an island on the coast of *Tumbez*, and soon perceived they were come into a wealthy country, from the great number of bits of gold and silver which they found in the form of hands, heads, womens breasts, and one silver pitcher that contained twelve quarts. This revived their hopes, and encouraged them to pursue their voyage, in the course of which they took a large bark, manned with fifteen *Indians*, cloathed in tunics and mantles, made of fine yellow wool. Next day they fell in with four more barks, which they understood were destined on an expedition against the natives of *Puna*. *Pizarro* dismissed the *Indians* after the kindest treatment, desiring they would inform their caziques that his intentions were friendly. This produced the proposed effect. The caziques marvelling at what they had been told of the sails, the rigging of the ship, the complexion, the beards, and the civility of the *Spaniards*, immediately dispatched twelve floats, loaded with all manner of provisions, and a lamb, sent by the virgins of a temple, a present that excited astonishment among the *Spaniards*, who little expected to have met with this species of quadruped upon that coast. An *Orejan*, or nobleman of *Peru*, came on board himself, with whatever the country afforded. A *Spanish* soldier had the resolution to land singly, enter the fort at *Tumbez*, and suffer himself to be brought before the great monarch, *Huayna Capac*, who treated him civilly, and sent him back with several presents. The soldier's relation of the prodigious wealth he had beheld was so incredible to the *Spaniards*, that they dispatched *Pedro de Condin*, a person of approved integrity, for further information. *Condin* was conducted to the governor of the fort, saw, with astonishment, the truth of the soldier's report; fired his musket at the desire of the cazique, who was highly delighted with the novelty of the artificial thunder, and poured abundance of liquor down the barrel, saying, "Drink, since you can vomit fire, and imitate the heavenly thunder." Both *La Vega* and *Herrera* alledge, that the *Spaniard* was ordered to defend himself against a lion and a tyger let loose upon him; that he fired his piece, and these wild beasts came tamely up, and licked his hands, to the great amazement of the spectators, who were then convinced that the *Spaniards* were divinities. He was dismissed, after both sides had gratified their curiosity, and informed his companions that he had seen a rich temple, built by *Huayna Capac*, dedicated to the sun, and inhabited only by two hundred noble and beautiful virgins, to whom none of the other sex were admitted, except on particular occasions. Here he said was treasured up such an infinity of gold and silver, in curiously wrought vessels, as exceeded belief. The fortress of *Tumbez*, he said, was filled with silver-smiths, who converted into wrought plate the taxes levied by the crown-officers; in a word, he so inflamed the imagination of *Pizarro* and his crew, that they regarded this immense wealth as already within their grasp, and determined to encounter all possible danger. It was resolved to proceed to *Paita*, where *Pizarro* was informed there was a good harbour; and he accordingly run down the coast to the seventh degree of south latitude (B), as far as where *Truxillo* was afterwards founded. *Pizarro* would have pursued his course, as he found the natives received a favourable impression of his people, from their behaviour at *Tumbez*; but his crew being impatient to return to *Panama*, he yielded to their remonstrances, from the consideration, that what he had already discovered would give sufficient reputation to the expedition, and that to execute his whole design, a much greater force, and more extensive powers, would be necessary. To- g

(B) The reader, unacquainted with the geography of America, will observe that a town of this name stands on the northern coast, between the capes of *Honduras* and *Camacon*, south-west of the bay of *Honduras*. We have already mentioned that *Cortez's* troops went thither.

a wards the close of the year 1527, he arrived safe at *Panama*, after having spent three years in a voyage attended with incredible hardships.

THE success of the voyage was related to the partners in the enterprize, and confirmed by the specimens of woollen cloth, gold, silver, and precious stones, shewn by *Pizarro*. There were inducements enough to pursue the undertaking, but there were likewise impediments that appeared insurmountable. The three colleagues had exhausted all their fortunes in the armaments already made; however, this difficulty was removed, by the great reputation which the discoveries had acquired, that enabled them to borrow money. No sooner was this obstruction conquered, than another no less important arose. The governor refused to renew their commission, and they were now forced to sit down with their b loss, tantalized with the near prospect of wealth and honour, or to apply to the court of *Spain* for powers, with very little certainty of succeeding. This last resolution, however, was taken, and the event warranted the most sanguine expectations. *Pizarro* took upon himself this commission. He set sail for *Old Spain*, was honoured with an audience of the emperor, related the dangers he had encountered in his tedious fatiguing voyage, displayed the specimens he had brought of the produce of the countries he had discovered, and obtained the commission of *Adelentado*, or lieutenant of *Peru*, of captain-general, and governor of all those territories which the *Spaniards*, under his auspices, might conquer in *Peru*, together with the rank and title of a nobleman; for which reason we afterwards find him stiled *Don Francisco*, by *Garcilasso de la Vega* (C). According to this writer, the same c honour was conferred on *Almagro*, whom he distinguishes constantly by the title of *Don Diego*. Attended by four brothers, *Pizarro* embarked at *Seville*, and arrived at *Panama*, after a short and prosperous voyage, where contests soon arose. *Almagro* resented his claiming to himself the whole authority of commander, though he had been an equal contributor to the discovery, had spent a large fortune in the service, and lost an eye in one of the skirmishes with the *Indians*. He demanded at least an equality; and there was not wanting busy friends to inflame the rising animosity. Mutual interest at length silenced the parties, though it did not extinguish the sparks of jealousy. They proceeded in their undertaking, and suppressed, but did not forget their resentment. Two ships well manned and provided, horses, and all other necessities, were bought up by *Almagro*, and d put under the direction of *Francisco Pizarro*, upon that gentleman's transferring to him the title of *Adelentado*, and promising to exert his interest with the court of *Spain*, to procure a ratification of this assignment.

Pizarro sets sail for Spain, and receives powers from the court.

HAVING, by the interest and influence of the three colleagues, drawn together near two hundred men, another vessel was added to render the navigation more commodious, and *Pizarro*, attended by his brothers *Hernando*, *Juan Gonzalo*, and his half-brother *Martin de Alcantara*, began his voyage towards the beginning of the spring of 1530. He sailed from *Panama*, with intention not to touch at any port before he arrived at *Tumbez*; but meeting with adverse winds and currents, he landed a hundred leagues short of this destination, designing to proceed by land, and send the ships back to the settlement. In this e march the *Spaniards* encountered numberless difficulties. Entering into a barren country, they were soon pressed with famine. The way was rough and tedious, over mountains, rivers, and morasses. Floats were every day making with great labour and fatigue, over which they passed with equal danger and difficulty. *Don Francisco Pizarro* was himself the sole guide and director, and indeed he conducted every thing with equal prudence and vigour, animating his people by his exhortations and example, and bearing a principal share in every hazardous and laborious action. Such was his patience, humility, and perseverance, that he often assisted in carrying the sick upon his own shoulders. After wading thro' unspeakable hardships, the *Spaniards* at length reached the province of *Coaqui*, which f *Herrera* calls *Quaque*, proceeded to the capital of the same name, seated among the high mountains, found great abundance of provision, and a booty in gold and silver to the value of twenty thousand pieces of eight, and a great number of fine emeralds, many of which the *Spaniards* destroyed, by making injudicious experiments. Trying the hardness of the jewel, they are reported to have broke in pieces turquoises and emeralds of four

He resumes the expedition to Peru.

(C) This is all we find upon the authority of *Garcilasso*; but *Herrera* adds, that *Pizarro*, after the council had taken his remonstrances into consideration, was not only honoured with the preceding honours and employments, but allowed to build forts, and erect settlements, where he thought proper, the government of them to be in him and his heirs; also a salary of a thousand ducats yearly during his life. He was besides entitled to a twentieth part of the profits arising from his conquests, provided this share did not exceed one thousand five hundred ducats yearly. *Almagro* was made governor of *Tumbez*, and raised to the dignity of a gentleman, while *Lugue* was recommended to the pontiff to be made bishop of *Tumbez*, and protector-general of the *Indians* (1).

(1) Dec. iii. lib. v. cap. 1.

The Spaniards
remit money to
Panama.

thousand ducats value; an instance of inconceivable ignorance, in which they were imi-
tated by the soldiers of *Pedro de Alvarado*, who afterwards came into this country. The
inhabitants of the town thought it strange that the *Spaniards* should plunder men who
never injured them; they admitted them freely into their houses; but when they saw them
begin to pillage, they fled to the mountains. The cazique hid himself in his palace, but
was discovered, and brought to *Pizarro*, who found some difficulty in convincing this
honest barbarian that he had not violated the laws of hospitality. This indeed was an im-
prudent step, which entirely destroyed the reputation of gentleness, lenity, and integrity,
which the *Spaniards* acquired in the preceding run upon the coast, and that could only be
justified by the necessity they were in for money to raise further supplies. The value of
twenty-four thousand ducats was now remitted in gold to *Almagro*, together with some
emeralds of extraordinary size and beauty, among which there was one belonging to *Pi-
zarro* of the size of a pigeon's egg. Two ships were dispatched to *Panama*, and one to
Nicaragua, while *Pizarro* remained some months in the neighbourhood of *Coaqui*, under
the equinoctial, exposed to the intemperature of the climate, the intense heat by day, and
the chilling damps in the night. *Garcilasso* relates, that the *Spaniards* were afflicted with a
loathsome disease, which at first appeared in swellings on the head and face, resembling
wens, or large warts, that soon digested, and dropt an ichor. He compares this tumor
to a ripe fig, says that it was not always mortal, though great numbers died of the dis-
ease; and to confirm his report, affirms that he saw three *Spaniards* at *Cuzco* ill of the
distemper, who recovered. Besides the unhealthiness of the country, the *Spaniards* had
other dangers to encounter. It was easily perceived that the natives had not forgot the
pillaging of their town, though they dared not break out into open hostilities. A *Spanish*
soldier dared hardly to stir out of the town singly and unarmed, the *Indians* having killed
two who had ventured to roam about carelessly, which obliged *Pizarro* to seize upon the
person of the cazique. He released him upon his promise to keep his people within sub-
jection, and restrain them by the laws of hospitality, which required that strangers, who
entertained no bad designs, should be entertained with civility; an argument which did
not carry conviction to the mind of the prince, although his circumstances required he
should appear satisfied. These things determined him to proceed to *Tumbez*, even before
the return of the shipping; and it was on his march thither, according to *Garcilasso*, that
he overtook a body of *Spaniards*, under the conduct of *Sebastian Balazar* and *Juan Fer-
nandez*, who came from *Nicaragua* to make conquests in *Peru*, upon the report spread of
the immense wealth of the country. We are not told in what manner they traversed this
vast extent of country; it is probable they came by sea, the march by land being next to
impracticable. Sufficient it is for our purpose, that both those officers cheerfully united
their forces to those of *Pizarro*, and put themselves under his direction; so that he now
imagined his strength was equal to the enterprize meditated against the fort of *Tumbez*,
and the island *Puna*. This fortunate reinforcement of upwards of thirty men, was
picked up in the province of *Puerto Viejo*, from whence the *Spaniards* set out for
Tumbez.

The court of
Quito receives
information of
their progress.

ADVICE of all that was doing by the strangers was regularly sent to *Atabualapa*, king
of *Quito*, a province of the empire, bestowed upon him as an inheritance by his father
Huayna Capac, with the consent of his elder brother *Huascar*. By this time *Atabualapa*,
whom some call *Atabalipa*, had taken upon him the tuft, or tassel, which is the badge of
regal dignity in that country. He was fortunately for the *Spaniards* embroiled, at this
juncture, with his brother, which probably prevented his sending an army against them,
as he expressed great concern at their conduct, and wondered what could induce them to
traverse seas and lands, encounter enemies, sickness, and famine, merely for the sake of
making discoveries, and changing the religion of other nations, which was all they al-
leged for a motive. *Pizarro* meeting with no opposition from the monarch, advanced
directly to the strait opposite to *Puna*, and was preparing to pass over, when murmurs
broke out among his troops, who desired to return to *Puerto Viejo*, to found a colony;
however, he persuaded them, with many arguments, of the bad consequences that would
necessarily attend their betraying any symptoms of fear to the *Indians*. He represented
Puna and *Tumbez* as the keys of *Peru*, extremely rich in themselves, and the proper places
for founding settlements, in order to assist and promote their future conquests. At last he
prevailed, the soldiers consenting to make the experiment, whether the wealth of those
places would answer the trouble of the conquest. The islanders were at perpetual war
with the people of *Tumbez*, and it was *Pizarro's* intention to enter into a confederacy with
them, the more easily to effect his designs against the *Punese* and *Tumbezans*. The former
were no sooner acquainted with the intention of the *Spaniards*, than they turned into ridi-
cule

a cule the fear and simplicity of the *Tumbezans*, for admitting such warlike strangers into their country; however, they sent *Pizarro* an invitation to come over to their island, though their purpose was to destroy his whole army, by cutting the joints of the floats upon which the *Spaniards* were transported. The cazique *Tomala* accordingly sent a great number of floats already made; but the diligence of the *Indians* created suspicion of some evil design. The interpreters intimidated their fears, and he prudently deferred his embarkation, until his brother *Hernando* arrived with the remainder of the forces. This delay made the cazique impatient, fearing lest his design should miscarry; and to expedite measures, he passed over in person to the continent, to pay his compliments to *Pizarro*, and endeavour to prevail on him to accept his invitation without delay. He seemed greatly astonished when the *Spanish* commander taxed him with treachery; but as there appeared no symptoms of guilt upon his countenance, *Pizarro*, to make himself certain of the inclinations of the *Indians*, ordered some men to get upon the floats, and keep constantly upon their guard. They were safely wafted over to *Puna*, and entertained with so much kindness, that it was soon believed the whole suspicion was groundless. Nor is it at all impossible that fear might have suggested that idea of treachery upon this occasion to the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the disputes which afterwards ensued with the islanders.

PIZARRO had brought with him to the island several natives of *Tumbez*, which gave great offence to the *Punese*, who could not bear to see their inveterate enemies walking about their territories, under the protection of the *Spaniards*. It was this, according to some accounts, that gave the first disgust, made them offer sacrifices to their gods, and interrogate their idols about the means of revenge. After long deliberation, it was at last concerted that the *Spaniards* should be invited to a great hunt, where they imagined the strangers might easily be surprised and destroyed. Notice was given to *Pizarro*, by his interpreters, of the conspiracy, some hints relating to it having dropped from the natives. Some ascribe the discovery to the *Tumbezans*, and others treat the whole as a fiction, propagated by the *Spaniards*, to apologize for their unjust attack, and perfidious breach of the rites of hospitality. Be this as it may, all writers are agreed about the issue; that he fell upon the islanders, took their sixteen caziques prisoners, whom he delivered over to their enemies the *Tumbezans*, routed the *Punese* in divers engagements, reduced the whole island, and acquired immense booty, of which his allies, the *Tumbezans*, had their proportion (D). The misfortunes of the *Punese* did not dispirit them; they were defeated by the *Spaniards*, insulted by the *Tumbezans*, forsaken by the inca, and their caziques were galling pressures to a free people. Their first attempt was upon a *Spanish* ship arrived on the coast, to attack which they sent three hundred archers upon floats, while the rest of the natives should fall upon the *Spaniards* on the island. The attack of the floats was desperate, but fruitless; the cannon of the ship having sunk and destroyed them, before they could reach within the distance required by the archers. On shore, their projects were equally abortive. The *Spaniards* repulsed them in every assault, and drove them to the mountains, whence they made excursions, that rather harrassed the *Spaniards*, than effected the original purpose of the revolt. And now this scheme was totally defeated by the arrival of supplies, brought in two vessels from *Nicaragua*, by *Ferdinando Soto*, who was sent with men, horses, and provisions, by *Almagro*. Upon the arrival of these succours, the resolution was taken of passing over to the continent, *Pizarro* relying upon the friendship of the *Tumbezans*, whose affections he imagined he had gained by the conquest of their enemies, the share of the plunder, and the *Punese* caziques whom he had surrendered into their hands, as well as the prisoners of their nation he had set at liberty, after they were long confined by the enemy, and in danger of being sacrificed. He gave them notice of his intention; and *Garcilasso* alledges from *Gomara*, that they put the messengers to death. *Herrera* affirms, he had so little doubt of their friendship, that he embarked a

The Spaniards
reduce Puna
and Tumbez.

(D) The island of *Puna*, standing in the bay of *Guaquil*, in the third degree of south latitude, contained upwards of twelve thousand inhabitants, though it was not six leagues in diameter. In the division of the empire, between the two sons of *Huayna Capac*, it fell to the share of the elder, *Huascar*, although *Atahualpa* pretended a right, as part of his kingdom of *Quito*. It was this dispute which had now revived the ancient animosity between them and the *Tumbezans*, who had first reduced them under the dominion of the incas of *Peru*. The *Punese*, indeed, relying upon the natural strength of their situation, had long practised piracy,

infesting all the coast of *Guaquil*, and robbing the *Tumbezans* upon all occasions. The war was carrying on with great vigour at the time *Pizarro* arrived upon the coast, and he had the address to make his advantage of the enmity of the *Indians*. The *Punese* were cannibals, their island was fertile, but the scarcity of water rendered it unwholesome, and intolerable to any besides the natives. Prodigious quantities of gold and silver were found in the temples, all which *Pizarro* remitted to *Panama*, to be employed in augmenting his fleet and army.

They receive
intimation of
the great
riches of Peru.

part of his people on floats, and passed over without any previous intimation, which the *Tumbezans* resented so much, that they seized upon the first men who landed, conducted them to the town, pulled out their eyes, cut off their privities, and then flung them into cauldrons of boiling water, in which they perished miserably. What motive could prompt them to this act of violence, is not ascertain'd. Probably they either dreaded the resentment of the inca, for entertaining foreigners, whose views were suspicious, or they apprehended sharing the fate of the *Puncse*. All the floats were in the utmost danger, the stream being rapid, and the *Indians*, who navigated them, treacherous. The greater part of *Pizarro's* baggage was plundered; but he, getting safe on shore with the horse, soon revenged the injury, fell upon the town, and made terrible slaughter of the inhabitants. A variety of skirmishes and battles were fought; but the *Indians*, perceiving themselves worsted upon every occasion, began to entertain an opinion that the *Spaniards* were invincible, that they were assisted by some divinity, and that themselves were guilty of enormous crimes, in attempting to oppose the will of heaven. They now endeavoured to appease the *Spaniards* by immense presents of silver, upon which metal they observed they put a great value. One *Indian* in particular, of some quality, entered into an intimacy with the *Spaniards*, and had such particular favour shewn him, that a cross was put up in his house, to shew that it was exempted from being plundered. He related marvellous stories of the wealth of the empire and the grandeur of *Cuzco*, the residence of inca *Huascar*, assured the *Spaniards* of the facility with which they might effect the conquest of the empire, amidst the present civil commotions, and so inflamed the ambition of *Pizarro*, that he instantly set out on a march to examine the country, and endeavour to reduce some of the neighbouring little princes. First, however, he dispatched a vessel to *Panama* with all the treasures found in *Tumbez*, to be laid out by *Almagro*, as the former remittances were, in enlisting men, and sending supplies of provision, arms, and ammunition. The sovereign of *Tumbez* had taken refuge in the mountains, upon the late defeat of his troops; and *Pizarro* laboured to get him into his hands, which was one of the chief objects of his expedition. In this excursion he reached the beginning of the great road of the inca's leading to the principal cities; but his men being harrassed with fatigue, he was forced to return without succeeding in any of the points proposed. *Ferdinando Soto* was at the same time detached with a party, with a similar design. He marched as far as *Caxas*, saw many flocks of *Peruvian* sheep, a number of magnificent buildings, found some bars of gold and silver, defeated the natives in battle, discovered the great road called *Huana Capac*, and then returned to *Tumbez*, where he joined *Pizarro*, who had finished his unsuccessful expedition a few days before. It was after this junction that *Pizarro* determined to found a colony among the vales of *Tongarala*, to secure his footing in the country, and serve for a place of arms, retreat, and refreshment. Accordingly he built the city of *St. Miguel de Piura*, and appointed the soldiers least fit to endure fatigue as a garrison and magistrates, dividing among them the territories of *Tumbez* and *Piura*, as a district to the city, and the lands of the new settlement (E).

Civil war in
Peru.

WHILE he was employed in the business of the colony, various accounts daily arrived of the fortune of the civil war now raging between the brothers *Huascar* and *Atabualapa*. *Pizarro* thought it necessary to keep a strict eye upon every event, as great part of his hope was founded upon the intestine commotions of the empire, which would prevent either of the brothers from paying much regard to the accidental arrival of a handful of strangers upon the coast. With this view his brother *Juan* was ordered to penetrate farther into the country with fifty horse; at the same time he employed himself in making the necessary preparations for following this party, and in gaining the best intelligence concerning the country, the customs and manners of the inhabitants, their civil and military policy, method of fighting, power, and the cause of the present war, together with the disposition of the people in general with respect to the rival princes. He learned that *Atabualapa*, of whom we have spoken, was much more popular than the emperor, though only a natural son of the late prince, by one of his concubines; that in the wars carried on by his

(E) *St. Miguel* was the first *Spanish* colony planted in *Peru*, now called *New Castile*; but it did not continue long in that situation. It was found to be unhealthy, which obliged the *Spaniards* to remove it from *Tongarala*, to the place where it now stands, nearer the coast, and surrounded by beautiful and fruitful vallies. These they cultivated with great diligence, raising great va-

riety of *European* vegetables, which flourished as if in their native soil, though the climate is extremely dry, and the soil sandy. Vines and figs in particular bear astonishingly, and two crops of wheat shoot up every year. Formerly this valley was populous, and the inhabitants independent of the inca of *Peru* (1).

(1) *Her. dec. iii. lib. v. sec. iii.*

a father he had signalized his courage, and gained the affections of all the commanders of eminence; that he was politic, affable, liberal, and generous, by which means he had engaged a strong party to support him in disputing the imperial crown with his brother; though he alone, of forty brothers, had the ambition or boldness to lift their minds to so great an enterprize. In *Quito* he was already acknowledged as inca; though, by the emperor's will, this province was only given him as a fief and dependency on the imperial crown. *Huascar* took umbrage at this presumption, and after holding a council, sent notice to *Atabualapa*, that he could not possibly shut his eyes to a conduct so injurious to his own person, so dangerous to his crown, so impious in itself, and so contrary to the established laws of the empire. He therefore requested that he would desist from his ambitious practices, which must necessarily terminate in civil discord, his own, and perhaps the ruin of his people. At the same time he levied an army, to give weight to his message, and enforce obedience.

b Little attention did *Atabualapa* give to a remonstrance which he expected, and for which he was prepared. Elated with his popularity, hurried on by his ambition, he thought probably of rivalling his brother, by building a city at *Quito* equal to the imperial residence at *Cuzco*, and then he enlarged his views to the conquest of the whole *Peruvian* empire. He began to sound the sentiments of some of the lesser provinces, and finding them averse to every measure that threatened to disturb the public tranquillity, he directed his march towards the capital, to meet his brother the emperor, to whom he gave battle c with such success, as obliged *Huascar* to retire precipitately to repair and augment his scattered forces. Upon this he proceeded to the capital, subduing all the provinces in his way. On his arrival at *Caxamalca*, he received a more particular account of *Pizarro's* transactions at *Puna* and *Tumbez*, and therefore formed the resolution of remaining there with part of his troops, while the rest were sent to give battle to his brother, who had again taken the field with a fresh army. The two armies met in the vale of *Xauxa*, with nearly equal forces, each exceeding a hundred and forty thousand men. The conflict was bloody, and victory, a second time, declared for *Atabualapa*. A third battle was fought with similar fortune; and the emperor was soon after treacherously seized in the heart of his capital, and delivered up into the hands of his brother and rival. His women were d infamously and inhumanly treated, his effects plundered, and his royal person thrown into a dungeon.

This series of prosperity gave *Atabualapa* more time to reflect upon the arrival of *Pizarro*; but when he was told that his troops did not exceed two hundred men, he made light of the affair, and thought it impossible that so inconsiderable a body could ever give the least shock to so vast an empire. Accordingly he contented himself with sending an orator, or nobleman of his court, to dive into the designs of the *Spaniards*, for which purpose that nobleman employed a number of emissaries in *Tumbez*. Such was the situation of the empire, when *Pizarro* departed from *St. Miguel* on the fourth of September, on his way to *Caxamalca*, at the distance of twelve days journey (F). Floats were prepared e for crossing the river, in three days he came up with an officer he had sent with a detachment to reduce the cazique, or *Caraen*, of *Piura*. In the vale of this name, *Pizarro* continued for ten days, making the necessary provision for his march, and procuring the best intelligence possible of the progress and strength of *Atabualapa*. Before he renewed his march, a general muster was made of the forces, which amounted to sixty-seven horse, and a hundred and ten foot, of whom nine returned to fort *St. Miguel*, on *Pizarro's* declaring, at the head of the army, that all who had no inclination to proceed should have lands assigned them in the new colony, for that he reposed more confidence in the valour of a few, than in the shew of a number. So bold a declaration gave *Pizarro* great reputation with the soldiers; and he well knew how to make his advantage of his character, to f strengthen his own authority, and raise the hopes of his people.

His affairs being thus adjusted, *Pizarro* boldly advanced through a hostile country altogether unknown to him, with all the caution required in such critical circumstances, and soon reached the frontiers of the *Curaca Pever*, a powerful vassal of the imperial crown, notwithstanding he had been grievously oppressed by the late inca, *Huayna Capac*. The *Spaniards*, upon his invitation, took up their quarters in his town, and were kindly treated. Here *Pizarro* gained better information of the state of the war, the situation of the country, and every particular that could forward his designs. Among other pieces of information, he learnt, that a body of *Atabualapa's* forces lay at *Caxas*, a town in his way to *Caxa-*

Pizarro advances into Peru.

(F) We find this city variously wrote by the *Spanish* historians. It is called *Caxamalca* by *Herrera* and most modern geographers; but *Garcilasso* constantly writes it *Casimasca*.

malca, at the distance only of two days journey. A captain, with a party, was detached a before, to view the place, and endeavour to cultivate an alliance with the people. *Pizarro* followed slowly, and halted at a town called *Zamen*, to wait for the return of the party. In five days a messenger returned from *Caxas*, with the following relation, that the captain had endeavoured to surprise the town, but found it unnecessary, the people being extremely civil; that the inca's officer had received him in the most cordial manner, and given him all the information he could require of the present condition of the empire, of which he must be a competent judge, on account of his employment of collecting the tribute in the different provinces: that this officer related wonders of the wealth of *Cuzco*, the metropolis, at which *Atabualapa* now resided. The captain had orders to rejoin the main body with his detachment, upon which *Pizarro* proceeded first to *Caxas*, and then to *Guacacamba*. b At the former of these towns, struck with the appearance of a large building, enclosed with mud walls, like a fortress, he was informed that it was the residence of a great number of women, employed in spinning and weaving cloth for the royal army, no males being admitted entrance. In going out of the town, he perceived a number of men suspended by the heels, and was told they were punished in this manner for presuming to enter the female hospital, which was deemed sacred. In his march he was accosted by an *Indian* of distinction, who called himself an ambassador from *Atabualapa*, presented him with two cups of stone curiously wrought, a load of a kind of perfumed powder, and assurances that the inca desired nothing more than the friendship of the strangers, with whose valour and heroic qualities he was not unacquainted. c It was not difficult for *Pizarro* to discover that this *Indian* was sent as a spy; but he disguised his sentiments, ordered him to be well treated, and dismissed with presents and promises of duty and respect towards the inca. To keep the colony of *St. Miguel* in spirits, he sent back an account of his progress, and a present of the cups, and several pieces of beautiful woollen and cotton cloth, finely adorned with flowers of gold and silver, charging the garrison to live upon terms of amity with all the surrounding *Indians*. *Guacacamba*, a day's journey from *Caxas*, was a city of more consequence, secured and beautified by a fine fortress built of stone, a large river, and a variety of bridges and causeways. Through these towns passed the great road of the incas, exceeding the distance of four hundred leagues from *Cuzco* to *Quito*, paved with the utmost art, and so broad that six horses marched easily a-breast. d In every part it was supplied with water, brought at a vast expence in pipes from distant mountains, and at the end of every four leagues were *tambos*, or houses of refreshment for travellers, supported by a small toll.

It would seem that *Pizarro* now quitted the great road leading to *Cuzco*, upon information that the inca was at *Caxamalca*; for we find him passing through a desert, in which he was reduced to the utmost necessity for water, before he reached *Motex*. The curaca of this town was now serving, at the head of three hundred men, in the inca's army; nevertheless, the commanding officer in the town consented that no hostilities should be committed upon either side, and that the *Spaniards* should have free quarters, to refresh themselves for a day or two after their fatiguing journey. e It was matter of astonishment and horror to *Pizarro* and his people, to observe the periodical human sacrifices that were offered to the idols. On a certain day in every month the faces of those false deities were sprinkled with fresh blood, issuing from the veins of the wretched victim; and in such reverence was this religious ceremony observed, that when sacrifices were wanting, many voluntarily devoted themselves to the purposes of piety, and rejoiced at the happiness of being cut in pieces by the sacred hands of those ministers of fraud and impostor, who exercised the hierarchy. Besides these scenes of horror, the length of the march, the heat of the climate, the sultry closeness of the atmosphere, the scarcity of water, and the sometimes intolerable fervour of the sun-beams reflected from the sand, pressed exceeding hard f upon the *Spaniards*, who were supported only by the hopes of ending their toils in the utmost affluence and splendor of fortune and reputation. After surmounting a variety of hardships, *Pizarro* at length arrived on the banks of a river, the opposite sides of which was covered with towns and villages. To prevent the *Indians* from obstructing his passage on floats, he ordered his brother, captain *Hernando*, to swim over with a party of horse; at whose approach the natives retired in the utmost consternation, being equally astonished and terrified at the novelty of the men swimming over upon the backs of animals, whom they guided in the water as if they had been canoes. *Hernando* seized some of the inhabitants in their flight, and by his dexterous management convinced them that no violence g was intended, and that they might safely return to their habitations. Yet could he obtain no information, until he put one to the torture, who then declared that *Atabualapa* expected the *Spaniards* in a warlike posture; that his army was divided into three columns, each

- a each of which was determined to dispute the progress of the strangers; and that one corps was at the foot of the mountain, on the way to *Caxamalca*, another on the summit, and a third on the opposite declivity. The *Indian* farther added, that the inca would now have been pursuing the conquest of the provinces; but that he thought it advisable to destroy the *Spaniards* before their numbers were augmented, or that they had raised a party in the country. Upon this information *Pizarro* made floats, crossed the river without opposition, quartered his troops in a fort of which he took possession, and sending for the curaca, was told by him, that the army at *Caxamalca* exceeded fifty thousand fighting men. The curaca declared himself the enemy of *Atahualpa*, who had put to death four thousand of his subjects, because he had supported his lawful sovereign against an ambitious usurper.
- b What the curaca chiefly lamented was the loss of five hundred women, violently forced from the arms of their husbands and parents, and surrendered to gratify the brutal licentiousness of the conqueror's soldiers.

PIZARRO found it necessary to refresh his men in this friendly town, and employ the time in procuring still more minute intelligence. An *Indian* offered himself for this service, but refused to act as a spy. He said he would throw himself at the feet of the inca, deliver any message the *Spaniards* thought proper, and bring back the best information in his power; but he would not take upon him any employment that would injure his character, or subject him to a violent and ignominious punishment. The generous sentiments of this barbarian greatly delighted *Pizarro*; he believed he might safely trust a man who

c had expressed himself so boldly and so virtuously; accordingly he dispatched him to *Atahualpa*, to salute that prince in his name, to offer him the best services of the *Spaniards*, and to signify that they were in full march to have the honour of prostrating themselves before him, and of meriting his friendship; their sole intention being to fight his enemies, without injuring his subjects. The *Indian* set out on his embassy; and *Pizarro*, after having fully refreshed his troops, began his journey, and after three days march reached the mountain where *Atahualpa* was said to have a body of forces. He ascended the hill without any other opposition than what he met with from the steepness and roughness of the ascent. At the head of forty horse, and the bulk of the infantry, he quietly approached a fortress, seated on a high eminence, of so difficult access, that it was scarce possible to

d advance with the horse, the whole rock being cut in the form of an irregular steep stair. Round the fortress was a stone-wall, built upon the brink of a perpendicular rock upon every side, except the pass we have described. Had the least opposition been given, it would have been utterly impossible to have gained possession of this fort with double the number of men that composed the *Spanish* army; and it was matter of great rejoicing, that a difficulty, surpassing imagination, should be so easily overcome. Here *Pizarro* halted for the remainder of his forces and the baggage, forming to himself the most favourable presages from this fortunate incident. All conjectured that the inca had no intention to treat them as enemies, else he would certainly have disputed this post; but it afterwards

e appeared, that his policy was to suffer the *Spaniards* to advance into the heart of the country, that he might then have them in his power, without the possibility of their escaping.

WHILE the *Spaniards* were resting themselves on the tops of the mountains, which they had gained with infinite labour, an embassy arrived from the inca, in consequence of the message sent by *Pizarro*. The ambassador had a pretty numerous retinue: he presented the general with ten *Peruvian* sheep, sent by his imperial majesty, some other things of a trifling nature; and then desired to know, in the name of his master, at what time the *Spaniards* proposed reaching *Caxamalca*, that accommodations on the road might be got ready. He related the course of the inca's victories, and contradicted all the reports of

f his having forces with him at *Caxamalca*; saying, that he only staid there to make preparations for the reduction of some provinces that still held out for his brother, who was now a prisoner. To this *Pizarro* made answer, that he rejoiced at the prosperity of his imperial majesty, and thanked him for the good will he had shewn towards strangers, whose commission was of more importance than he could well imagine. He desired the ambassador to acquaint *Atahualpa*, that he was the servant of the greatest monarch in the universe, sent to reclaim him and his people from the most impious and abominable errors in religion: he therefore hoped that he would receive him peaceably, in which case he might rely upon his faithful services; but if, on the contrary, any hostilities were offered, and his

g majesty preferred war to peace, he would soon find that the *Spaniards* could make themselves as dreadful to their enemies as useful to their friends. With this answer the ambassador took his leave, and the *Spaniards* proceeded on their march, halting that night in a beautiful valley, at the foot of the mountain. Here *Pizarro* was honoured with another

He receives an embassy from Atahualpa.

embassy, and more presents, of much the same nature as the former. The retinue of this minister was extremely magnificent, and all his servants drank out of silver vases, which gave the *Spaniards* the most exalted opinion of the extraordinary wealth of their master, which indeed the ambassador cherished by his discourse. Next morning the *Indian* messenger returned; and being made acquainted with the relation given by the ambassador, he was so incensed, that he flew upon him, called him a treacherous liar, and would have certainly put him to death, had he not been torn away by violence. He now told *Pizarro* that he was not to believe a syllable of what was advanced by those messengers, who were only spies upon his conduct, and false lights held out to mislead him. He asserted, that the inca was at the head of a numerous army; that *Caxamalca* was deserted, and the troops in the field; that he had not only been refused access to his majesty, but even dismissed without eating, notwithstanding he was on the point of perishing with fatigue and hunger; in a word, he declared that all the designs of the inca were hostile, and those of his messengers perfidious. *Pizarro* had no doubt of the truth of this relation; however, he concealed his sentiments before the *Peruvian* messenger, and dismissed him with presents. *Garcilasso de la Vega* mentions an ambassador who came about this time from the unfortunate *Huascar*, craving the *Spaniards* to revenge his cause, and in the name of justice, truth, religion, and the sons of the god *Virachoca*, to punish the ambition and usurpation of his unnatural brother. This messenger was treated with extraordinary kindness, and returned with an answer, that the *Spaniards* were in full march to procure the enlargement of the unhappy monarch, and to redress all his grievances.

In proportion as the *Spaniards* approached *Caxamalca*, the embassies from the inca began to multiply. While *Pizarro* was descending from the mountain, a third ambassador came to him from *Atabualapa*, more solemn than any of the preceding. He was brother to the inca, and a person of the first consideration about the court, to which his equipage and retinue corresponded. He told *Pizarro*, that his mighty and sovereign lord had sent him to bid the *Spaniards* welcome, and presented them with some of the produce of the country, as a proof of his regard and affection. It was great joy, he said, to the inca, to see his kintmen, descended from the same common father the sun. “Inca *Virachoca*, said he, “since it hath been my fortune to carry you this message, I presume to beseech you, that “you will be generously pleased to grant me three requests. The first is, that you will “esteem my inca, *Atabualapa*, your friend, and enter into a perpetual league of friendship with him. The second is, that you will forgive all those crimes and trespasses “which his subjects may have committed, either through ignorance, or want of reflection. “The last is, that you would remit, towards the inhabitants of *Caxamalca*, those punishments, which by the direction of your god and father, the supreme *Virachoca*, you inflicted upon the inhabitants of *Puna* and *Tumbez*; and that, as you are an inca, the “descendant of the Sun, you would exercise clemency, which is one of your attributes.” He then ordered the presents to be displayed, which consisted of a variety of quadrupeds and birds, many fruits of different kinds, curious pieces of cotton and woollen manufactures, honey in the comb, pepper, a variety of liquors distilled or brewed from the grain, vestments of the richest kinds, and a service of silver cups, plates, toys studded with turquoises and emeralds, with abundance of other curiosities, which were of very great value. As a particular mark of the inca’s respect, he presented *Pizarro* with a pair of hose, of the same kind with those wore by the emperor, and a couple of rich gold bracelets, this being deemed a military honour in *Peru*, and bestowed on this occasion in acknowledgement of the general’s valour. *Titu Antouchi*, for that was the name of the ambassador, apologized for having presumed to make so trifling a present to the children of the sun; but he said, that he hoped his master would find other opportunities of shewing them his respect and esteem: in a word, no minister, of the most civilized prince, could have acquitted himself with more address and politeness than this barbarian; who, in course of the conversation he held with *Pizarro*, eminently distinguished his good sense, policy, and sagacity. *Garcilasso* alledges, that *Atabualapa* had no sinister design in this embassy, which was sent merely to appease the resentment of the sun, for the injuries done to his children by the inhabitants of *Puna* and *Tumbez*. He affirms, that the inca’s courage began to forsake him on the approach of the *Spaniards*, and the report of the wonders they performed upon the coast. He mentions a prophecy, uttered by the father of the present emperor, similar to the tradition which we observed prevailed in *Mexico*, at the time *Cortez* entered that country; and says, that *Atabualapa* was persuaded the season was arrived for the completion of this prophecy, because he could not imagine that such a handful of men could defeat the armies of *Puna* and *Tumbez*, and dare to penetrate into the heart of his empire, unless they were invigorated and supported by the almighty power of the sun.

WITH

a With respect to the *Spaniards*, they dismissed the ambassador with presents, and assurances of perfect respect and resignation to the will of the inca ; but their sentiments were greatly divided about the intention of the embassy, and the presents. Some regarded them as a blind to conceal the inca's real designs, and lull the *Spaniards* into security ; whence they inferred the necessity of redoubling their vigilance and circumspection. Others ascribed the presents wholly to the magnificence and hospitality of the emperor ; while a few of the more sanguine believed, that they could discover his fears under this appearance of courtesy. It was, however, the unanimous opinion that they could not be too cautious in their march to *Caxamalca*. As they drew near the town, they had a view of the inca's army, which extended the space of a whole league, and presented the most formidable appearance, where victory to depend on numbers. In the evening they reached *Caxamalca*, and found it deserted by the inca and principal nobility ; though orders had been left to feast and treat the children of the sun with the utmost respect, if we may credit *Garcilasso*, whose relation is diametrically opposite, in this place, to that of *Herrera*. According to this last writer, the *Spaniards* found not a soul in the town, except a few women, who openly avowed the design of destroying the christians, and pitied their unhappy fate. Immediately *Pizarro* ordered the place to be diligently searched lest any troops might be concealed ; and after taking every precaution for his security, sent an *Indian* to the emperor, to demand what quarters he had provided for his friends, agreeable to the promises of his ambassadors.

Pizarro arrives at Caxamalca.

c It was afterwards known that the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Caxamalca* had greatly disconcerted *Atahualpa*, whose fears increased in proportion as the danger drew nearer ; however, he betrayed no other symptoms of the terrible apprehensions he was under, than what might be perceived from his holding more frequent councils than usual. On the other hand, *Pizarro* deliberated with his officers, whether it was not requisite he should send a formal embassy to the inca, to acknowledge the civilities received, request the continuance of his favour, and acquaint him with the purpose of his expedition. After various debates, this proposition was carried in the affirmative. Accordingly *Hernando Pizarro*, and *Ferdinando Soto*, were appointed to execute this commission, their retinue being composed of twenty horse ; *Soto* to proceed with this party to the emperor's

He sends an embassy to the inca's camp.

d presence, and *Pizarro* to remain at a little distance behind, with another party, to bring him off in case any violence should be offered to his person. The *Spaniards* found the *Peruvian* army drawn up to receive the ambassadors, notice of whose arrival had been given by an *Indian* sent to prepare the way. As they passed the ranks, the *Indians* gazed with astonishment upon the horses ; and *Soto* leaping over a ditch, plunging, rearing, and curveting, with his horse, greatly delighted all those simple spectators, who could hardly separate, in imagination, the rider from the horse, taking both to be one animal, as several other *Indian* natives had done before. The inca had dispatched one of his generals to receive the ambassadors, and shew them all possible respect. When this officer approached *Soto* and the *Spaniards*, he adored them with the most profound veneration ; and then turning round to his people, declared to them, that those were the descendants of their god *Virachoca*, whom they ought to worship with the most profound adoration ; a speech that was scarce uttered, when all the *Indians* files began their reverences with the utmost submission, accompanying the *Spaniards*, at the same time, into the inca's presence. The amazement of both parties was pretty nearly equal. The *Spaniards* admired the riches, grandeur, and magnificence of the inca ; while the monarch was surpris'd at the habit, beards, complexion, manners, arms, and horses of the *Spaniards*. Some minutes passed in profound silence ; when at length the *Spaniards* recovering themselves, approached the throne of gold in which *Atahualpa* was seated, making the most submissive obeisances as they advanced. When *Soto* came within a proper distance, the inca rose up, embraced him cordially, and bid him welcome into his dominions : " Behold, said he, the very face, attitude, and habit of our god *Virachoca*, in " the exact manner described by the inca *Virachoca*, our ancestor, to whom the deity " appeared." Having spoke this, an elegant entertainment of bread, fruits, and divers kinds of liquors, was served up by six virgins, and as many boys, well dressed. Two beautiful maidens of the royal blood advanced before these, holding in their hands small cups of gold, filled with the liquor usually drank by the inca ; of which they gave one to *Atahualpa*, and another to the ambassador, who drank peace and friendship to each other ; this being deemed in *Peru* a mark of the most cordial reception and sincere welcome. Having gone thro' the preliminary ceremonies, the *Spaniards* began to deliver their commission ; but they had scarce uttered a sentence, when they were stop'd by the inca, who said he must admire a little longer, in their form and figure, the image of his

his god. *Soto* mounted his horse, to please the emperor, made him prance, leap, and curvet to the great satisfaction of *Atahualpa*, who suffered the horse to run up to close as to smell him, without seeming afraid, though the *Indian* soldiers fled in crowds when the animal came near them. At length the ambassador was permitted to speak, but a charge was given that he should be concise. Accordingly *Soto*, after making several profound reverences, began to inform the inca, of the exalted dignity of the pontiff, and the vast power of *Charles V.* emperor and king of the *Romans*, who, desirous of rescuing the *Peruvians* from the gross ignorance and idolatry in which they were immersed, had sent don *Francisco Pizarro*, with his companions, and some priests, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to enter into a perpetual alliance and amity with his imperial highness. He concluded with acquainting the inca of the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Caxamalca*, and referring him for farther particulars to a personal interview with *Pizarro*. a b

Difference among the Spanish writers.

It must be confessed, that the *Spanish* writers differ widely about the particulars of this audience, and indeed the whole of the inca's conduct. *Herrera* relates, that he received the embassy politely, but gave immediate orders that the army should march to *Caxamalca*, to crush *Pizarro* at one blow, take all his people prisoners, and offer them up as sacrifices to the gods; for which purpose he had prepared a kind of gin nets, or toils, in which they were to be caught alive, like wild beasts^b. According to *Garcilasso*, the inca had given up all thoughts of defence, seeming to regard his empire for lost, from the time the *Spaniards* ventured to advance to the heart of his dominions. In answer to the ambassador, he said, that altho' he could not but be pained to think that the prophecies of his ancestors were to be completed in his days; yet it could not but give some uneasiness to reflect, that the end of a vast and flourishing empire was approaching. He told the *Spaniards*, that notwithstanding the advices he had constantly received of the victories obtained by them in *Puna* and *Tumbez*, and of the fortifications they were erecting in his dominions, he had taken no measures with his council for their expulsion, because he fully persuaded himself that they were the children of the great god *Virachoca*, and the messengers of the *Pacachamac*, and had therefore published it as a law in the schools of *Cuzco*, that none should presume to take up arms against them, unless he would be guilty of sacrilege, and the grossest impiety. He desired, however, that the ambassador would inform him how it came to pass, that while the *Spaniards* professed that their sole intention was to cultivate an alliance, and promote peace, they had made such dreadful slaughter in the countries through which they passed, without so much as informing themselves of the dispositions of the inca, and imperial court? "But I conceive, added he, that the two princes, your employers, enjoined you to act with the utmost severity against us; wherefore I resign myself wholly to your will, only imploring that you shew some compassion to my subjects, wives, and relations, whose misfortunes affect me more deeply than my own." These two accounts are extremely different; yet they may be reconciled, if we suppose that their scheme was designed to blind the *Spaniards*, and conceal the stratagem formed to seize them alive. Yet we must consider it as a little extraordinary, that all the nobility and soldiers, within hearing of the inca, should be so deeply affected with *Atahualpa's* speech, which they knew to be perfidious. According to *Garcilasso*, they shed tears, groaned and sighed piteously, and gave themselves up to despair, with such appearances as could not be counterfeited. Indeed the inca himself, if we may credit this historian, was so strongly impressed with the prophecy mentioned, that he neglected all means of resistance, regarded the *Spaniards* as the messengers of heaven, and prepared his mind for an entire resignation. The fact probably is, that neither the *Spaniards* nor *Peruvians* rightly understood each other, upon account of the ignorance of the interpreter, who was a native of *Puna*, almost entirely unlearned in the *Spanish*, and but imperfectly acquainted with the language spoke at the inca's court, which was very different from the provincial dialect^c. In one thing both writers agree, that the inca told the ambassadors he would visit *Pizarro* in *Caxamalca*, but that he hoped it would give no umbrage if he should be attended by his army, as was customary in the country when the emperor travelled. c d e f

As soon as the dawn appeared, great fires were seen lighted in the *Peruvian* camp, and every thing was perceived to be in motion, which gave the alarm to *Pizarro*, as he had no great confidence in the fair words given to the ambassador. He drew the *Spaniards* up in order of battle, in a great square, and firmly waited the approach of the inca, who was four hours marching three leagues, the distance between the town and the camp. He was carried in a golden litter of rich workmanship, supported, upon the shoulders of *In-* g

^b Dec. iii. lib. viii. c. 1.

^c Lib. i. cap. 23.

- a *dians* of the first distinction, and attended by a body of twelve thousand *Orejans*, or noblemen, who had arms concealed under coats of mail of palm-leaves, contrived to ward off the edge of the *Spanish* swords. Besides this guard, there followed an army of seventy-five thousand men, attended by near thirty thousand servants, women and children. All the *Indians* were richly dressed, and adorned with plates of gold and silver, and great abundance of precious stones. *Pizarro* observed them at a distance; and the glittering appearance they made, served rather to whet his avarice, than raise any emotions of fear. He exhorted his men to be of good courage, and sent an *Indian* to acquaint the emperor, that he impatiently expected his arrival; to which *Atahualpa* made no other reply, than requesting that the *Spaniards* would keep up their dogs and horses, which were so terrible
- b to his people, and not take offence at seeing several of them armed, contrary to his orders and promise, as he again assured them no hostilities were intended. From this message *Pizarro* was convinced that the suspicions of treachery he entertained were well founded. He communicated his sentiments to the chief captains, and a resolution was taken to improve the circumstance to their own advantage, and to place the horse and dogs in ambush, under pretence of complying with the inca's request. Observing that the emperor now pitched his tent in the fields, *Pizarro*, apprehending lest the design might be to postpone the interview until night might furnish the *Indians* with an opportunity of practising some insidious purpose, sent *Aldena*, a *Spaniard*, to beseech him to hasten his march, *Atahualpa* received the messenger angrily, and at first ordered him to be seized and
- c punished; but afterwards suppressing his resentment, he dismissed him courteously, desiring him to acquaint *Pizarro*, that he would be with him immediately. This incident, more and more, betrayed the design of the inca, and put the *Spaniards* on their guard. *Pizarro* ordered a body of musqueteers, to take post on an eminence in the square, and to fire, upon the word of command, among the thickest of the enemy, while the cavalry were to sally out upon different quarters, and to secure the passes, that none of the principal *Indians* might escape. There was something uncommonly bold and desperate in the resolution of attacking an army of near a hundred thousand fighting men, with a party of less than a hundred and seventy soldiers; but the *Spaniards* knew the genius of the *Indians*, their dread of the fire-arms, horses, and dogs, their ignorance of the art of war, and
- d their great disparity in point of courage; nor were they strangers to the strong impressions left upon their minds by the victories obtained at *Puna* and *Tumbez*.

- THE inca advanced with great order and solemnity, amidst the sound and din of warlike instruments, sending out scouts to observe the posture of the enemy, who returned with the joyful intelligence, that only the general, and fifteen of his companions, were waiting on foot in the great square. This advice rendered the *Indians* so bold and tumultuous, that they poured in without order into the square, confident they could easily bring all the *Spaniards* bound to *Atahualpa*. The inca followed the crowd, and raising himself up in his litter, exhorted his people to behave themselves with proper courage and vigilance. They were preparing to fall upon *Pizarro*, when he thought it necessary to justify
- e his own conduct, by once more making pacific overtures, with which he sent the friar *Vincenti Valverde*, accompanied by the interpreter *Filippo*. The friar was admitted to the presence of the inca, who beheld his habit, different from any thing he had before seen, with wonder, asked him several questions about the God-head, the pope, and the emperor; desired to know why the *Spaniards* required that the tribute should be paid to *Charles*, who was of inferior quality to God the Creator and Father, to God the Son, to God the Holy Ghost, and to the pope? He likewise asked the friar, how *Jesus Christ*, who was a God, came to lose his life, and how he came to be informed of all the particulars which he mentioned in his speech concerning the Divinities of the Trinity? To this the friar
- f replied, that he learned all these things from the book he held in his hand, which was a breviary. *Atahualpa* desired to see the book; he took it in his hand, put it to his ear, and not hearing it speak, flung it upon the ground, as if he imagined the friar wanted to impose on his understanding. "You believe, said he, that *Christ* is God, and that he
- " died; I adore the sun and moon, which are immortal. I owe no tribute to any mortal prince, and know none superior to myself. I should be glad to be a friend to the
- " monarch who has sufficiently displayed his power, by sending armies to such distant
- " countries; but I disdain being vassal to any, but the gods. I know of no duty I owe
- " the pope, nor can I see what right he has to dispose of my kingdom. As to changing
- g " my religion, it would be equally foolish and impious in me to abjure the doctrine
- " received by my ancestors, until you have convinced me that it is false, and that yours,
- " which you would have me adopt, in its stead, is true."

WITH this answer the friar returned, not chusing to attempt convincing the mind of the inca by reasoning, when he knew that more powerful arguments were preparing. He

The inca is
defeated and
taken prisoner.

was no sooner returned, than *Pizarro* gave the signal for executing his orders. The mus- a
 queteers began a most terrible fire, while the cavalry sallied out from different quarters, and trod down the affrighted *Indians*. At the same time the foot pressed on with their cross-bows, pikes, and swords, making dreadful slaughter of a confused multitude, who were entirely disconcerted by the suddenness of the attack, the unusual noise of the musquetry, the vigour of the onset, the death of their companions, the fury of the horses and dogs, and a method of fighting, to which they were utter strangers. Mean time, *Pizarro*, sensible that the whole depended on the fate of the inca, fell desperately, with his fifteen targetteers, upon the corps surrounding the royal litter, and met with an unexpectedly obstinate resistance. Great numbers of the *Orejans* were slain; but their place was undauntedly filled up by others; infomuch, that the *Spaniards* must have relin- b
 quished their design of seizing the monarch, through mere fatigue, had not *Miguel*, a resolute soldier, pierced through the middle of the guard, laid hold of the litter, and made way for *Pizarro*, and some other soldiers, who immediately laid hands upon *Atabua-*
 May 3, 1533. *lapa*, overturned the carriage, and took him prisoner. The consternation of the *Indians* was inexpressible upon this event; they endeavoured to escape at the outlets of the square, and there met the fate they endeavoured to avoid. Several thousands were slain, or trampled down, and a multitude perished amidst the ruins of a wall that sunk under their weight. At last a heavy shower of rain put a stop to the carnage, and obliged the *Spaniards*, quite spent with slaying, to look for shelter, carrying with them the inca in triumph, whom they justly esteemed ample security for their future success. *Atabualapa* c
 was conveyed to his quarters, put under a strong guard, and, as *Gomara* ailedges, loaded with irons, which were taken off next morning by order of *Pizarro*. The booty was collected, and it appeared immense. The vessels in gold and silver found in the inca's tent were incredibly rich, one of these alone being reputed worth a hundred thousand ducats. Besides these a prodigious number of ornaments in gold, silver, and jewels were taken from the dead; and one would imagine that the whole wealth of *Peru* had been collected only to reward the valour of the conquerors. Above five hundred women, belonging to the emperor, and his principal attendants, surrendered to *Pizarro*, and were kindly treated. Many of them were of the blood-royal, others were prime favourites of the emperor, and a few vestals taken from the temple of the sun, to pray for the success d
 of the imperial arms, and the destruction of the *Spaniards*.

At first, the *Indians* imagined that *Atabualapa* was slain; but finding that he was only taken prisoner, above five thousand returned to *Caxamalca*, to attend him in his confinement, and bear a share in his affliction. Nothing could be more moving than the fidelity and affection they expressed on this occasion to their sovereign, which convinced the *Spaniards* they could not be too vigilant, as nothing would be neglected by his subjects to procure his liberty. As to the imperial general, *Yiumiravi*, he made the best of his way to *Quito*, carrying off above three thousand loads of treasure, and there exercised the most cruel tyranny (A). Every nobleman of ambition profited by the misfortune of the prince, erected a little dominion for himself, and governed with the most despotic authority; at e
 the same time that others constantly attended the person of the unhappy inca, dried up his tears, and, by their fidelity and attachment, broke the poignancy of his grief, and poured comfort into his wounded bosom; to which *Pizarro* contributed all that lay in his power. He not only gave orders to the *Spaniards* to treat him with the utmost respect, but suffered his women and attendants to have free access to his apartments. In the end he gained so much upon *Atabualapa*, who, at first, was sullen and dejected, that he seemed somewhat reconciled to his situation, and condescended to enter upon divers conversations with the *Spanish* general, who seized that opportunity of disclosing to him more fully the purport of his expedition. Although we mentioned the defeat of the inca, *Huascar*, in the f
 preceeding pages, it was not till this time that *Atabualapa* received the news of his imprisonment. When it was told him he smiled, and said it was extraordinary to be a conqueror and a prisoner in the same instant. Observing that the *Spaniards* were extremely covetous of gold and silver, *Atabualapa* judged that his metal was the key to his liberty, and accordingly made proposals of a prodigious ransom. It is reported, that he offered as

The inca offers
 an immense
 ransom.

(A) *Yiumiravi*, or, as *Garcilasso* calls him, *Rummiravi*, had the bulk of the army at command, and, under pretence of revenging the cause of his sovereign, was actually aspiring at the imperial diadem. He immediately seized upon all the sons and kindred of *Atabualapa*, under pretext of securing them against the violence of the *Spaniards*. He soon afterwards put them

to death, particularly a brother of the inca's, who had ventured to commiserate the misfortunes of the empire. He maintained a court at *Quito*, which was the asylum of all desperadoes, robbers, murderers, and out-laws, whom he cherished and protected, because he was sensible it was their interest to see the government subverted (1).

(1) *Garcilasso*, cap. 28. lib. 2.

a many vessels of gold and silver as would fill the apartments in which he was confined, up to a certain line he had drawn upon the wall, as high as he could reach, amounting, according to *Herrera*, to upwards of ten thousand bars, besides jewels, and precious stones, of inestimable value. He sent for great quantities to the adjacent provinces; but not being able to fulfil his promise, the *Spaniards* murmured, alledging that he had some sinister intention in this delay. The inca excused himself, by alledging the great distance of the places, whence the ransom was to be drawn, and desiring that *Pizarro* would send some of his *Spaniards* to satisfy themselves about the treasures in *Cuzco*, whom he would order his subjects to conduct with safety, and treat with the utmost kindness; affirming, that they had nothing to fear during his imprisonment. This offer was embraced, *Pizarro* b not chusing to deprive him of hope, lest the treasure might be destroyed. In consequence, *Hernando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, were appointed to go to *Cuzco*, while *Hernando Pizarro* undertook to give an account of the wealth contained in *Pacacamec*, and other provinces specified by the inca, where his treasures were deposited. Before their departure, the inca ordered proclamation to be made throughout his dominions, that the *Spaniards* should be hospitably received wherever they went, and shewn every thing they desired.

FULL of expectation of great wealth, and confident of safety, under protection of the inca, the *Spaniards* set out upon their journey, in a kind of litter, which the *Peruvians* call *Huantu* and *Rampa*, supported on the shoulders of twenty *Indians*, who were relieved c by others, posted at certain distances. *Soto* and *Banco* were the first who began their journey, directing their course to *Cuzco*. They met with the most profound respect from the natives, who not only honoured the inca's passport and commands, but regarded the *Spaniards* as the messengers and ministers of some powerful divinity, who had for certain purposes, brought affliction upon their sovereign. Many sacrificed to them, and others loaded them with rich presents, to appease their resentment, and expiate the crimes they had ignorantly committed against heaven. There were some who regarded *Soto* and *Barco* as inferior deities, of a malicious cruel nature, to be satisfied only with gold and silver, of which they made liberal offerings. Not long after their departure, *Hernando Pizarro* began his journey to *Pacacamec*, in the temple of which place the inca affirmed there b were immense treasures. On the road they met with one of the inca's brothers, attended by some hundreds of *Indians*, loaded with plate for the payment of the ransom, amounting to upwards of a million of pieces of eight. The name of this prince was *Quitlaschaca*; he had escaped the snares laid for him by the perfidious *Yiumiravi*, and had used his utmost influence with the *Curacas* to raise a sufficient price for the inca's liberty, for whom he had the most tender fraternal affection. By him the first intelligence was received at *Caxamalca*, of the revolt of the general; but as no measures could be taken for punishing his treachery, until *Atabualapa* was set at liberty, the affair was dropt, in hopes that the return of the *Spaniards* from *Cuzco*, and the other places mentioned, might produce a favourable crisis.

c *PIZARRO* having reached the temple of *Pacacamec*, where he saw every thing corresponding to the inca's relation, returned, after a fatiguing journey, with a good deal of treasure, and one of the inca's generals, named *Chalchuchima*, who had been assembling troops to attempt the recovery of his prince, but had yielded to the remonstrances of *Pizarro*. *Hernando* was so bold, as to go attended only by an interpreter, into the midst of the *Indian* camp, and, by the force of eloquence and argument, prevailed upon the general to attend him to *Pacacamec*, to dismiss his troops, to submit quietly to the fate of his sovereign, and to repair to the place of his confinement, to endeavour, with the rest of his friends, to alleviate his misfortunes, until the ransom was paid. On their f journey, *Hernando Soto*, and his fellow traveller *Barco*, touched at *Sanja*, where the inca *Huascar* was detained prisoner by the officers of *Atabualapa*. Curiosity made them desirous of visiting this prince, and the *Indians* readily gratified their request, upon examining their passport. Little, however, could be made out at the interview, for want of an interpreter. The *Spaniards* had just learned enough of the language, to make themselves barely intelligible in common affairs, with the help of signs; but they found it impossible to conduct a political negotiation. The royal prisoner, however, being given to understand that they were his brother's conquerors, that they professed redressing injuries, and distributing exact justice, conceived great hopes of being reinstated. He g complained of the tyranny, cruelty, and usurpation of his brother, who, not content with robbing him of his crown and dominions, was now going to deprive him of life, for which reason he was kept in close confinement. He conjured them not to leave him in that condition, but to take him under their protection to *Cuzco*, where his presence would

would be mutually beneficial. He promised not only to fulfil the promise made by *Atabualapa*, respecting the ransom, but to pay the *Spaniards* much larger sums than his brother had in his power, as great part of his treasure had been concealed during the late war, and deposited secretly in the hands of his faithful vassals. It was certainly unpolitic in the *Spaniards* to refuse these proposals; but they feared that attempts might be made to rescue the prince out of their hands, when they had no power to protect him; and therefore contented themselves with promising, that, on their return from *Cuzco*, they would conduct him safe to their commander. By this means *Huascar* lost his life, and the *Spaniards* immense treasures, no account of which could ever afterwards be obtained. *Atabualapa*'s officers soon gave him notice of *Huascar*'s promise, as to the *Spaniards*; and he dreading the consequences, determined to remove so dangerous a rival out of the way; upon which he immediately founded *Pizarro*, desiring, in the most artful manner, to know how he stood affected. He just told him, that his officers had unadvisedly killed *Huascar*; and finding *Pizarro* extremely indifferent, then sent private orders that he should be immediately strangled, which was punctually executed, while *Soto* and *Barco* were at *Cuzco* (B).

The Spaniards
send to Cuzco.

On the arrival of the *Spaniards* in that city, they were astonished at the respect and deference shewn them by the *Indians*, of both parties. The friends of *Huascar*, imagining that prince was still living, endeavoured to engage the strangers in his interest, by the utmost civilities, and the most liberal presents and offerings; those of the opposite faction put on a similar behaviour, in expectation of procuring the release of *Atabualapa*. The vestals, called *Mamaconas*, dedicated to the sun, were ordered to attend upon the strangers, whom they regarded as the children of that luminary. Unfortunately, however, the *Spaniards* abused the respect shewn them, laughed at the simplicity of their votaries, and thereby incurred their hatred and contempt; a ridiculous weakness which *Herrera* ascribes to four *Spaniards*, who attended *Soto* and *Barco* on this expedition. To their misconduct, the same writer attributes the great effusion of blood that ensued; for had the *Spaniards* maintained the dignity of their character and indulged the natives in their superstitious veneration, they would probably have quietly received the yoke, and submitted to the will of their conquerors, whom they beheld as the descendants of the great god *Virachoca*. As the emperor's chief treasures were lodged in the great temple, application was made to the high priest *Vilavina*, to issue out what was necessary for *Atabualapa*'s ransom, which he readily granted. Immense quantities of gold and silver were accordingly brought to the *Spaniards*, who set out with it to *Caxamalca*, attended by several hundreds of the natives, loaded with the precious metals, in vases, urns, and other utensils of curious workmanship. *Pizarro* was astonished at the prodigious wealth that flowed in, which greatly surpassed his most sanguine expectations; but not satisfied, he obtained a grant from his prisoner of the treasures contained in the temple of *Pacacamec*, in the province of the incas, which his brother *Hernando* had surveyed.

Almagro joins
Pizarro.

By this time *Pizarro* was joined by *Almagro*, an hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, and fifty horses brought from *Panama*, with great difficulty and danger. Endeavours were used to revive their mutual animosities, and create jealousies that might have proved destructive to the enterprise; but *Almagro* discovering that his secretary was in the conspiracy, ordered him to be hanged, and for that time quieted the suspicions entertained, that he had planned an expedition independent on *Pizarro*. After refreshing his people, he offered to attend the general's three brothers to *Pacacamec*; and accordingly set out upon that journey, being every-where well treated by the natives, tho' great part of the treasure was concealed before his arrival. The report of the behaviour of the *Spaniards* at *Cuzco* had spread itself to *Pacacamec*, which determined the priests of the temple of the sun to disappoint their avarice, and obstruct the plundering of so ancient and venerable a temple. It is affirmed, that four hundred load of plate had been carried away, and concealed in such a manner that it never afterwards appeared. Notwithstanding this, the *Spaniards* found as much as amounted to ninety thousand pieces of eight, besides several pieces of rich plate, stolen and plundered by the soldiers, with which they returned to *Caxamalca*.

Divisions among
the Spaniards.

ALL the treasure being now collected, and the inca's promise punctually fulfilled, he demanded his liberty according to agreement; but divisions arising among the *Spaniards*, the execution of their promise was entirely neglected. Their business was to amass wealth,

(B) The manner of *Huascar*'s death is variously related. *Augustino de Carate* speaks as if he had been cut in pieces, and his flesh devoured by his barbarous murderers. *Acosta* relates that he was burnt; but all agree he was put to death by order of his brother, after he had sifted the sentiments of *Pizarro* (1).

(1) *Apud Garcil. lib. i. cap. 33. pag. 470.*

a and little regard was paid to the sentiments which the natives might entertain of their integrity and honour. *Almagro's* people insisted upon sharing all the acquisitions made since the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, because they had contributed equally to the success of the expedition, as if they had been actually present. This, indeed, was true of *Almagro* himself, but not of the soldiers he had enlisted subsequent to the imprisonment of the inca. *Pizarro* readily admitted the claim of his partner, and, to avoid the consequences of disputation, ordered that the value of a hundred thousand ducats should be distributed among his followers, with which they appeared satisfied. Agreeable to the power vested in him as lieutenant-governor and generalissimo, he then passed a decree, ordaining, that the king's fifth should be deducted, and the remainder of the treasure be divided in
b a certain proportion to each, according to the merit that should be adjudged him by his commander. After imploring the divine assistance to enable him to perform exact justice, he then shared to the amount of one million, five hundred and twenty-eight thousand, five hundred pieces of eight, deducting the king's fifth, and all other incumbrances and expences. In this division the *Spaniards* reaped the fruits of all their labour, as far as riches could afford a recompence; but the effects did not correspond with their wishes. Wealth is not always productive of felicity; and it appeared, on this occasion, that the prodigious treasures amassed served only to diminish the enjoyment of the adventurers, who were infinitely more happy in expectation, than actual enjoyment. The great plenty of precious metal diminished its value one half; those who imagined themselves rolling in wealth, were astonished to find they, in reality, had but half what they expected.
c Disappointment begat jealousy, the parent of discord; it also naturally produced avarice, each striving to acquire a fortune equal to what he first imagined he enjoyed. Gaming grew to an exorbitant height among them, and property was continually shifting from one hand to another. The tides of affluence and indigence brought along with them an infinity of vices, which foiled all the authority and influence of the commander, and rendered the *Spanish* conquerors the most profligate, corrupt, and abandoned set of miscreants in the universe. No regard was paid to the most sacred obligations; wealth was the only pursuit, and power the only rule of right; nor was *Pizarro* himself untainted with the general depravity. *Atahualpa*, in the most pressing manner, urged the compact for his liberty,
d every particular of which he had fulfilled. He offered to lay himself under the strictest ties, to act in nothing contrary to the interest of the *Spaniards*, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor *Charles V.* to pay a regular tribute, to receive baptism, as soon as his understanding could be convinced, and, at all events, to live upon terms of the strictest amity with the *Spaniards*; but his remonstrances were vain, and fresh pretexts were invented to prolong his confinement. Upon these delays, some of his commanders proposed attempting his release, by force of arms; to which he very prudently refused his consent, admonishing them in the strongest manner not to have recourse to violence, which might endanger his life, and the total subversion of the empire. In obedience to him they laid aside their designs; but the discontent which appeared in their countenances excited suspicions in the *Spaniards*, which were corroborated by the whispers of
e the *Yuaconas*, or *Peruvian* slaves, who were grown rich, haughty, and insolent, during the late confusion, and desirous of a change in the *Orejans*, or nobility. They spread a variety of reports, the foundation of which could never be traced, though they were readily believed by the *Spaniards*, who wanted an apology for their own perfidious conduct. *Pizarro* doubled the guards, and very probably cherished rumours which he could not possibly credit. *Atahualpa* grew extremely uneasy, and remonstrated with him; but meeting with no satisfactory answer, poured his grievances into the bosom of *Hernando*
f *Pizarro*, who had gained his confidence and affection. The whole blame of these disturbances were charged upon the *Indian* general, *Qualiquietriama*, who would certainly have been sacrificed to the vengeance of the *Spaniards*, had not *Hernando* interposed, and asserted his innocence.

It was now the subject of great grief and mortification to *Atahualpa*, that he was going to be deprived of the only person, among the *Spaniards*, for whom he had entertained a friendship. The general thought it necessary to transmit an account of his success to the court of *Spain*, to remit the king's fifth, and thereby insure the countenance and protection of the emperor and ministry. His brother was appointed to discharge this commission; and the inca was no sooner informed of the resolution,
g than he imagined his ruin was determined. He told *Hernando* his fears, and bewailed himself in the most piteous manner, saying, "that he was now deprived of hope, as he had lost his only remaining friend and confident." In this he discovered his

penetration, for *Hernando* was departed but a few days, when all that *Atahualpa* had fore-
seen happened (C).

THE discontents of *Almagro's* soldiers, which were again revived, their refusal to be led to the reduction of the provinces, the difficulty of keeping so mighty a potentate as the inca securely confined, the attempts which would probably be set on foot to procure his release, the jealousy which his breach of promise must excite in the *Indians*, and the almost impossibility of establishing the dominion of the crown of *Spain* over such an immense tract of country, greatly perplexed *Pizarro*, and suggested the first hint of the necessity of putting *Atahualpa* to death. This he regarded as equitable, because it was convenient; it being a maxim of his policy, to stick at nothing which contributed to his own interest, the security of his people, and the good of the public, however, contrary to the faith of treaties and engagements. A notion that it was essential to the accomplishment of the conquest of the *Peruvian* monarchy, was the actuating motive to this base action, whatever the *Spanish* writers may alledge of intrigues carried on by *Filippo*, the interpreter, in consequence of a passion which he entertained for one of the inca's women. It is not indeed improbable that *Filippo* might be employed as a tool to *Pizarro*, to stir up those discontents among the *Incaconas*, which we have mentioned; but all the stories related of the egregious ignorance of the general are no way compatible with his birth or refined policy. *Garcilasso* alledges, that the inca, who at first adored him as a god, began to fall off from his respect, on observing that *Pizarro* was rough, unpolished, ignorant, and void of honour. The same writer observes, that *Atahualpa* admiring nothing so much as the faculty of conveying ideas by writing, one day resolved to make experiment of the reality of the pretended art, desired a *Spanish* soldier to write the word God upon his thumb-nail, which he had heard them often repeat; then calling another soldier, he desired to know what these characters meant, and was answered God. He called a third, and received the same answer; and at last putting the question to the general, *Pizarro* replied he could not tell; and hence it is inferred he could not read, and asserted that he sunk greatly in the inca's opinion, for shewing himself inferior, in point of knowledge, to the common soldiers. Insinuations are likewise given, as if this circumstance tended to widen the breach between the emperor and the commander, and hurry on the tragical end of the former. *Pizarro* was piqued to observe the contempt in which he was held by a barbarian; and all constraint being now removed, since the departure of his brother, who strenuously vindicated the inca upon all occasions, caused a formal process to be drawn up against him, consisting of several articles, many of which were truly absurd and ridiculous. That being a bastard, without any right to the imperial diadem, he had ordered his brother, and legitimate sovereign, *Huascar*, to be put to death, and seized his dominions. That he had given orders for this barbarous murder since his own imprisonment by the *Spaniards*. That he was an idolater. That he not only allowed, but commanded, the sacrifices of men, women, and children. That he had raised unjust wars, and occasioned much blood-shed and cruelty. That he had levied taxes and tributes since the arrival of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, and consumed and embezzled the public treasure, which now became the property of the conquerors. Lastly, that he had endeavoured to stir up factions and rebellions against the *Spaniards*. From hence it appears that *Pizarro* was resolved, at all events, to rid himself of the inca; for else would he never have strained so hard to find sufficient ground of impeachment.

To all these charges the inca pleaded not guilty. With respect to the death of his brother, he justly alledged that the *Spaniards* could take no legal cognizance of the fact. With regard to the taxes which he had levied, and the wars he had carried on, they were nothing to the *Spaniards*; and as to the conspiracy mentioned in the impeachment, it was utterly false and groundless. He called heaven and earth to witness the integrity with which he had discharged his engagements, and the perfidy of his accusers; and desired he might be sent over to *Spain* to take his trial before the emperor; but little regard was paid to his remonstrances, he exclaimed, he reasoned, he intreated in vain; *Pizarro* proceeded out of form to examine sham evidences, and after a full hearing, *Al-*

(C) With *Hernando Pizarro* near fifty *Spaniards* returned to *Spain* with immense fortunes. *Almagro* solicited, by letters, that he might be constituted adelantado of certain countries beyond those assigned to *Pizarro*, and entirely independent on his authority. Knowing that a difference subsisted between the two brothers, he entrusted this commission to *Hernando*, and is said to have gained the promise of his interest, by a present of twenty thousand ducats. The wealth which they brought to *Panama*, raised such a spirit in the inhabitants of that place, that it was with difficulty the governor could restrain the whole colony from seeking their fortunes in *Peru*. (1)

(1) *Garcil.* Lib. i. *Hrr.* Dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. 5.

a *magro* and he occupying the bench, condemned him to be burnt, giving the sentence into the hands of the friar *Vincenti Valverde*, to be reviled and confirmed. It is alledged that the friar used every argument with the inca to convert him to Christianity; and that he at last prevailed, on assuring him that he should get the sentence changed from burning to strangling, which the unhappy prince now regarded as an extraordinary favour. In all other respects the sentence was rigorously executed, and the inca yielded up his last breath with that resolution, firmness, and heroism, which would have done honour to a more civilized prince, and legitimate sovereign. *Pizarro* did not carry his resentment farther than the grave; he now treated with the utmost honour the royal corpse, went into mourning, and saw it interred with the most solemn magnificence; but he soon found how detestable

b this action rendered him to the natives. As there appeared no necessity to keep the death of the inca secret, it soon spread into the remotest parts of the empire. Most hideous cries were first set up by his women as the funeral procession passed; many offered to bury themselves with him, which being refused, they hanged themselves out of grief and vexation. Their affliction communicated itself, like a contagious distemper, to all who resided near them; the whole town of *Caxamalca* was filled with lamentations, and the melancholy scene extended itself over the provinces, then to *Quito*, and afterwards to all the countries that acknowledged the sovereignty of *Atabualapa*. His personal merit had gained him powerful alliances, and his misfortunes could not fail to move pity. Friends and enemies joined in accusing the *Spaniards* of treachery and inhumanity. The ambition

c of the deceased prince, with all its fatal consequences, were forgot, and nothing now was present to the imagination of his people but his virtues, which they exaggerated, as if to aggravate the crime of his barbarous murderers. Loads of gold that were coming to *Caxamalca*, by order of *Atabualapa*, were now brought back to *Cuzco*, and the loss of the treasure was the first unfortunate consequence which the *Spaniards* perceived to flow from their late unjust and iniquitous measures. The two factions of *Indians* united against *Pizarro*, and many of the *Spaniards* not only exclaimed against the death of the inca as a base infraction of the laws of nations, and a violation of the *Spanish* honour; but they would even have proceeded to open mutiny, had not the impending danger united them for their common safety. At *Cuzco*, the friends of the late emperor *Huascar* immediately

d proclaimed *Manco Capac*, the legitimate brother of the late inca, and determined to support him with the last drop of their blood against the machinations and violences of the *Spaniards*; while *Pizarro* set up *Taparpa*, the son of *Atabualapa*, caused him to wear the imperial diadem, to be treated with all the honours due to the dignity of emperor, and to have all orders and public business dispatched in his name. It was essentially necessary to the success of his designs to gain possession of *Cuzco*, the capital, and suppress the opposite faction before it could gather strength sufficient to maintain the vigorous resolutions taken. Accordingly he set out from *Caxamalca*, attended by the new inca, after having spent seven months in that city, where he met with the most luxurious accommodation, the soldiers being emasculated with ease and abundance. Near the valley of *Xauna*, advice was brought,

e that an army of *Indians* had occupied the passes, and resolved to dispute *Pizarro's* progress. Advancing a few miles farther, the plain was seen covered with armed troops; a sight extremely formidable to the *Spaniards*, who so long enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and were now fatigued with the march, and the prodigious rains that had lately fallen. *Almagro* led the van; he approached so near as to hear the enemy's revilings, and giving way to his indignation, attacked them with great impetuosity, after having passed a rapid river, in despite of all their opposition. Nothing could withstand the *Spanish* cavalry; the *Indians* were confounded, broken, and defeated, before the rear came to close fighting. They lost great numbers in the flight, and left behind a considerable quantity of gold, and other

f booty. In the fruitful vale of *Xauna* was a temple dedicated to the sun, where the conquerors likewise found some wealth; and here *Pizarro* resolved to found a colony, which, however, was not permanent, it being afterwards removed to the place where now stands the city *Des los Reyes*, afterwards called *Lima*.

Consequences
of his death.

Manco pro-
claimed inca
by the natives.

While *Pizarro* was thus employed, *Ferdinando Soto* was detached with sixty horse, to make the best of his way to *Cuzco*, and clear the road for the march of the remainder of the army. *Soto* had not advanced far, when he received intelligence, that a considerable body of the enemy had fortified themselves at *Cavabayo*, to defend that pass; and fearing lest his strength should be unequal, he sent notice to *Pizarro*, and desired that the inca might join him, because the presence and influence of the monarch might possibly save the effusion of blood, and obtain the ends of a victory without the hazard; but *Taparpa* fell sick about this time, died, and thereby frustrated all the expectations entertained by the *Spaniards* of bringing the *Indians*, by means of their friend the inca, to acknowledge their authority,

authority, without the necessity of having recourse to arms. *Soto* was now forced to place his dependence on his own valour; the *Indians* had cut down a bridge over an exceeding rapid river that divided them from the *Spaniards*; but *Soto*, without regard to the violence of the stream, plunged in with his horse, made the opposite banks, put the enemy in consternation, defeated them without striking a blow, and performed what has never been since attempted, the fording a river which had always been deemed impassible, and without the loss of a single horse, or soldier. The enemy flying to *Lima Tambo*, he continued the pursuit, notwithstanding he had received orders to advance slowly, saying, it would be folly and cowardice to adhere so literally to orders, as to neglect seizing the opportunity of an important advantage, which could not possibly be foreseen when the orders were issued. Accordingly he continued his march along the great road of *Cbina-bayso* to the mountain of *Bilcacongá*, seven leagues from *Cuzco*, where the *Indians* determined to fortify a difficult pass, to dig pits and trenches, and fill them with stakes, to incommode the horses. Here they resolved to make their last effort; great abundance of provision was brought, the army was augmented, some alledge the new inca was present, and every measure taken that could defeat the intention the *Spaniards* had of seizing the capital. They said it was shameful to suffer themselves to be driven like a flock of sheep before sixty strangers, whose chief dependence was founded on the pusillanimity of their enemies. The present opportunity was favourable, and they ought to strike the blow, where the *Spanish* horse could not act on account of the ruggedness of the country. *Soto* could have no reliance upon assistance from *Pizarro*, who was employed in reducing the *Yuanas* and *Yayas*, and settling the new colony. He, therefore, reposed his whole hopes on vigour, and the possibility of repulsing the *Indian* army before it could be reinforced. As he advanced, however, it was perceived that the enemy were exceedingly numerous. The whole face of the mountain was covered with their forces, and unexpected difficulties occurred with respect to the danger of the pass. The *Indians* began to pour in their darts and arrows upon the *Spaniards* with more resolution and regularity than they were accustomed to observe, which produced murmurings and discontents among the soldiers. Upon this *Soto* told his people, that it was now necessary to conquer or die. The numbers of the enemy cut off all possibility of retreating, without being exposed to disgrace, and the most imminent danger; and, if they hesitated a moment, the same difficulty would attend their advancing, new levies being continually joining the inca. One victory more, he said, would remove every obstacle, and the same valour which had hitherto proved invincible, would now likewise be successful, if they would exert it as became *Spaniards*. This speech gave new life and vigour to the troops. They advanced with great resolution up the hill, amidst showers of the enemy's weapons, and reaching the narrow pass, they formed themselves two a-breast, cut their way through the *Indians*, made dreadful slaughter, and at last reached the summit of the mountain, in despite of all resistance. Five soldiers and two horses were killed in this attack, and eleven men and fourteen horses wounded; however, the joy of obtaining a victory rendered this loss of less consideration. It is probable that *Soto* must have encountered the same dangers next morning, had not *Almagro* seasonably arrived with a reinforcement, which so dispirited the *Indians*, that they dropped their intention of renewing the engagement, and suffered the *Spaniards* to proceed unmolested.

PIZARRO had detached *Gabriel de Rojas* with a party to *Pacacama*, about the same time that *Soto* began his march for *Cuzco*. This officer was met on the road by the *Peruvian* general *Quizquaz*^f, and twelve thousand men, who had determined upon revenging the death of the inca *Atabualapa*. *Herrera* and most of the *Spanish* writers relate, that a battle was fought, which terminated to the advantage of *Rojas*; but *Garcilasso* affirms, that *Quizquaz* receiving intelligence of the approach of the *Spaniards*, in a careless manner placed a great number of troops in ambush in the woods and rocks, and ranging his army in a semicircle, in a narrow pass through which the *Spaniards* must proceed, attacked them with great fury, and at the first onset wounded four soldiers in the rear, and killed twelve auxiliary *Indians*. When the horse advanced, *Quizquaz* retreated slowly among the rocks, where part of his troops were concealed, and by this means drew the *Spaniards* into his snare. The cavalry pursued, and were suddenly attacked by the *Indians* in ambuscade. Here the slaughter began, seventeen *Spaniards* were killed, several were wounded, and seven fell into the hands of the enemy. A multitude of the auxiliary *Indians* lay bleeding on the field, and the victory was complete in favour of *Quizquaz*^g, altho' it is disputed by the *Spanish* writers. *Garcilasso* speaks, as if *Pizarro* had been present in this battle; and he affirms, that the *Spanish* wounded and prisoners were treated with the

Several expeditions made by the *Spaniards* into different provinces.

^f *HERRERA*.

^g *GARCILASSO*, lib. ii. cap. 5.

- a greatest humanity by the *Indians*, whose general accepted peace notwithstanding his victory. One they put to death, upon information that he was deeply concerned in the death of the inca *Atahualpa*, and had actually drawn up the process against the monarch, although this account was in reality false. It was owing to the policy and diligence of the *Spanish* prisoners, that a peace was negotiated. They so gained upon the affections of the *Indians*, and powerfully represented the madness of opposing *Pizarro*, who had more than half the empire in his interest, that they dismissed them with rich presents of gold, signed a peace with them, as the representatives of the general, and exhorted them to procure his ratification of the treaty; the terms of which were to the following purpose. That henceforward all hostilities should cease between the *Spaniards* and *Indians*. That the
- b *Spaniards* should not deprive the new inca of his right, nor oppose his election. That the *Spaniards* should set all the *Indians* at liberty whom they held in chains, and that henceforward no *Indian* should be imprisoned who was willing to enter into the *Spanish* service. That all the laws made by the former incas, which were not prejudicial to the pretensions of the *Spaniards*, should remain in force; and that the governor Don *Francisco Pizarro* should send this treaty to the court of *Spain*, to be ratified by the emperor.

- THE new colony at *St. Miguel* was left under the direction of *Sebastian de Belalcazar*. Since the departure of *Pizarro*, it was powerfully reinforced by a great number of *Spaniards*, that flocked from *Panama*, upon the report of the immense riches acquired by the adventurers. *Belalcazar*, who was of a warlike, enterprising spirit, thought to profit
- c by his strength, enlarge his stock of riches by new conquests, and rival the power of the other commanders, by striking some blow equally important and unexpected. He contrived matters with such address, that the council proposed he should march with a body of forces to *Quito*, where it was reported *Atahualpa*, and the preceding inca, had treasured up much wealth. He was not long in obeying the orders of the magistrates. Having assembled a corps of an hundred and forty horse and foot well armed, he marched to *Carrachabamba*, one of the interior mountainous provinces, and, before he reached *Zeropalta*, suffered incredible hardships. The news of his progress soon reached *Quito*; upon which it is supposed that the *Indians* concealed a prodigious quantity of gold and silver, in order to disappoint the *Spaniards*, whose avarice they detested. They also as-
- d sembled forces to oppose them, under the conduct of *Yiuruminavi*, who represented to them the danger that threatened their liberty, lives, and property. The first thing done by this general was to dispatch a body of men to watch the motions of the *Spaniards*, in the neighbourhood of *Zeropalta*. Without knowing any thing of this detachment, *Belalcazar* was advancing with thirty horse towards *Tomabamba*, met the *Indian* party on the road, and by his presence, with the terror which his horse inspired, defeated their designs, and obliged them to retire with great precipitation to the main army.

Belalcazar's expedition to Quito.

- WHILE the *Spanish* commander resided at *Tomabamba*, he received an embassy from the inhabitants of the provinces called *Canaries*, desiring an alliance with the *Spaniards*, in order to revenge the cruelties committed by the friends of *Atahualpa*, in their country,
- e during the late civil commotions. Their request was readily granted, and *Belalcazar* exhorted them to raise forces immediately to assist in the designs formed upon *Quito*. However, before any effects could be expected from this confederacy, advice of the defeat of their detachment arrived at *Quito*, where it produced the strongest and most ardent thirst of revenge. It was immediately resolved to raise an army of fifty thousand men, and to crush the *Spaniards* under the weight of numbers. *Belalcazar* was no less diligent and eager. He detached a small party of ten horse, under the conduct of *Ruyz Diaz*, to get intelligence, and reconnoitre the enemy's disposition. This party was soon attacked, and surrounded by a body of *Indians* placed in ambush by the general. The *Spaniards*
- f fought with great resolution, and made dreadful carnage; but he must have sunk under the weight of superior numbers, had not one of his soldiers broke through the enemy by an extraordinary effort, and given advice to *Belalcazar* of the danger of *Ruyz*. Leaving a small party for the security of his quarters, *Belalcazar* posted away to the assistance of this brave officer, whom he found fighting valiantly in the midst of heaps of slaughtered *Indians*. The enemy were not discouraged either with their loss, or the arrival of *Belalcazar*: on the contrary, their fury was exalted, they redoubled their endeavours, and appeared determined to perish or to conquer; but fatigue, at length, obliged the combatants to separate, as if by mutual agreement, the *Indians* all the while denouncing vengeance, and
- g boasting that the *Spaniards* would find a different kind of resistance in their approaches to *Quito*, to what they met with at *Caxamalca*.

In the night *Belalcazar* took the utmost care of his wounded, while the enemy employed themselves diligently in making such fortifications as the time would allow, and they thought sufficient to resist the power of the *Spaniards*. Of this the *Spanish* commander was

aware. The courage and obstinacy they had shewn the past day, left him little hope that he should be able to force their entrenchments; he therefore resolved to try the effects of policy, and, while the darkness of the night concealed his motions, to take the road of *Chima* and *Tarbas*. An *Indian* offered to conduct him by a safe road through which he might escape the enemy; but he had scarce marched a league when he was overtaken, and attacked in the rear, by the whole body of the *Indian* army. At the same time, *Yiuruminavi* dispatched several thousand men to occupy the passes, and dig pits, which he ordered to be covered with grass, as passes for the cavalry. The action was sustained in the rear by thirty horse, while *Belalcazar*, with the rest of the troops, struggled to gain a neighbouring eminence, which he at last accomplished, after much difficulty, and then sent succour to the cavalry in the rear. Here the battle raged for some time, until the enemy thought that the pits, ordered to be dug, were finished; when they drew off, and wheeled, with great velocity, to the front. What the consequence of this stratagem might have been, is uncertain, had it not been discovered to *Belalcazar* by a deserter; but it was now rendered abortive by the resolution of the *Spaniards* to quit the road to *Ricbamba*, and make the best of their way over some steep mountains leading to *Quito*. When the *Indians* observed their intention, they were dispirited, not doubting but the *Spaniards* were protected by some divinity, who revealed all the stratagem contrived against them. They insisted that their generals would make immediate proposals of peace; but *Yiuruminavi* laboured to convince them, that it was better to perish with their swords in their hands, than to become the slavish dependants on an insolent, rapacious enemy, who paid no regard to justice, innocence, treaties, misfortune, or the most sacred ties of religion and humanity. His eloquence again roused up their resentment, and they marched in pursuit of the *Spaniards*, who arrived safe at the stately palace of *Ricbamba* before they were overtaken. From thence they sallied out with thirty horse upon the *Indians*, and drove them back with great slaughter; but they again returned at the persuasion of their general, and seemed determined to dispute every inch of the road to *Quito*. After resting twelve days, *Belalcazar* resumed his march, and was joined on the road by a body of his new allies, the *Canaries*, who congratulated him very cordially on his late victories, and assured him of their endeavours to render the issue of the expedition as fortunate as the beginning. They were averse to all pacific overtures; however, the *Spanish* general, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, in case of any untoward incident, made very equitable proposals to the *Indians*, which were rejected by *Yiuruminavi*, who was now fortified on the opposite bank of a river, over which the *Spaniards* were to pass. The cavalry led the way, and charged with great impetuosity; the infantry followed, ply'd their musketry and cross-bows while they were crossing the river, and, as soon as they touched shore, fell in with their swords upon the enemy with irresistible fury, and defeated them at the first onset, making very considerable slaughter, and a number of prisoners. Here they had likewise dug pits for the horses; but the *Spaniards* grown cautious by experience, discovered and eluded the stratagem: yet still they were continually harrassed in their march; every thing produced fresh and obstinate skirmishes. *Belalcazar* was tired and shocked with slaughter and bloodshed; he sent an *Indian*, with a cross in his hand, to make proposals of peace, or, at least, of a cessation from hostilities, which many of the *Indians* were ready to embrace, had not *Yiuruminavi* again interposed, and by his inflammatory eloquence revived the dying sparks of resentment and vengeance. He painted the character of the *Spaniards* in the most odious colours, and declared his fixed resolution rather to perish than submit, a determination to which all presently acceded. They honoured their leader with the title of *atundapo*, or great lord, and, in the transport of their fury, murdered the messenger. Every mind was bent on opposing the advances of the *Spaniards* to *Quito*; they made perpetual attacks, and kept *Belalcazar* in continual alarm and hurry, but could not prevent his reaching a pass in the country of *Quito*, which they had fortified with all the knowledge they possessed in the art of war. Several deep trenches had been dug here, and divers little bastions, filled with archers, were erected; however, the fame of the immense treasures contained in the capital of the province so inflamed the minds of the *Spaniards*, that they pushed the attack with more than human valour, carried all the works before them at the first assault, drove the enemy to take shelter in *Quito*, and from thence in the mountains. *Yiuruminavi* perceiving he could not maintain his ground in the city, used his utmost influence with the inhabitants to retire to the mountains, and there watch the first favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy, lulled in security, and intoxicated with prosperity; but three hundred families having resolved to rely upon the humanity of the *Spaniards*, he ordered them to be massacred, and their houses levelled to the ground. Thus *Belalcazar* got possession of the city, without opposition, though here he expected the greatest resistance; but none of the vast treasures

a of which fame had spoke loudly were to be found, to the grievous disappointment of the soldiers, who now regretted all their past labours. *Belalcazar* made the strictest enquiry amongst the natives; but he could obtain no other answer, than that *Turuminaui* had concealed it in some place unknown to them, and that great riches were carried off by the families who retreated to the mountains.

MEAN time *Pedro de Alvarado*, one of the principal officers engaged under *Cortez* in the conquest of *Mexico*, was seduced by the report of the inexhaustible wealth of *Peru* to raise an armament for invading that empire, contrary to the express privileges granted to *Pizarro* and *Almagro*. Almost all the *Spanish* settlements on the continent were abandoned by the inhabitants, who flocked in crowds to share in the honour and profit of *Pizarro's* enterprize. *Alvarado* with regret beheld himself second to *Cortez* in the former expedition; but he hoped to render himself equal, or even superior to *Pizarro* in the second; and to his own experience in the art of war, he joined the assistance of some of the best officers and approved soldiers of the age. *Garcilasso de la Vega*, whose father attended *Alvarado* upon this occasion, alledges, that he had a commission from *Charles V.* to conquer, govern, and plant all those countries on that part of the continent, not yet possessed by the *Spaniards*, and that his jurisdiction was wholly independent on the authority of *Pizarro* and *Almagro*: this is possible enough; but with respect to *Peru*, it was contained in the charter given to *Pizarro*. While *Alvarado's* fleet and army were getting ready, he dispatched *Garcias Holguin*, in a small vessel, to procure some intelligence of the country and coast, against which he intended the expedition, and also of the progress of the *Spaniards*; but *Holguin*, after encountering manifold hardships, could proceed no farther than *Puerto Viejo*, where he received some vague accounts of *Pizarro*, the riches he had acquired, the immense wealth that still remained; and a few other general pieces of information, with which he returned to *Alvarado*, and whetted the appetite of the mariners and soldiers for pursuing the enterprize. They now embarked to the number of seven hundred men, two hundred and twenty-seven of whom were horsemen; and, after thirty days sailing, arrived at *Cape St. Francis*, in one degree of north latitude. *Alvarado* perceiving the crews grew sickly, and that the horses perished, or contracted such diseases as would render them useless, landed on the bay of *Caragues*, harangued his men, nominated all his officers, sent the provisions by sea to *Puerto Viejo*, and proceeded with some horse to *Mantua*, a town in which was found a very rich booty in gold and silver. Orders were given to the pilot to sail along the coast of *Peru*, to the farther extremity of *Pizarro's* government, to make the necessary charts, observe the soundings and harbours, and set up marks of having taken formal possession. It appears that *Alvarado* had no design to encroach on *Pizarro's* rights; but the exaggerated accounts which the *Indians* gave of the incredible wealth of *Quito*, so inflamed his people, that he was compelled into that expedition, to avoid being deserted. The hardships from famine and fatigue, encountered in this tedious and perilous march, proved the ruin of his army. Great numbers of men and horses died, and to such necessity were the troops reduced, that even the officers lived upon the flesh of dogs and horses which had perished with want. What the *Spanish* writers relate of his having passed over snowy mountains under the equator, and losing sixty of his people, who were frozen to death, has so much the air of fable, that we do not chuse to follow them in so extraordinary a particular. Very probably the heavy rains, which fell in those countries, might have produced a mortality among the *Spaniards*; and we cannot possibly deny, although we have the liberty of doubting another circumstance in the *Spanish* account of this expedition. It is affirmed, that *Alvarado* directed his march over a sandy desert, wholly destitute of water; where all his people must infallibly have perished, had they not providentially met with large groves of bamboe canes, of extraordinary size, in the joints of which were found a sufficient quantity of excellent water for the men and horses.

Pedro Alvarado arrives in Peru.

AT this time *Pizarro* and *Almagro* were deeply engaged in the progress of their conquest, and the news of *Alvarado's* approach and designs gave them the greatest disturbance. A body of horse was immediately detached by *Almagro* to watch his motions; but this party fell into *Alvarado's* hands, was kindly treated, and dismissed. This moderation suggested the first idea of compromising differences in such a manner, that all should heartily unite in the same design. *Almagro* made the proposals, and they were accepted, without hesitation, by *Alvarado*; who was sensible of the necessity of perfect harmony among the *Spaniards*, which alone could insure success to any of the parties engaged in this arduous enterprize. An interview was appointed, and the following agreement signed by the commanders; that an hundred thousand pesos should be paid to *Alvarado*, by *Pizarro* and *Almagro*; that such of *Alvarado's* officers and soldiers as desired to serve under *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, should be provided for as their own troops, according to the merit of their services; that

He comes to an agreement with Pizarro and Almagro.

Alvarado

He comes to an
agreement
with Pizarro
and Almagro.

Alvarado should return to *Mexico*, after he had visited *Pizarro* at *Cuzco*, of which capital a he had heard the most extravagant accounts. There were some other stipulations of less consequence in this treaty, to which both parties adhered with great punctuality; except that *Pizarro*, apprehensive lest seeing the immense wealth of *Cuzco* might stagger *Alvarado's* resolution, sent him a message, that he would save him the trouble of so tedious a journey, and give him the meeting in the valley *Pacacamec*; for which place he immediately set out, escorted by a body of cavalry. Here he met with *Alvarado* and *Almagro*, to the former of whom he gave the command of all the troops while he remained there, in order to ingratiate himself the more, and by acts of complaisance keep *Alvarado* steady to his agreement. He also paid him 20,000 pesos more than was stipulated in the treaty, made him several valuable presents of torquises, and other precious stones, and conducted him- b self with so much address, that *Alvarado* returned perfectly satisfied to *Mexico*, having been fully recompenced for the expences and trouble of the expedition, and assured that all his soldiers and officers would be well provided for, according to their several abilities.

A. D. 1534.
Pizarro sets
out for *Cuzco*.

WE must now return to survey the proceedings of *Pizarro*, previous to the agreement with *Alvarado*, which we were obliged to defer, to prevent interrupting the chain of events. He had remained at *Caxamalca* since the death of *Atahualpa*, contenting himself with sending detachments to gain a more perfect knowledge of the different provinces. We have related the issue of these expeditions, and the death of the new inca, *Taparta*, set up by the Spaniards. *Pizarro* now determined to follow *Soto*, with the rest of the forces, and proceed to *Cuzco*; the total reduction of which might greatly contribute to restore the c tranquility of *Peru*, and dispose the natives to submission. *Almagro* accompanied him in this march, and was chiefly instrumental in the defeat of an *Indian* army that opposed their progress, and gave battle in the vale of *Xauxa*. On the mountain of *Bilcaonga* he rejoined *Soto*; and in the month of *October* made his public entry, without obstruction, into the great city of *Cuzco*; where, notwithstanding the immense wealth that had been carried off and concealed, he found treasures, beyond the most sanguine expectation, in gold and silver, cast into bars, vessels, and ornaments. *Gomara* gives the following account of the behaviour of the Spaniards at *Cuzco*, and of the vast riches they required. "They immediately set to work in unripping the gold and silver from the walls of the d temple, to dig up the vessels of gold and silver concealed in the graves, and buried with the dead, to plunder the idols, houses, and fortrefs, in which great quantities of the precious metal had been amassed by the late inca. In *Cuzco* much larger treasures were found than those brought to the Spaniards for the ransom of *Atahualpa*. However, the share of each soldier was not equal to the former dividend, because their numbers were now greatly augmented by *Alvarado's* troops; nor was the fame of this action so loud as the first, which united the triumph of riches with the imprisonment of a great monarch. A certain Spaniard entered a vault, and found e there an entire tomb of pure silver, of inestimable value. Others met with similar fortune in an inferior degree; for it was customary with the rich men of this country to be buried in this manner in the fields, and laid in state like idols. Nor were the Spaniards contented with this prize; but still thirsting after more wealth, they searched, with indefatigable industry, for the treasures of *Huascar Capac*, and other princes of *Cuzco*; but they were disappointed in their enquiries, although they tortured several poor Indians, to oblige them to discover what they did not know, and the places where their great men were interred." It is probable that the *Peruvians* concealed their riches in the temples and tombs, because they could not imagine the Spaniards would be so brutal, as to rake up the ashes of the dead, or violate the reverence due to the gods; in which they were mistaken.

BEING now in possession of the capital, *Pizarro* invited the people to return to their dwellings. It was by no means his intention to drive the people to despair, lest the whole power of *Peru* uniting, might inclose him in *Cuzco*, and, by cutting off his provision, reduce him to their own terms, without hazarding a battle, or giving the Spaniards an opportunity of exerting their superior skill and courage. Many accepted the invitation; and it is asserted, that the inca himself made an offer to embrace Christianity, and acknowledge the sovereignty of his Catholic majesty, provided that neither himself nor his subjects should, for the future, be molested in their persons and property. He entertained thoughts of visiting *Pizarro* in person, and demanding restitution of his kingdom, on the preceding conditions; but he was dissuaded for this time by the remonstrances of his council, who strongly admonished him not to confide in the treacherous Spaniards, who had cruelly put his brother to death, without regard to the most solemn engagements. Soon after, however, he resumed the same project, and spoke to his council in the following terms: "Sons, brethren, and subjects, we have now determined to demand justice in per- f

a "son of those strangers, reputed the descendants of the great god *Virachoca*, who, at
 "their first entrance into our country, declared their firm resolution to do justice to all
 "mankind. I cannot therefore doubt they will admit my claim, so consonant to reason
 "and equity. If they really are the children of the sun, as our ancestors were, who
 "brought us truth for a principle, their actions will correspond with their words, and
 "they will certainly not deny what they solemnly engaged to perform. For my part,
 "I had rather trust to the justice of my cause, than to the force of arms. If they are
 "what they pretend, the messengers of the god *Pachacamac*, they will dread offending
 "him, by doing any thing so inconsistent as injustice with the nature of the divinity.
 "Let us therefore boldly go to them, armed with the justice of our cause; and since we
 b "believe them to be the offspring of the great deity, trust they will act agreeable to their
 "high descent. Our ancestors never deprived the curacas of their hereditary rights,
 "even in cases of rebellion; can we then imagine that the *Spaniards* will divest us of our
 "lawful inheritance, who never did them any injury, who, instead of opposing their
 "entrance, actually resigned every thing upon their summons? Let us go in a peace-
 "able manner; for if we go armed, they will suspect our intentions are hostile, and
 "will make that a pretext for refusing our just demand. Avarice lays hold of the
 "smallest opportunity to gratify that passion. Instead of our arms, let us carry such
 "presents with us, as may serve to win the affections of covetous men, and pacify the
 "displeasure of offended gods. Let us collect all the gold and silver, and precious stones,
 c "in our power, and by this offering of our wealth, take away the temptation to in-
 "justice and oppression. It is true, the ancient power of our kings is fallen; but still
 "let us maintain their integrity, honour, and prudence; and if this will not prevail with
 "the strangers to restore to us our empire, we may then absolutely conclude, that
 "the prophecy of the inca, our father and predecessor, is accomplished, that our mo-
 "narchy is to be translated to strangers, our political government destroyed, and our
 "religion abolished; part of which prophecy we have already seen fulfilled. If the
 "*Pachacamac* has ordered these things, what have we to do but to submit? Let them
 "act as they please, it becomes us to pursue the maxims of reason and justice."

The inca's
speech to his
council.

THIS speech, pronounced with great pathos and energy, drew tears from the whole as-
 d sembly. They lamented the approaching destruction of the empire, but prepared to obey
 their prince, and provide every necessary for his journey. When his retinue and equipage
 was in readiness, he set out for *Cuzco*, with a great number of vassals, officers of his
 army, great lords of his household, and other dependents; and was met by the *Spaniards*,
 who had intimation of his design, at some distance from the city. His courtiers ad-
 vised that he might be carried, agreeable to his dignity, in the state chair, made of pure
 gold, and wear on his temples the coloured wreath: but the inca said, that these badges
 of royalty ill-became a petitioner; therefore he desired to be conveyed in a bare low lit-
 ter. He was received and welcomed with great reverence by *Pizarro*, who caused him to
 be crowned and invested in the cassona, or royal palace, with all the formality used on
 e former occasions in that country. A treaty was concluded, favourable to both parties,
 which we need not specify, as it was soon broken, and mutually disregarded. These
 pacific measures were taken, because it was known, that both the southern and northern
 provinces were assembling forces, under the generals *Tiruminavi* and *Quizquiz*; and also,
 because *Pizarro* had formed a project of settling colonies, and founding cities upon the
 coast, which he could not execute until the public commotions were subsided. The lat-
 ter of these generals, incensed at the concessions made by the inca, and the power assumed
 by a few hundred strangers in the centre of the empire, and heart of the capital, assembled
 a great army of *Mitimies* to expel them from *Peru*, and recover the ancient liberty of the
 nation. He harangued his people with great vehemence, laid before them the shameful
 f usurpation of the *Spaniards*, the disgraceful timidity of the inca, the danger that threaten-
 ed their religion, manners, lives, and properties, the dreadful carnage already made by the
 strangers, their extraordinary avarice and rapacity, with every other circumstance that
 could rouse, inflame, and animate. When he found he had sufficiently excited a spirit
 of resentment and revenge, he artfully applied himself to the *Guamaracunas*, a nation
 distinguished for valour in the province of *Quito*. This people had already felt the
 scourge of *Spanish* tyranny, and thirsted for an opportunity of revenging their losses and
 disgraces. These he advised, merely to try their sentiments, to retire quietly to the lands
 of their ancestors, to till the grounds, and depend on the generosity of the strangers for
 g the liberty of enjoying the fruits of their labour. So inflammatory an insinuation pro-
 duced the desired effect. The *Guamaracunas* declared to a man, they would first try the
 fortune of war with the *Spaniards*, desired he would conduct them, and, if they failed in the
 Mod. Hist. Vol. XIV. 4 I enterprise,

The inca
visits the
Spaniards.

War with the
Indians.

enterprise, they would then pursue his advice, and submit to slavery. It was then resolved a to attack *Cuzco*, and endeavour to drive the *Spaniards* out of the capital, and accordingly he advanced with great resolution. *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, who had intimation of the designs of the *Indians*, marched out at the head of a select body of horse and foot, came up with the enemy at the bridge of *Apurima*, and, by the vigour of their onset, soon reduced them, unmindful of all their valorous determinations. Without scarce any resistance, they turned their backs, and suffered themselves to be slaughtered in heaps, till night and fatigue put a stop to bloodshed. *Soto* continued the pursuit as far as *Bilcas*, while *Pizarro* returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, in full expectation that the enemy would not venture upon a second attempt to disturb the public tranquillity; in which he was mistaken.

QUIZQUIZ was disconcerted, but not discouraged, by this defeat. He resolved upon b another trial of arms, and accordingly set, with great diligence, about levying forces. It was now his intention to surprise the *Spaniards*; but it was impossible to conduct so great an undertaking with secrecy. The *Ymucanoes*, who stood in dread of *Pizarro*, brought him informations of all that was transacting; and it was determined to meet the *Indians* in the plain, where the cavalry might act in conjunction with the infantry and confederate *Indians*. Here another battle was fought with the same fortune; but victory proved less decisive, and more bloody on the side of the *Spaniards*, who could not prevent *Quizquiz* from taking the road of *Quito*, in good order.

It was after these fortunate events, that *Pizarro* resolved to pursue his project c of establishing colonies and building cities, for which purpose he now set out for *Cuzco*. Accordingly he laid the foundation of *Lima*, in twelve degrees and a half south latitude, on the borders of a river, about six miles from the *South Sea*, and nearly the same distance from the island and harbour of *Callao*. In this particular *Garcilasso* and *Herrera* agree, notwithstanding some writers date the foundation of this capital four years earlier. Hither he removed the colony settled at the city called *Des los Reyes*, and it soon became populous and flourishing. Lands were assigned to the inhabitants; and the natives, who were tied down to the glebe under the curacas, were now transferred like cattle, or any other property, by the *Spaniards*. Proceeding farther northward, he built another city, in nearly the eighth degree of south latitude, which he called *Truxillo*; d and here also he made a division of the lands and *Indians* among the new colonists, without any distinction between those who were born freemen, and those who had been slaves and villains from their birth, all being subjected to the same drudgery, and the same tortures, if they proved disobedient, repined at their hard fate, or refused to discover, what they never knew, where the treasures of the caziques and princes were deposited. During his residence in this city, advices arrived from *Spain*, that his brother *Ferdinando* had succeeded in almost all his negotiations at the *Spanish* court. *Pizarro* petitioned that his government might be extended two hundred leagues to the southward; that he might have a grant to him and his heirs of the province of *Atabilos*, with all its revenues, and the perpetual vassalage of twenty thousand *Indians*: but the emperor, who found an unreasonable ambition in this request, only vested him with the title of marquis of that e province, and enlarged his government to the southward. But with respect to the dominion over the *Indians*, he must, he said, inform himself of the peculiar customs of the country, and the equity of the measure; after which *Pizarro* might depend on all the favour that was consistent with justice. *Almagro* too, in consequence of *Ferdinando Pizarro's* application, had very extraordinary honours bestowed upon him. He was created marquis of *Peru*, and had a jurisdiction of 200 leagues extent, southward of the frontier of *Pizarro's* government. He was likewise empowered to make discoveries in what manner he thought proper; and the rich province of *Chili* fell under his authority, which laid the foundation of all the discord and contention that ensued. *Almagro* and *Pizarro* grew jealous of f the favours shewn to each by the government. The one regarded the other as the minion of the court, and complained that sufficient regard had not been paid to his peculiar services. Their adherents cherished these seeds of animosity, and the brothers of *Pizarro* treated the friends of *Almagro* with great haughtiness. The *Spanish* writers differ in their relation of this affair. *Herrera* alledges, that the marquis *Pizarro* returning from *Truxillo*, adjusted all differences with *Almagro*, restrained the insolence of his brethren, set out for *Lima*, and left the government of *Cuzco* in the hands of one of his brothers; while, on the other hand, *Almagro* went upon an expedition to *Chili*. On the contrary, *Garcilasso* affirms, that *Almagro*, jealous of the capital's being assigned to *Pizarro*, took upon himself the g title of governor of *Cuzco*, and all its dependencies, and threw off all subordination to *Pizarro*; an usurpation that was boldly opposed by the brothers of the marquis. According to this writer, the dispute rose to such a height, that both parties had recourse to arms, a formal war was declared, and several *Spaniards* and *Indians* were slain on both sides, before the

Jealousy of
Pizarro and
Almagro.

- a the arrival of the marquis, who, by his moderation and policy, accommodated all differences, and concluded a treaty with *Almagro*. It was therefore, in all probability, after this affair, that *Almagro* formed the scheme of marching to *Chili*; since we find it expressly stipulated in the treaty with *Pizarro*, that his right to this province should not only be uncontested, but he should have the command of the bulk of their joint forces to assist him in reducing it to obedience. The other principal articles of the agreement were, that the co-partnership between *Pizarro* and *Almagro* should subsist, without infraction through interest, ambition, or any other motive; that all the conditions stipulated in the original contract, should be rigorously maintained; that all dispatches to the court of *Spain* should be in the joint name of the commanders; and that all profits and expences should be clearly produced, and faithfully divided. This treaty was signed on the 12th day of *June*, and solemnly sworn to by both parties; but how it was executed, will soon appear.

- Such was the posture of affairs when *Almagro* proposed to set out on the expedition to the southward; requesting the inca to appoint two *Indians* of distinction, to prepare and dispose the minds of the natives for the reception of the *Spanish* forces. In consequence of this request, the inca ordered his brother *Topu*, and the high priest *Vileboma*, to execute that commission, whose high dignity would not only give them consequence with the natives, but whose absence from *Cuzco* would remove all cause of jealousy from the *Spaniards*, as the high priest was of a restless turbulent spirit (D). The *Spaniards* also took with them a great number of slaves to carry the baggage; and that all the soldiers might be well supplied with necessaries, *Almagro* lent them two hundred thousand crowns, taking only their notes for the repayment out of the booty they might acquire in the expedition. Through the course of a tedious march of two hundred leagues, he was well accommodated by all the *Indians*, who paid the highest regard to the inca's command, and supplied the soldiers with abundance of provision; but reaching the inhospitable barren country of *Charcas*, fatigue and hunger produced discontents among the troops, and determined *Almagro* to proceed to *Chili*, being ignorant of the immense wealth, both in the country he despised, and the invaluable mines of *Potosi*. The confederate *Indians* in his army remonstrated on the hazard and difficulty of the design, acquainting him, that the journey must be pursued either over the high mountains of the *Andes*, or *Cordilleras*, which at this time were covered with snow, and so intensely cold, that no *Indian* could possibly support the rigor of the climate; or through a sandy desert along the coast, where the excessive heat of the sun reflected from the sand, and the want of water, would hazard the entire destruction of the army. These were difficulties which could not check the ardor of *Almagro*, inflamed with the exaggerated accounts of the riches of *Chili*. He chose to climb the *Cordilleras*, as shorter, and more agreeable to the constitution of his troops; but he made only an inconsiderable progress, when the depth of the snow obliged him to dig his way through, while the *Indians* perished in multitudes, their naked bodies being exposed to all the severity of the weather. *Garcilasso* alledges, that not less than ten thousand *Indians*, and an hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, breathed their last in these dreadful mountains; and so intense was this cold, that many of the survivors lost their toes and fingers. At last, after encountering all the difficulties which the most rigorous cold, the greatest fatigue and hunger could throw in their way, the *Spaniards* conquered the *Andes*, and reached a fine, fertile, temperate plain on the opposite side, where they were received with the most cordial and feeling hospitality by the benevolent natives, who supplied them with every kind of provision and refreshment, which the country afforded, administering to the necessities of the wretched soldiers with the utmost humanity.

- While *Almagro* was resting his wearied troops in this terrestrial paradise, the inhabitants of *Chili*, informed that certain deputies of the great god *Virachoca* had honoured them with a visit, immediately collected an offering in gold and silver, which amounted to two hundred thousand ducats, and soon after brought another present to *Almagro*, exceeding three hundred thousand ducats; upon which he cancelled the notes taken from the soldiers, and also made them a present in compensation of their sufferings. Those rich offerings confirmed all the accounts he had conceived of the wealth of the country: he congratulated himself upon the valuable grant made to him by the court, and determined immediately to subdue the provinces of *Purrumanta*, *Antielli*, *Pinta*, *Canqui*, and other in-

A. D. 1535.
Almagro goes
upon an expedition
to Chili.

Progress of the
expedition.

(D) As a specimen of the immense wealth found at *Cuzco*, it is sufficient to observe, that when the plate was melting down to defray the expences of *Almagro's* expedition, one of the soldiers begged a ring out of the heaps of gold and silver; and *Almagro* told him, he might take as many as he could hold in both hands: besides which, he made a present to the soldier's wife of four hundred pieces of eight (1).

(1) *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. i.

terior countries which did not acknowledge the authority of the inca. With this design, ^a he recommended to *Paulla Topu*, brother to the inca, to assemble all the *Indians* he could to reinforce the *Spaniards*, and with the united forces he advanced towards the southern extremity of *Chili*. In his march he had several sharp skirmishes with the natives, who fought with great resolution, and disputed every inch they yielded. The confederates sustained considerable loss; but in the space of five months they reduced all the provinces under subjection, and would have effectually established their dominion, had not new projects filled the mind of *Almagro*. He had been joined by *Knyz Diaz* and *Juan de Herreda*, with above a hundred *Spaniards*, who had crossed the mountains in a more favourable season of the year, and was in a prosperous course of victory, when he formed the resolution of returning to *Peru*, ^b in consequence of the emperor's commission, brought to him by the hands of *Herreda*. By this commission it appeared that *Cuzco* was within his department. *Pizarro*'s original grant extended no farther than the equator; that was now enlarged by two hundred leagues to the southward; but as *Cuzco* lay three hundred leagues from the equator, and all south of his frontier was assigned to *Almagro*, within prescribed limits, he justly reckoned *Cuzco* within his jurisdiction, and resolved, by the advice of his friends, not to give up so valuable a city, happily situated to command the provinces of his department. The plan, therefore, was concerted for returning to *Peru*, in full hopes, that if *Almagro* possessed the capital, all the southern provinces would immediately submit. As the *Spaniards* had not yet forgot their sufferings on the *Andes*, they now resolved to try the other passage through the deserts, and to provide in the best manner possible against every accident, and especially the want of water; for which purpose, ^c parties of *Indians* were detached before them, to cleanse the wells choaked up with sand, and neglected during the late intestine commotions. Besides this precaution, a great number of leathern bottles of sheep skins were provided, and filled with water; and a small body of horse was sent out to examine whether the *Indians* had given a just report of the country through which the army was to pass, and faithfully executed the orders respecting the wells. Every thing being settled with the utmost punctuality, he began his march, and suffered incredible hardships in the desert of two hundred miles extent, notwithstanding all his foresight and providence. In this march he was deserted by the high priest, in consequence of advices he received of disturbances between the emperor ^d and the *Spaniards* at *Cuzco*. *Herrera* indeed relates, that he went off during *Almagro*'s progress to *Chili*, and was the chief instrument of the revolt of the inca, and the *Peruvians*; but *Garcilasso* not only affirms, that the high priest continued with him until the present juncture, but that to his influence was owing the extraordinary respect shewn to the *Spaniards* in the different provinces of *Chili*. He farther relates, that this priest *Vileboma* was assisted in his escape by the interpreter *Filippo*, who was seized, condemned, and executed, after he had confessed the false evidence he had given against *Atabualapa*. With respect to *Paullu*, he remained faithful to *Almagro*, and received the reward of his services; for the *Spaniards* were no sooner informed of the war carried on in *Peru*, between the emperor and the *Spaniards*, than they proclaimed this prince inca, and *Almagro*, with his own hands, ^e adorned his temples with the imperial wreath.

Indians inca
discontented.

WHILE *Almagro* was employed in the expedition to *Chili*, a variety of causes of discontent arose at *Cuzco*, between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*; the principal of which was the dilatoriness of *Pizarro* to execute the articles of agreement with the inca, of reinstating him in his dominions and authority. Upon this head *Manco Capac* made frequent remonstrances to the marquis; but he was always put off with fresh excuses and pretexts. The inca had sufficient provocation to dive into the bottom of this conduct, and there were not wanting a sufficient number of the *Indian* nobility to aggravate the grievance, and rake up the embers of discord, both out of hatred to the *Spaniards*, and motives of self-interest. The inca now perceiving, that the *Spaniards* not only prevaricated, with respect to the performance of their engagements, but that he would be detained a prisoner, in case he refused submission to whatever *Pizarro* thought fit to propose, dissembled his resentment, and waited patiently until the opportunity offered to break this galling bondage. The resentment of this prince was likewise increased by fresh injuries and instances of *Spanish* perfidy. *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was returned about this time from *Spain*, had promised the emperor a large sum of money from *Peru*, as the price of the honours and grants made to his brother. At this time the court was extremely necessitous, all the money in the treasury being exhausted by the continual wars carried on by *Charles V.* and the expectation of a liberal donation from *Pizarro*, rendered the emperor more willing to extend his authority, and load him with honours. However, the marquis was of

^a HERRERA, p. 135. GARCILASSO, lib. ii. cap. ii.

- a opinion, that he had already sufficiently paid for all the imperial favours, and that he and his soldiers were justly entitled to the remaining wealth, as the reward of all their sufferings, toils, and conquests. He could not, with patience, think of yielding up the fruits of his labour, to a set of idle, extravagant, and rapacious courtiers; and therefore told his brother, when he was informed of his engagements to the emperor, that he had conquered *Peru* at his own expence, without any assistance from the government; that he had already remitted a vast sum of money; that *Peru* was now exhausted, and all its riches laid out in building towns, planting colonies, and establishing other measures to secure the conquest, all which would redound in time to the honour of the crown, and interest of the government; but that, for the present, it was sufficient for infant settlements to maintain themselves. He particularly resented the enquiry which the emperor set on foot, respecting the ransom and treasures of *Atahualpa*; and concluded, with leaving his brother *Ferdinando* to fall upon means to perform the extravagant promises which he made to the *Spanish* administration. It was this answer which determined *Ferdinando* to request the government of *Cuzco*; telling the marquis, that he doubted not but this opulent capital would enable him to make good his engagements to the court, and thereby secure the future protection of the emperor; which he would find of the utmost importance, in case the dispute with his colleague, *Almagro*, should ever be renewed. By this means he wrought upon the marquis to grant his request; and immediately took possession of his government, with a full resolution to procure the remittance to the court, whatever might follow, and even at the expence of sound policy, of solemn engagements, and the most sacred rights of nations. He gave the inca to understand, that he would engage for his restoration to his dignity, on condition of a considerable present to the court of *Spain*; and the better to convince him of his intentions, he removed him to the royal palace, and treated him with all the honours due to the imperial character. The bait took; the inca, persuaded that he should regain his lost authority, dispatched expresses all over his dominions, requesting the curacas to bring the usual tribute of gold and silver, as the only means of delivering him out of the hands of the *Spaniards*. The tribute arrived, and a very rich present was made by the inca to the governor; who repaid it with a renewal of his promises, instead of the performance; which awakened *Manco Capac* to a full sense of his own danger, and the little dependence to be placed in the engagements of a perfidious nation, that sacrificed every consideration to the thirst of gold. He perceived that honours were indeed paid to him, but that he was still a prisoner, all the gates of the palace being occupied by *Spanish* soldiers.
- b
- c
- d

It was no unnatural conclusion, from such inauspicious promises, that his fate might resemble that of *Atahualpa*, who died an ignominious death, after his treasures had been drained, and he was unable to purchase the longer duration of his existence; and therefore he continually revolved in his own mind how he could escape out of custody, and revenge all the indignities he had suffered in his imprisonment. The following stratagem offered itself to his imagination, and was practised with success, which conveys a favourable idea of the cunning and address of this barbarian. He told *Pizarro*, that in the valley of *Yucaya*, where the incas were interred, there were several rich tombs, and in one of these a statue in gold of an ancient inca, as large as the life, which he was persuaded he could find, if he was allowed to go in search of it with his usual guard of *Spaniards*. This was a proposal not to be resisted, especially as it was made with all the appearance of candor, and obviously with design to promote the execution of the governor's engagements. Accordingly *Pizarro* thanked the inca, readily embraced the offer, and consented that *Manco Capac* should go to the tombs of *Yucaya*, with a *Spanish* guard, little suspecting there was a general conspiracy laid to rescue the prince. In short, the inca had apprised some of the adjacent curacas of his intention, who assembling a considerable army, hid themselves in the neighbouring mountains, and kept spies abroad, to acquaint them when the emperor, with his *Spanish* guards, should appear. It was intended to attack the *Spaniards*, but the inca saved his troops that hazard: he found means to escape, joined his army, and then left the *Spaniards* to lament their own credulity, and admire the policy of the *Indian* sovereign (E). *Herrera* asserts, that he purchased his liberty.

e

f

He escapes out of the hands of the Spaniards.

^c GOMARA, cap. xxxv. CARATE, cap. iii. lib. iii.

(E) This is the account given by two *Spanish* writers, *Gomara* and *Carate*, but related differently by *Garcilasso*, who alledges, that *Manco Capac* obtained leave to go to *Yucaya* to celebrate a festival, prepared by the *Indians*, where the statue of the late inca, his father, was erecting (1). We must confess we thought the former account more probable, as it affords a stronger motive to the *Spaniards* to comply with the inca's request.

(1) *Garcilasso*, lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

S E C T. IX.

Containing a Relation of the War between the Spaniards and Peruvians ; the Divisions among the Spaniards, and Rivalship of Pizarro and Almagro ; the Seizure, Condemnation, and Execution of the latter ; the Assassination of the former, and sundry other Particulars.

Origin of the war with the Indians.

The inca besieges the Spaniards in Cuzco.

MANCO CAPAC scarce found himself at liberty, when he contrived the destruction of those perfidious strangers ; who had not only usurped his authority, kept his person in bondage, tyrannized over his subjects, drained his kingdom of its riches, but violated every obligation, human and divine, from an insatiable thirst of gold, and ungovernable lust of dominion. He summoned a council of all the great officers of state, of his generals, and principal nobility ; depicted his sufferings in the strongest terms, the wretched condition of his subjects, and the tyranny and perfidiousness of the insolent *Spaniards*. He had early suspicion, he said, of the treachery and ambition of these strangers, by their dividing the lands of *Peru* among themselves, enslaving those who were born free, and putting the natives to the torture, in order to extort a confession where the treasures of the great were deposited. He apologized for sitting a tame spectator of these enormities, by alledging, that he only wanted the opportunity of making his escape, in order to revenge the injuries he had suffered, and assert the rights of his crown and country. It was impossible he could any longer regard those *Spaniards* as the descendants of *Virachoca* ; but as vile impostors, who committed the most heinous crimes under the mask of religion, and had taken upon themselves the sacred character of the messengers of the great *Pachacamac*, while they were perpetrating every villainy. He was now determined to punish their wickedness, and vindicate the liberties of his people by force of arms ; for which purpose, he called upon the assistance of every man, in whose breast the least spark of patriot virtue existed, that the war might be vigorously prosecuted against the ungrateful *Spaniards*, without whose expulsion they could never secure their religion, liberty, or property. He added a great many other arguments to rouse the council to revenge, and delivered himself with such spirit and energy, that all were wound up to a kind of madness, and called out for vengeance in the most tumultuous transports of fury. As soon as order could be restored, the council deliberated on the means of conducting the war ; with respect to the propriety and necessity of which, all were unanimous. It was resolved to dispatch messengers to all the curacas, tributary provinces, great vassals, governors and officers of the crown, in different provinces, to raise all the troops in their power, with all possible secrecy, unite at a time and place appointed, and at one blow to surprize and overwhelm the *Spaniards* in their quarters. Agreeable to this plan it was concerted, that three armies should be set on foot ; one to fall upon *Almagro*, another to attack *Lima* : and a third, to consist of two hundred thousand men, under the command of the inca in person, to surprize, or, if that failed, to invest *Cuzco*, and regularly lay siege to the capital. Every thing was executed with the most astonishing celerity ; and the *Spaniards* in *Cuzco* saw themselves surrounded by an incredible multitude of enemies, before they had any suspicion of the revolt, or had made any preparation for their defence. The attack began in the night, amidst the shouts of the *Indians*, and the hoarse din of their warlike instruments ; and such was the fury of the assailants, that they shot fired arrows, and set the city in flames in divers places, being determined to destroy the *Spaniards* at the expence of reducing the capital of the empire to ashes. Their reverence for the temple of the sun, the convent of select virgins, and a few other sacred buildings, made them abstain from firing the streets and houses in their neighbourhood, by which means the besieged were left in possession of the great square, and as much of the city as could well be defended by a slender garrison, which did not exceed two hundred horse and foot. The enemy had forced the citadel, and obliged *Pizarro* to form his troops in the great square, and point his artillery against the different avenues, by which he made terrible destruction, the cannon sweeping off the *Indians* in troops ; though even this dreadful carnage could not check their ardor. They pressed with unremitting fury for the whole night and day succeeding, until at length all the passes to the square were choaked up with dead bodies, and more than half of the city was burnt to the ground. Nothing could exceed the valour and conduct of the *Spaniards* upon this occasion ; the horse, in particular, sallied out, and made terrible havock. When night came on,

a on, the *Indian* army withdrew to a little distance, occupied all the passes round the city, and blocked up the *Spaniards* so closely, that it was impossible they should receive any supplies, determining to continue their approaches gradually, and reduce the besieged equally by famine and the sword. To this plan they adhered so steadfastly, that their scheme must have infallibly succeeded, but for a fortunate incident, that probably saved the *Spaniards* from destruction. The slaves, who first felt the effects of the scarcity that prevailed, took arms in their defence, as the only method of relieving themselves in the present distress, and in hopes that their services to the christians might procure them their liberty. They flocked in multitudes to *Pizarro*, desired he would accept of their assistance, and were received with such promises of rewards as soon increased their number, b and augmented that of the besieged to a very considerable army. The *Spaniards* were now in a condition to skirmish vigorously with the *Indian* army, and accordingly every day produced sharp and bloody actions; but this proving insufficient for their relief, they determined to come to a general battle, drew up their forces in the great square, and seduced the enemy to an engagement with all their forces, where every advantage of situation was on the side of the christians. Here, says *Garcilasso*, the parties fought with unremitting fury, for the space of thirteen days; the *Indians* withdrawing at night, and returning vigorously to the attack early next morning, raining showers of arrows, and volleys of stones from slings, so thick upon the besieged, that he ascribes it to a miracle, and the presence of the apostle St. *James*, who fought for them on horseback, that all were not c demolished, and crushed into atoms, under the superior weight of the enemy. The *Spaniards* now proclaimed liberty to all vassals and slaves, with such rewards and immunities, as not only augmented the number of those auxiliaries, but animated them to acts of the most heroic gallantry, by which they were enabled to drive the *Indians* out of *Cuzco* and the citadel, in storming of which *Juan Pizarro* was killed, after the enemy had been in possession for the space of nine months, all which time the siege continued with scarce any interruption. After the junction, indeed, of the vassals with the *Spaniards*, they scorned being cooped up within the limits of the capital, and made excursions far into the country, returning loaded with provision, in despite of the utmost efforts of the *Indians*. Sometimes flocks of a thousand head of cattle were driven into the city, while a d party of *Spaniards* were keeping the *Indian* army in employment; and yet it must be confessed, that *Manco Capac* performed every thing becoming a spirited and magnanimous prince, had he been properly seconded by the officers and soldiers, who, after the first transports of rage, began to relax in their duty, and neglect the posts committed to their care. Many instances of the valour of private soldiers and officers, on both sides, are recorded by *De la Vega*; and the same writer relates such a number of prodigies and miracles, as must invalidate the belief of those actions that come within the compass of probability. St. *Jago*, or St. *James*, not only was seen fighting on a white horse in the heat of the battle, but the blessed virgin appeared over the *Spanish* quarters, quenched the flames that threatened to devour them, and turned aside the fiery arrows, or frustrated e their effects, even when they chanced to fall upon the dry thatch of the houses, and among other combustibles. *Gomara*, *Carate*, and *Herrera*, join *Garcilasso* in the relation of these achievements, but endeavour to persuade us, that heaven assigned them *Peru* and *Mexico*, as the Almighty formerly gave the land of *Canaan*, to his chosen people. God, surely, never countenanced usurpation, tyranny, cruelty, and murder, however he may sometimes permit it for wise purposes: on the contrary, the effects which these conquests have produced on the *Spanish* monarchy, seem to indicate the intentions of Providence; that a nation, who trampled upon every obligation, human and sacred, to possess themselves of gold, should meet with their punishment in the gratification of their f wishes (A).

Juan Pizarro
killed.

ALL

(A) The number of *Indians* who were slain in the different actions consequent on this siege, are altogether incredible. In every slight skirmish some thousands were always slain, and the slaughter became more dreadful in proportion as the engagement was more general. On the side of the besieged near a hundred *Spaniards* were killed or wounded; and, what was an irreparable loss at this juncture, above a dozen horses perished. Of the confederate vassals many thousands were slain; but this rather served to animate than discourage them, and the loss even served to augment the *Spanish* army. When the spirit of re-

venge took place, many who had before kept aloof from fear, now joined in the revolt against their tyrants, and exerted their utmost endeavours not only to avoid the punishment due to their rebellion, but to merit the reward of liberty promised by the *Spaniards*. Divers gallant actions were performed in the way of single combat, scarce a day passing without a challenge from one or other of the parties; and it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the equality of the *Indians* to the *Spaniards* in strength, agility, and dexterity at handling their weapons when they fought singly; yet in the battle they were always worsted, although their

The Indians
besiege the mar-
quis in Lima.

ALL this while the marquis *Francisco Pizarro* was at *Lima*, and the first suspicion he had of the general insurrection arose from the interruption in his correspondence with the capital. Immediately he employed the *Yuncanoes*, who served the *Spaniards*, to bring him minute information of what was transacting in the heart of the empire, by inquiries among their friends and acquaintance. The report they made greatly alarmed him; they brought word that not only *Cuzco* was closely besieged, but that an army was in full march to invest *Lima*; that another was gone in pursuit of *Almagro*; and that the whole empire had risen in arms by the direction of the inca, who had deceived *Ferdinando Pizarro* by a plausible tale, and made his escape. Though the advices of the *Yuncanoes* were neither very consistent, nor connected, *Pizarro* perceived that they contained too much truth; and not doubting but all the *Spaniards* in *Cuzco* had already perished, he applied with the utmost diligence to provide for the safety of *Lima*, and the other settlements; for which purpose he sent expresses to *Panama*, *Mexico*, *Nicaragua*, and *Hispaniola*, to solicit reinforcements to prevent the loss of *Peru*, and the most valuable conquest hitherto made by the *Spaniards*. All his detachments, sent to extend his conquests in different provinces, were likewise recalled to the defence of *Lima*; a body of an hundred horse and foot, under the command of *Diego Pizarro*, was ordered to march with all possible expedition towards *Cuzco*, either to succour the garrison if still existing, or to procure more exact information of the state of affairs: in a word, every measure was taken which prudence, and the critical conjuncture could dictate. The army destined for the attack on *Lima* had notice of those proceedings, and determined to way-lay the detachment sent to *Cuzco*, the reduction of the capital being the main object of the designs of *Manco Capac*, on the success of which all the rest would in a manner depend. With this view they took post in all the narrow passes and difficult defiles, through which the detachment was to march; but to conceal their stratagem the better, and to cut off any resources, they suffered *Diego* to advance upwards of seventy leagues before they discovered themselves, or gave him the least molestation. At last, when they found their opportunity at a pass on the mountains of *Parcos*, they fell upon the *Spaniards* with the utmost fury, tumbled down great stones and pieces of rocks from the tops of the mountains, and plied them so thick with darts and arrows, that not a soul of the whole detachment escaped. In much the same manner they cut off several other detachments that were on their way to *Lima*, by order of the marquis. *Gonzalo de Tapia*, with sixty horse and seventy foot, were destroyed; *Morgovego de Quinmanes*, with an equal number of men, met a similar fate; and *Alonso de Galeata*, at the head of forty horse and sixty foot, perished. Upon the whole, above four hundred *Spaniards*, who were marching to the succour of *Lima*, in different detachments, were slaughtered in the field of battle, besides near an equal number who were killed in the mines in different provinces, where they imagined themselves in perfect security. The *Spanish* writers exclaim loudly against the barbarities exercised by the *Peruvians* upon these occasions; but, from their own relation, nothing appears besides the just retribution of an highly injured and enraged enemy. Great numbers had flocked from the different settlements on the continent of *America*, and the islands of the *West Indies*, to share the spoils of *Peru*, and they diffused themselves carelessly about the country, little imagining that the *Indians*, who had submitted tamely to the usurpation of *Pizarro* when supported only by a few hundred raw adventurers, would now venture to throw off the yoke, when every province was filled with *Spaniards*, and the inca remained their prisoner.

FLUSHED with success, the *Indian* army advanced to the destruction of *Lima*, certain that they could not fail in the reduction of a slender garrison, dispirited by disappointment, and not yet recovered from the consternation into which they were thrown by so unexpected and general an insurrection. When they advanced within eight leagues of the city, a body of *Spanish* horse sallied out under the conduct of *Pedro de Lerma*, pushed on with the utmost impetuosity, and made such terrible slaughter, that the *Indians* retired to the mountains, from whence they alarmed the whole country with the noise of warlike instruments, so that they increased to the number of forty thousand men, descended again like a torrent from the hills, swept all before them, and drove the *Spanish* horse back to *Lima*, with the loss of twenty men, who died of the wounds they received in this engagement. This success not only animated the assailants, but augmented their numbers to sixty thousand men, with which army they drew nearer the city, and offered up as a

their numbers were superior by an hundred fold, which we must ascribe to the *Spanish* discipline, horses, artillery, and musquetry, rather than to superior valour, or miracles wrought in their favour, as all their

writers assert, and more particularly *Garcilasso de la Vega*, that royal historian, descended from the incas by his mother.

sacrifice

- a sacrifice of thanks some *Spanish* prisoners they had taken, before the eyes of their countrymen; a piteous spectacle, that roused the *Spanish* garrison to a degree of fury, and occasioned their committing some signal instances of barbarity in their future sallies. *Pizarro* behaved with the greatest gallantry and prudence; however, he began to feel the pressure of hunger from the vigilance of the enemy, in cutting off all supplies; and but for the *Indian* slaves in the *Spanish* service, he must have either surrendered at discretion, or starved. The most vigorous sallies were made to introduce convoys of provision, but the great superiority of the enemy rendered them abortive. The *Indians* indeed were always defeated; but the garrison was not only weakened and fatigued, but generally disappointed in the design of the sally. The only resource was on the fidelity and address of their slaves, who, under pretence that they had deserted, gained admittance into the enemies camp, whence they always returned laden with provision, at that juncture the most valuable booty. Besides, they brought back an account of all the designs of the besiegers; so that when any attack was intended, the garrison having previous intimation, was in readiness to receive the enemy. However, all this could not have prevented the fall of *Pizarro*, and with him probably the loss of *Peru*, had not a providential accident occurred, which confirmed the superstitious *Indians* that the *Spaniards* were certainly protected by some invisible power. In consequence of a heavy fall of rain, the river overflowed the banks, deluged the neighbouring country, drowned great numbers of the enemy, prevented their renewing their attacks with the same facility, and opened a path for the garrison to introduce supplies into the city. From whatever natural causes this effect proceeded, both *Indians* and *Spaniards* joined in ascribing the overflowing of the river to a miracle; the former grew dispirited, thinking it in vain to strive against the gods, and the latter were animated with a double portion of courage; the one were held together merely by the authority of their commanders, while the others triumphed in every action, harrassed, fatigued, and kept in perpetual alarm, a desponding multitude, which at last withdrew, leaving the *Spaniards* at liberty to pursue what measures they thought proper.

The siege raised.

- It is now time to return to *Almagro*, the news of whose approach, joined to a variety of circumstances, obliged the inca to relinquish the siege of *Cuzco*, imagining that *Almagro's* design was to relieve and succour his countrymen. A principle of honour, and the magnanimity of his sentiments, proved his ruin. It is affirmed that *Almagro* made proposals to him of an alliance against *Pizarro*, which he rejected with disdain, saying, that he had taken up arms to recover his own rights, and the liberties of the people, and not to assist in the base designs of one usurper against another. *Garcilasso* alledges, that the inca consented to an interview with *Almagro*, with intention to destroy him, and that here he rejected the overture of alliance; but failed in his design to assassinate the *Spanish* general, on account of *Almagro's* vigilance and circumspection. His officers endeavoured afterwards to persuade him to accept the proposal, alledging, that in promoting the discord of the *Spaniards* consisted his greatest security; and that by weakening both parties, he might at last recover his dominions, and totally expel the usurpers; to which he replied, "That it became not the honour of an inca to dissemble, or fail in his engagements; and that he had rather forfeit his empire, and live in perpetual exile and obscurity, than maintain his dignity by falsehood and treachery:" A saying that sufficiently demonstrates the elevation of sentiment, the strict integrity and punctilio of this prince, whom the *Spaniards* affect to call barbarous. Disappointed in his designs upon *Cuzco*, and *Almagro's* forces, this generous monarch now despaired of success in recovering his dominions; and desirous that his subjects might suffer as little as possible for their loyalty, he requested they would disperse, and return to their own dwellings, thereby to appease the indignation of the conquerors, while himself would watch over their safety in a secure retreat, in order to seize the first opportunity that offered for another attempt to recover their privileges, and punish the insolent and rapacious usurpers of their property and liberty. As the speech which this extraordinary monarch made upon this occasion is remarkable, we shall venture to transcribe it in the margin, upon the authority of *Garcilasso de la Vega*, who was personally acquainted with many of the nobility and officers who served in the inca's army at this time (B).

Almagro returns from Chili.

The inca abdicates.

THE

(B) "Brethren, sons, and subjects, I have had sufficient testimony of your affection to my person, and zeal for my service. You have with great alacrity offered your lives and fortunes, wives and children, to establish me in the throne of my empire. Mod. Hist. Vol. XIV.

"pire; but since the *Pachacamac* evidently fights against us, and opposes my restoration, it would be madness in us to murmur at the divine will, or refuse our compliance. I have reason to believe that you are all of opinion my desire to govern is not founded

Almagro
seizes upon
Cuzco.

THE dispersion of the *Indian* army, and the inca's abdication, left the *Spaniards* at full liberty to display their animosity, and pursue their resentment. They were then in quiet possession of the empire; one commander affected to rule with despotic sway, and another prepared to disappoint him in the possession of that supreme power, while neither admitted a superior nor a rival. *Almagro* arriving before the walls of *Cuzco*, summoned *Ferdinando Pizarro* to surrender the city into his hands, as being included in the grant made to him by his catholic majesty. *Pizarro* answered, that he held the city in virtue of a commission from his brother the marquis, and that he could not deliver up his charge to any man without his instructions; besides, he affirmed, that *Almagro* had no kind of pretensions to it, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. However, as that was a point which he would have to be adjusted by the claimants, he was ready to obey the summons, provided it was founded upon the marquis's authority. To this *Almagro* replied; and several days were spent in altercation, while each side was making preparations to support his arguments by a more powerful logic. *Pizarro* was taking every measure to put the city in a posture of defence, and *Almagro* to seduce the garrison, in which he succeeded so happily, that his troops were introduced in the night, *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo Pizarro* taken in their beds, all the *Spanish* forces in the city made prisoners, and the capital of the empire possessed without a drop of blood shed; besides which, *Almagro* was considerably reinforced, almost all the garrison having cheerfully entered into his service.

ALL this while the marquis *Pizarro* held no correspondence with *Cuzco*; and concluding, from the silence of his brothers, that all the succours he had detached were cut off, and the garrison actually destroyed, or closely blocked up, he determined upon sending so powerful a force as should bear down all opposition, cut open a path to *Cuzco*, and bring him certain accounts of what was transacting in the capital. With this view he assembled five hundred *Spanish* horse and foot, reinforced by a considerable body of *Indians*, gave the command of this army to Don *Alonso de Alvarado*, and ordered him to march with the utmost expedition to *Cuzco*. These forces he was enabled to raise by means of the *Spaniards* he had recalled from different quarters, and succours received from *Panama* and *Nicaragua*. *Pedro de Lerma* was appointed to command under *Alvarado*, who was an older officer; a slight which so disgusted him, that from that time he meditated the ruin of the enterprize. To this circumstance the *Spanish* writers ascribe all the subsequent misfortunes, although there appeared strong reasons for attributing it, in a great measure, to the misconduct of *Alvarado*. This general began his march with such celerity, and little precaution, that, unacquainted with the woods, and ill provided with guides, above four thousand *Indians* perished with fatigue and famine; which obliged him to halt, until an equivalent reinforcement could be pressed into the service. In this situ-

“founded on ambition, but to restore to my faithful
“people that peace and liberty they enjoyed under
“the government of my ancestors. It is the duty of
“a good king, to study the prosperity and felicity of
“his subjects, and, according to the practice of the
“incas, to prefer that to every other consideration.
“Though I have great reason to fear that the designs
“of those strangers, whom we call the descendants of
“*Virachoca*, are very different from their professions;
“yet I cannot but regret prosecuting my rights at
“the expence of your blood and happiness. I had
“even rather sacrifice my dignity, and live in the
“most deplorable obscurity, than hazard lives dear to
“me as those of my own children, if I did not think
“it my duty to impart more felicity to you, than I
“imagine you can possibly enjoy under the dominion
“of those rapacious usurpers. However, as the gods
“declare that the juncture is not favourable, I must
“refrain from farther vain attempts, until the oppor-
“tunity offers, and by a voluntary exile remove all
“kind of jealousy and suspicion, that you may be
“again taken into grace and favour. I find the pro-
“phesy of my royal father fully completed, that a
“strange nation should deprive us of our empire, de-
“stroy our laws, and trample upon our religion.
“Had we fully weighed this circumstance before we
“commenced hostilities, we should have acquiesced
“in the decrees of heaven, as in all respects these

“strangers answer to the description in the prophecy,
“except in justice. They carry in their hands the
“thunder of the gods, and by that alone evince their
“being supported by almighty power. We have seen
“and experienced how a handful of men can defend
“themselves against our innumerable armies which
“cover the plains, and how they can subsist without
“rest, sleep, or nourishment, and renew the battle
“with redoubled vigour, when we imagine they
“were sinking under the united pressure of fatigue
“and famine. From thence it is evident that the
“hand of *Pachacamac* is with them, and that in pro-
“portion as he encourages them, he infuses fear and
“despondency into our minds. Let us therefore sub-
“mit, as the only means of avoiding the most dread-
“ful calamities. For my part, I propose retiring to
“the mountains of the *Andes*, where it shall be my
“greatest comfort to hear that you enjoy liberty and
“contentment under your new governors, beyond
“my expectation. Revolving schemes for your wel-
“fare and happiness shall be the only business of my
“melancholy solitude. Mean time I conjure you to
“serve and obey the *Spaniards* to the utmost of your
“power, so that you be well treated by them, and
“now and then heave a sigh and drop a tear to the
“memory of your prince, who ever loved and che-
“rished his people.” (1)

(1) *Garcilasso de la Vega*. lib. ii. cap. 29.

a ation he was, when *Almagro* receiving advice of his intentions, dispatched certain *Spaniards* of distinction to acquaint him that *Cuzco* was now in his hands; and as it belonged to his jurisdiction, according to the emperor's grant, he hoped he would make no difficulty about returning to *Lima*, until the controversy could be adjusted between him and the marquis. This message was roughly received by *Alvarado*, who, instead of listening to pacific measures, made the gentlemen prisoners who came with the proposal, and resolved to pursue his march, with intention to drive *Almagro* out of *Cuzco*. Notice of his violent proceedings no sooner reached *Almagro*, than he took the field, and advanced but a little way on his march, when he had the good fortune to seize a party of *Alvarado's* horse, that had been sent out to procure intelligence. From his prisoners he learned the posture
b of *Alvarado's* affairs, the disgust of *Lerma*, the murmurs of the soldiers and auxiliary *Indians* at the rigorous discipline of the general, and a variety of other circumstances, which he meditated how to convert to his own advantage. He advanced as far as the river *Amancaes*, and here encamped for a whole day within a little distance of the enemy, in hope of being joined by their deserters; and *Garcilasso* alleges that *De Lerma*, and several of his friends, embraced this opportunity of expressing their disgust, and ruining *Alvarado*. They came over to *Almagro*, and would certainly have seduced more than half the army, had not *Almagro*, upon some suspicious words, ordered *Lerma* to be seized, which obliged him to make his escape sooner than he had proposed. By this means, it is alleged, *Almagro* was perfectly informed of the enemies position, and enabled to fall upon
c him in the night, with such advantages, as soon produced a complete victory, taking *Alvarado* prisoner, and incorporating most of his troops with his own soldiers.

Almagro defeats Alvarado, and takes him prisoner.

ALMAGRO returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, on the twelfth day of *July*, to project the means of extending his victorious arms, and securing his good fortune. He had yet the greatest difficulties remaining; he was to encounter the experienced marquis *Pizarro*, who, notwithstanding his losses, had still a considerable body of troops, which he would be augmenting every day with succours from *Panama* and other places, being in possession of the sea coast and shipping. *Orgonez* his lieutenant advised him to certain violent and unjustifiable measures; such as putting to death the two brothers of *Pizarro* in his custody, marching to *Lima* before the marquis could be reinforced, attacking that city with
d all his power, and thence establishing an intercourse with the other settlements in different tracts of *America*. The latter part of this opinion was prudent; but *Almagro* was disposed to listen to the whole, from an apprehension that the *Pizarros* might execute a revolt at *Cuzco*, while he was absent in the expedition against their brother. He was, however, dissuaded from such a piece of barbarity by another of his officers, *Jago de Almagro*, who had contracted a friendship with *Ferdinando Pizarro* during his imprisonment, although the result evinced the necessity of this cruel policy, and the foresight of *Orgonez*. It was likewise doubted whether he could attack *Lima*, which was confessedly within the jurisdiction of his rival, without setting the emperor's grant at defiance, and declaring
e himself a rebel to the government; however, the expediency of opening an intercourse with the sea, was so universally allowed to be expedient, that *Almagro* began his march at the head of five hundred *Spanish* horse and foot, and a large army of *Indian* auxiliaries, taking with him *Ferdinando Pizarro*, and leaving the other brother and *Alvarado* prisoners in *Cuzco*.

A. D. 1537.

He marches towards the coast.

MEAN time the marquis *Pizarro*, anxious about the situation of his brothers, and the fate of the capital, having received no advices either from them or *Alvarado*, and apprehending that the *Indians* had seized all the passes, resolved to march in person to *Cuzco*; and having seasonably received a reinforcement, he set out on this expedition, at the head of seven hundred horse and foot. He soon got intelligence that the siege of *Cuzco* was
f raised, next day followed the account of the proceeding of *Almagro*, and the imprisonment of his brothers, and advancing a little farther, he was informed of the defeat and imprisonment of *Alvarado*. Such a tide of misfortune had almost overwhelmed that spirit which had already resisted the most cruel strokes of fate. Revenge sometimes occupied his whole mind, he thought of nothing but punishing the perfidious *Almagro*; a notion that was soon laid aside for more cautious measures, when he reflected upon his own weakness. When he began his march, he thought only of combating *Indians*, and his troops were accordingly armed in the manner best calculated to answer that design; but now he had a skilful and powerful enemy to encounter, it was necessary to provide himself in a
g different manner, and also to wait the junction of troops whom he hourly expected from *Panama*. On his return to *Lima*, he had notice that *Almagro* was advancing, which determined him to gain time, by setting on foot a negotiation. In consequence of this resolution, the licentiate *Espinosa* was dispatched with instructions to propose a compromise of

of their differences; and not long after several persons of distinction were sent to *Almagro's* camp, to enforce the licentiate's overtures, and at all events procrastinate matters until the arrival of the succours, and the necessary preparations were made to compel this rival commander by force of arms to abandon the capital. *Garcilasso* alledges that *Espinosa* reached *Cuzco* before *Almagro* began his march to the coast, and found him so elated with prosperity, that he was deaf to the proposed accommodation; although *Diego de Alvarado*, with great moderation and candor, remonstrated, that the conditions now offered were the very same he had lately demanded. *Almagro* haughtily replied, that he was not to be restrained from opening a communication with the sea, or, in the present flourishing state of his affairs, prescribed to as formerly by *Pizarro*, who had always usurped more authority than belonged to him, either by the king's grant, or the terms of the original contract. Still, however, *Espinosa* found means to protract the negotiation, until he was seized with a malady that carried him off; upon which *Almagro* immediately began his march, and proceeded to the valley of *Chinca*, leaving the government of *Cuzco* in the hands of *Gravial de Rojas*. So near an approach required all the address of *Pizarro* to prevent a rupture, and endeavour to procure the release of his brother *Ferdinando*. His commissaries waited upon *Almagro* in his camp, and were at first refused audience, from a suspicion that their proposals were fallacious. At length *Almagro* consented to send commissaries to treat with those of the marquis on the frontiers of their respective governments; but this had its difficulties, as both claimed different limits. When the objection was removed, and the place of negotiation adjusted, *Almagro's* commissioners were seized, and their dispatches examined, at which the marquis pretended to be greatly incensed. He denied that it was done by his authority, apologized to *Almagro*, dismissed the prisoners, and proposed a personal conference, at which each of the governors should be attended by twelve select friends.

Marquis
dissembles.

By this time *Almagro* was informed of the escape of *Pizarro* and *Alvarado*, with a hundred Spaniards, whom he had left in *Cuzco*; and *Orgoñez* seized this opportunity of pressing him to put *Francisco Pizarro* to death, while *Jago de Alvarado* urged it as a reason for dismissing him, and coming to a perfect agreement with the marquis. He was ballancing between these opinions, when he discovered a stratagem laid by *Alonso de Pizarro* for seizing him during the interview with the marquis, from which he escaped very narrowly; yet as the marquis disclaimed all knowledge of this perfidious attempt, *Almagro* still consented that the commissioners should endeavour to effect an accommodation so beneficial to both parties. Accordingly the arbitrators met; but differing in opinion, friar *Francisco Bobadila* was chosen umpire, all parties agreeing that he was a person of candor, sense, and integrity. However, when his determination was declared, *Almagro* refused to stand by his award, because he had assigned *Cuzco*, the city in debate, to his rival; he appealed to the council of the *Indies*, and resolved to maintain possession until their resolution was divulged. With this the marquis pretended to be well satisfied, desiring that matters might remain in the present posture, until the result of a final appeal to the catholic king should be known, and promising to furnish *Almagro* with a ship to convey his deputies into *Spain*, provided he would release his brother *Ferdinando*. This was the great object of his policy; for he dreaded the consequences to his brother of coming to an extremity, while he continued in the enemies power: but having now gained his liberty, and received a considerable reinforcement from *North America*, he threw off all disguise, and made vigorous preparations for retaliating all the injuries he had sustained (C). A herald was dispatched, requiring him to surrender *Cuzco*, and acquainting him that the marquis looked upon his jurisdiction to extend along the southern coast, quite to the straits of *Magellan*; by which means he entirely excluded *Almagro* from the grant made to him by the government. This message he enforced with a detachment of seven hundred Spanish horse and foot sent to *Cuzco*, under the conduct of his brothers *Ferdinando* and *Gonzalo*, while he marched with another army to *Chinca*, where *Almagro* had founded a little colony, at which he was then encamped. Advice of these measures obliged him to return with

(C) This was not the only deceit practised by the marquis in course of the altercation with *Almagro*, who neither adhered on his part to the exact dictates of equity or honour. The bishop of *Panama*, or *Terra Firma Proper*, had been appointed the preceding year to adjust the limits of their governments, and to assign *Pizarro* two hundred and seventy leagues beyond the equator, and to *Almagro* two hundred leagues

more, by which division the marquis apprehended *Cuzco* would fall within the jurisdiction of his rival. To prevent his knowledge of this circumstance, it was that he persuaded *Almagro* to undertake the expedition to *Chili*; and when the bishop arrived at *Lima*, he dissuaded him from making that tedious journey to *Cuzco* to execute his commission, upon which he returned to *Panama* (1).

(1) *Herrer. dec. iv. lib. iii.*

- a all possible dispatch to the capital, in direct opposition to the sentiments of his lieutenant, who advised an attack on *Lima*, during the absence of the forces; affirming that the reduction of this place would secure in his interest not only the shipping, but all the recruits that were daily flocking from other parts of the continent. *Almagro* was sensible of the prudence of the measure; but he declined it, because he thought it a direct violation of the rights granted by the government to his adversary, and of consequence nothing less than disobedience to the commands of his sovereign. To this punctiliousness we may fairly ascribe his ruin, though another circumstance of misconduct equally contributed. He now marched back directly to *Cuzco*, and being better acquainted with the country, and his soldiers more seasoned to the climate, he got before *Pizarro's* detachment. Ad-
- b vice was brought him before he reached the capital, that the enemy were forced to halt in a very sickly condition in the mountains, and that, if he attacked them, the whole detachment might easily be destroyed. All his officers gave it as their opinion he ought to embrace so favourable an opportunity; but *Almagro* by some fatality discredited the intelligence, pursued his march, and believed he should be perfectly secure in accomplishing the ruin of so small a body of forces, if they presumed to lay siege to *Cuzco*. In fact, it appears that he was determined to act defensively, in order that his cause might carry the more favourable aspect to the government, when he could prove *Pizarro* to be the aggressor. Indeed his officers at length obliged him to break this resolution. When the enemy approached the capital, they insisted on his giving them battle in the open plain.
- c *Almagro* demonstrated almost to a certainty that he must destroy them effectually, by adhering to his defensive plan; but he was forced to yield to their impetuosity, for fear of giving them disgust; or creating suspicion of his want of courage. At this very time he was confined to his bed with the fatigue of so tedious and difficult a march, which proved too arduous an undertaking for his infirm constitution and advanced age; but roused with the clamours of his soldiers, he ordered himself to be carried in a litter, and marched out of *Cuzco* to meet the enemy, leaving the care of drawing up the troops in order of battle to his lieutenant. *Ordonnez's* plan was exceeding good, had he paid a proper regard to the nature of the ground, and avoided engaging himself personally so deeply in the engagement, that he could not give the proper attention to the execution of his orders, or seize those favourable opportunities which rise and vanish in a moment. The infantry was reduced to one battalion, formed in a kind of column in the center, each side being supported by arquebusiers, and a squadron of horse, in which *Almagro* was superior to the enemy. The artillery was disposed on the right wing, while the front was secured by a rivulet and marshy ground, that rendered all access laborious and hazardous. *Pizarro* drew up his army in a manner nearly similar, but with more regard to the ground; for he took care to place his horse on plain ground, where they could freely bear down upon the hostile infantry, while the cavalry of *Almagro* was entangled in the *Salinas*, or salt-pits, whence this battle took its name. This was the first oversight in *Ordonnez's* plan; for as to *Almagro*, he could do nothing besides animating the soldiers by his presence. He was besides greatly mistaken in the opinion he entertained of the enemy. He believed they chiefly consisted of raw undisciplined recruits, ill armed, and sickly; whereas in fact they were for the most part veterans trained up in the wars of *Charles V.* and musqueteers, of whom there were only a few in *Almagro's* army. *Pizarro* began the action by crossing the rivulet with his horse; and the first discharge proved favourable to *Ordonnez*, who plied his artillery vigorously, swept off the entire first rank of the enemy, and staggered the whole body of cavalry; but his courage destroyed the fruits of that advantage. He rushed with his horse against *Pizarro*, engaged him hand to hand, dismounted him, and bid fair for a complete victory, when he received a musket-shot in the forehead. By this time the infantry came to blows, and the battle raged with great fury; when a report suddenly spread among the troops that *Ordonnez* was killed, which infused so great a panic, that, disregarding *Almagro's* remonstrances, they fled in confusion to the city, carrying their general with the torrent. *Pizarro* entered *Cuzco* with the fugitives, made dreadful slaughter, and many prisoners, most of whom were killed after quarter was given, particularly *Ordonnez* and *Pedro de Lerma*, who were covered with wounds. Here private pique and resentment fully gratified themselves, every man taking this opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on the unfortunate prisoners. The *Spanish* writers themselves record such acts of cruelty as would disgrace a nation of savages, and even speak of them with applause or censure, just as they happen to side with one party or the other. *Almagro's* life was preserved at this juncture only to be more maliciously sacrificed by the tedious forms of what his enemies called a legal process. Having been closely imprisoned some months in the most excruciating suspense, at length a process was commenced,

Almagro
punctilious.

Battle of
Salinas.

April 6, 1538.

Almagro tried,
condemned,
and executed.

and an impeachment drawn up, in which he was charged with having seized upon Cuzco a by force of arms; with occasioning the effusion of much *Spanish* blood; with entering upon a clandestine correspondence and secret treaty with the inca *Manco Capac*; with infringing on the terms of the emperor's grant, and encroaching upon the limits of the marquis *Pizarro*'s jurisdiction; with breach of all the articles of several contracts with the marquis; and with fighting two battles against his countrymen, contrary to the peace of the sovereign lord the king, one at *Abancay*, and another at *Salinas*. These and divers other crimes and misdemeanors of less moment were proved according to certain forms of law; upon which the old general was condemned to death, though he appealed to the emperor in the most pathetic manner, implored the clemency of *Ferdinando Pizarro*, reminding him of the regard he had shewn for his life, when he had him entirely in his b power, and of his constant refusal to put to death any of the friends or relations of *Pizarro*, although they had expressed the bitterest enmity to his person. He desired *Ferdinando* would consider how instrumental he had been in the success of the expedition, and the prosperity of the marquis; that he was an old infirm man, who, in course of nature, had not long to live, and that almost his whole life had been one continued series of toil, hardship, and misfortune; arguments which had no weight with *Pizarro*. He had the express orders of the marquis to remove *Almagro*, as the only obstacle to his ambition and glory, imagining he should then enjoy the whole dominion of *Peru* without a rival: the sentence was therefore executed in its utmost rigor; *Almagro* was privately strangled, publicly beheaded on a scaffold in the great square of *Cuzco*, his body stripped naked by c the executioner, and then left exposed for the greatest part of the day, without a friend to pay the last duties to his remains. These were all in custody, and their enemies were too much inflamed with resentment to listen to the dictates of humanity. At last the corpse was carried off by an old slave of the deceased, who wrapped it in a coarse cloth, and buried it in the most devout manner he could, at the hazard of his own life; disgracing, by this act of compassion, the more polished and civilized christians. Thus perished, by the malice of his enemies, the enterprising, vigilant, active, and publick-spirited *Almagro*, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, sincerely regretted by his friends, and especially the *Indians*, who regarded him as their parent and protector, against the rigor of the other *Spanish* commander, and honoured his ashes with the unfeigned tears of sorrow- d ful affection (D).

(D) We have already mentioned that *Almagro* was of obscure birth, and mean education, being ignorant of reading and writing; but he was an excellent officer and generous friend, an admirable citizen, seduced sometimes into unjustifiable acts, by the extent of his authority, by the opposition of *Pizarro*, or by ambition. He was the forger of his own fortune, and

had by dint of merit alone ascended to a greater height of riches and power than any private person of the age, unless we except his colleague, and the conqueror of *Mexico*. His estate and power he left to an only son he had by an *Indian* woman; but young *Almagro* was not only dispossessed of his estate by the marquis, but sent a prisoner to *Lima* (1).

(1) *Geral. lib. ii.*

S E C T. X.

*In which we give a succinct Relation of the Wars in Chili, and the several Rebel-
lions raised in Peru, either by the Tyranny of the Governors, or the Ambition of
the Spanish Planters.*

a **T**HE barbarity of the *Pizarro* faction, far from producing the intended effect of gaining an unlimited authority, served only to augment the number of their ene-
mies. After the victory, *Ferdinando* persecuted with unrelenting severity all the friends of *Almagro*, and drove them out of *Cuzco*, or confined them in dungeons, for fear they might endeavour to revenge the ignominious death of their leader. His friends, who had flattered themselves with sharing in the spoils of *Almagro*, and being appointed to the government of provinces, began to relax in their zeal, on finding their expectations disappointed. *Almagro's* treasures were retained in the hands of the *Pizarros*, under pretence that they must be accountable for them to the catholic king; and to obviate all inconveniences which might arise from their chagrin, *Ferdinando* was careful to employ them in distant conquests, which might gratify their ambition and avarice. Accordingly several of his own discontented officers, and also the most popular of *Almagro's* party, were sent with slender detachments upon different dangerous expeditions, to prevent their examining too curiously into his conduct. However, so general appeared the discontents, after the execution of *Almagro*, that *Ferdinando* found it necessary to visit the court of *Spain* in person; and, by a judicious application of the vast treasures which he now possessed, to screen himself against the bitter accusation of *Jago de Alvarado*, then guardian of young *Almagro*, who had lately gone over with a view of establishing the rights of the minor, and bringing the *Pizarros* to a severe account. He appeared at court with a brilliant retinue, distributed the gold and silver of *Peru* with the utmost liberality, pleaded the necessity of the measures he had taken, with great address; and was, notwithstanding, conducted to the prison of *Medina dal Campo*, in which he remained confined for the space of twenty-three years. It is generally believed that he must have atoned with his life for the injuries done to *Almagro*, had not the death of *Alvarado* stopped the prosecution; an event so sudden, that strong suspicions remained of his having been poisoned by the agents of *Pizarro*. Consequences of these cruel proceedings.

By the death of *Almagro*, and the imprisonment of *Ferdinando Pizarro*, the whole weight of the government of *Peru* fell upon the shoulders of the marquis, at a critical time, when he most required the assistance of faithful friends and able counsellors. The *Indians* had again recourse to arms, either to revenge the death of *Almagro*, or to profit by the divisions among the *Spaniards*, who now found themselves more hardly pressed, even when their numbers were greatly increased, than when they first entered upon the conquest with a handful of men only. The *Indians* were animated with revenge; and had besides overcome the consternation and terror which had seized them on the first sight of fire-arms and horses. What they formerly conceived to be the thunder of heaven, they were sensible was no more than a contrivance of human genius; and they had taken several horses, which they ventured to use against the *Spaniards*, demonstrating by this, and the improvements in the art of war they had made since the arrival of *Pizarro* in *Peru*, that they were extremely ingenious and imitative. In several encounters they defeated the *Spaniards*, fought them with their own weapons, and were not even afraid or ignorant of the use of muskets, some of which they had taken in different engagements. The relation given by the royal historian *De la Vega*, of an action between some *Spanish* cavaliers, of whom *Gonzalo Pizarro* was one, all well mounted, armed, and cased in armour, and seven naked *Indians*, sufficiently evince the strict courage and activity of the latter. The *Peruvians* were indeed defeated, but it was after a gallant resistance, and wounding three of the enemy. This happened in the province of *Charcas*, where *Pizarro* commanded a considerable body of troops, and fought several bloody undecisive battles, until he was at length reduced to the necessity of sending for succour to the marquis. When the invaluable mines of *Potosi* were discovered, then such crowds of adventurers flocked to this province, that the natives were at last compelled to submit, after a most obstinate defence.

In *Chili* the *Spaniards* were still less successful, that brave people disputing every inch of ground. All the provinces subject to the inca of *Peru* had submitted to *Almagro*, who had Expedition to Chili.

A. D. 1540.

St. Jago de la
Nueva Estramadura.

had likewise reduced some of the southern provinces, and was in a fair way of extending a his conquests, when circumstances obliged him to return to *Cuzco*. *Valdivia*, who had learned the rudiments of war in *Italy*, and was deemed one of the best *Spanish* officers in *America*, was now sent thither by *Pizarro*. All the provinces which owned the sovereignty of the incas, submitted with little difficulty to the *Spaniards*, who took upon themselves the authority of the emperor, and acted in all respects as a regular legislature. As *Valdivia* advanced, the obstruction was greater; the confederated caziques gave him frequent battle, and displayed great courage and resolution; but they could not prevent his penetrating as far as the valley of *Mafiocho*, which he found incredibly fruitful and populous. Here he founded the city of *St. Jago*, building a castle for the defence of the new colony and security of the gold mines in the neighbourhood, in which he forced the natives to labour. The *Chilians*, greatly exasperated at this work of servitude, determined upon revenge; to accomplish which, it was resolved to attack the fort when the horse were gone out to forage; but the conspiracy being discovered, the ringleaders were capitally punished. This suspended the design of the *Chilians*, but did not break their resolution of wreaking their vengeance the first opportunity that offered. *Valdivia* imagining himself perfectly secure, set out on his foraging expedition, and had scarce proceeded eight leagues when the *Chilians* took arms, attacked the castle commanded by *Alonso de Menroy*, with great impetuosity, and continued the assault from morning until night, fortifying themselves within the enclosures and yards made by the *Spaniards* to their houses. On this occasion a *Spanish* lady exerted an extraordinary degree of brutal courage. Apprehending c lest the *Indian* caziques imprisoned in the fort might recover their liberty, and render the insurrection more general, she seized a hatchet, and, with astonishing boldness and cruelty, hewed them in pieces with her own hand. Even this act of savage ferocity did not produce the effect; the *Spaniards* found themselves so hard pressed, that they were forced to abandon the fort, and march to a plain in the neighbourhood, skirted by a river. Here the few horses that remained had room to act, and performed wonders; altho' it was not possible to hinder the enemy from setting fire to all the out-works, by which the provisions and stores were consumed. *Valdivia* returned in the mean time, obtained a complete victory, began with the utmost diligence to repair his losses; but conceived so high an opinion of the free spirit and valour of the natives, that he immediately wrote to *Peru* for a d reinforcement, and was soon joined by a body of troops under *Baptista Pastena*.

Mines of Quilota.

WE shall pursue this subject, to avoid interruption in our account of the civil divisions in *Peru*. *Valdivia* had scarce reduced the enemy to obedience, when his life was endangered by his own troops, who murmured at the fatigue of rebuilding the outworks, and the scarcity that prevailed. A plan had been formed for the murder of the general; but some information of it coming to the ears of *Valdivia*, he banished the ringleaders, and suppressed the commotion. After this he assumed the title of governor of *Chili*, and behaved with such gallantry, that, after many bloody skirmishes, the *Indians* of the vale submitted. Immediately he set them to work in the mines of *Quilotta*; and they proved e so rich in gold, that for the security of the *Spaniards*, and to keep the *Indian* labourers in awe, he built a fort, in which he placed a strong garrison. Next he proposed to trade to *Peru* by sea, and likewise to open a communication by land; for which purpose he built a frigate on the river, and detached a party of horse to the vale of *Guasco*, under *Menroy*, and another to the vale of *Copiapo*, to proceed from thence to *Peru*, which was an extremely difficult and arduous undertaking. As *Menroy* was preparing to pass the desert of *Atacama*, the *Indians* fell suddenly upon him, defeated his party, and obliged him and *Pedro de Meranda* to escape on their unsaddled horses, covered with wounds. An entire ignorance of the country occasioned their afterwards falling into the hands of an *Indian* general, whose name was *Coteo*. They were carried prisoners to the chief cazique of the f vale, whose lady commiserating their misfortunes, had them unbound and taken into favour; by which means they soon escaped to *Peru*, after suffering incredible hardships in the tedious journey. From thence he returned with a reinforcement of sixty men, and thereby enabled *Valdivia* to pursue his conquests.

Divisions among the Spaniards.

MEAN time the fortune of war was changeable; in general the *Spaniards* were successful in their expeditions, but they also sustained a variety of defeats and losses. At last the disturbances in *Peru* occasioned *Valdivia's* being recalled, with some of his officers and soldiers, and the care of pursuing the conquest was committed to *Francesco de Vellagea*, who was constituted his lieutenant. During his absence misunderstandings arose between g his lieutenant and *Pedro Sanchez de Hoz*, who had procured a grant from the crown of *Spain*, of the government of the farther parts of *Peru* and *Chili*. *De Hoz*, in consequence of this grant, expected, with a good deal of reason, that he ought to succeed, to the command

a command of the forces, and have the chief direction in the absence of *Valdivia*. He had even a superior right to *Valdivia* himself; nor would he submit to this general, who held his commission only of *Pizarro*, except on condition that the richest provinces of *Chili* should be assigned to him; with which *Valdivia* was obliged to rest satisfied. However, upon his departure, *Vellagea* came to a rupture with *De Hoz*, seized, imprisoned, condemned, and put him to death, whether by his own authority or the orders of his superior, is uncertain. This only is related, that *Valdivia* appeared to be well pleased with the conduct of his lieutenant, and the removal of a person who could not help regarding him in the light of an usurper. The *Chilians* made their advantage of the civil divisions among the *Spaniards*, attacked the garrisons of *Copiapo* and *Coquinbo*, and after putting all the *Spaniards* to the sword, demolished the towns. *Vellagea* himself was extremely hard pressed in the town of *St. Jago*, and most probably have surrendered, had not *Valdivia* seasonably arrived to his assistance, with a strong reinforcement, attacked the *Indians* with great resolution, forced them to relinquish the siege, drove them out of the valleys of *Copiapo* and *Coquinbo*, rebuilt the towns they had destroyed, marched to the southward, and after crossing the river *Maypo*, obliged the warlike provinces to receive the yoke, after they had withstood all the attempts of the incas of *Peru*, and of *Almagro*, the first *Spanish* general who had penetrated their frontier.

VALDIVIA had activity, resolution, and a genius turned to projects. He now entered upon a scheme of great extent and hazard, crossed the large rivers *Maulle* and *Hata*, traversed a vast space of country, and founded the city *La Concepcion*, on the South-sea coast. He had likewise erected several other towns and fortresses in different parts of *Chili*, in order to bridle the natives, which so enraged this brave people, that they assembled in crowds, fell upon the new city, harrassed the garrison with perpetual attacks, and were very near destroying the whole *Spanish* army. However, in despite of all their endeavours, *Valdivia* completed the fortifications of *La Concepcion*, put it in a posture to resist all the power of the enemy, and then advanced with all his forces towards the plains of *Angol*, and crossing the great river *Biobio*, founded the city called *Imperial*, on a hill, at the confluence of two rivers, about forty leagues to the southward of *Concepcion*. The *Spaniards* alledge that the neighbouring fertile valley contained above fourscore thousand *Indian* inhabitants, who gave them no molestation in building, being of a peaceable disposition. They were even so tame as to suffer *Valdivia* to parcel out their lands among the *Spaniards*, remaining themselves like slaves attached to the glebe. *Valdivia* was indefatigable in establishing the *Spanish* power, by founding colonies. About sixteen leagues to the eastward of the city *Imperial*, he laid the foundation of *Villa Rica*, so called on account of the wealth of the gold mines found there; but he involved himself in difficulties, by extending his conquests beyond what his strength was capable of maintaining. By extending his forces over the face of so large a country, he weakened every part in such a manner as revived hope in a people who watched with the closest attention for the opportunity of recovering their liberties. However dreadful the fire-arms, horses, and armour of the *Spaniards*, appeared to naked, simple *Indians*, servitude proved still more intolerable; and the *Chilefians* resolved to put all to hazard, rather than endure fetters so galling to their free spirit. In the course of war they discovered that the *Spaniards* were vulnerable and mortal men like themselves, which helped to confirm their courage; they assembled in great numbers, and doubted not but they should be able, by dint of perseverance and superior strength, to expel the usurping insolent strangers. Had all the natives of *Chili* joined in this opinion, they must have infallibly executed their project; but amidst such a variety of nations of different customs and sentiments, it was impossible to find them all in the same disposition. Some were tame and pacific, preferring the yoke of the *Spaniards* to the tumults of war; others were warlike and brave, regarding subjection to a foreign power as the most dreadful of all calamities. Full of these generous sentiments, the latter took arms. The *Aracceans* in particular, the most intrepid people in *Chili*, and who had given *Valdivia* the greatest trouble, all rose to a man, exasperated at the treatment of the *Spaniards*. When this people had submitted before, *Valdivia*, in the distribution of the lands, had reserved this valley to himself, on account of its extraordinary wealth and fertility. The natives were set to dig in the mines, and subjected to the stripes and abuse of the *Spaniards* who superintended the labour. Sensible how intolerable this usage must seem to a people unaccustomed to subjection, he erected three castles in the valley, to keep them in awe, and garrisoned them strongly, while he went upon another expedition, in search of mines which had a still higher reputation. Of this circumstance the *Aracceans* availed themselves, engaged the whole country in the conspiracy, and elected the celebrated and valiant *Capaulican* for their leader and general.

The *Chilians* rise against the *Spaniards*.

The *Aracceans* revolt.

Capaulican's
conduct.

Valdivia taken
and put to
death.

It is seldom that the *Indians* conduct their schemes with the necessary secrecy. *Valdivia* received notice of the intended rebellion, he returned suddenly to the valley of *Araccea*; but before he appeared, fourteen thousand of the natives were assembled in arms, determined to shed the last drop of their blood. He attacked them with his cavalry, obliged them to retreat to the woods, but could not obtain a victory, for they continued to sally out with fury, maintaining a kind of running fight, and harassing the *Spaniards* with perpetual fatigue and watching. The experience acquired from these skirmishes was improved by *Capaulican* in a manner which evinced his military genius. He observed that fighting with such a number of undisciplined troops, served only to disorder the whole, and contribute to his defeat, the confusion of the front communicating itself to the wings and rear, in such a manner that the first assault of the *Spanish* cavalry generally determined the fortune of the day. This inconvenience he determined to remedy, by dividing his forces into battalions of a thousand each, which should charge the enemy by turns, and thus support the engagement at pleasure, without fatigue or danger to the whole army. He represented to his countrymen, that the *Spanish* cavalry did not exceed a hundred and fifty men, against whom a battalion of the brave *Chilefians* would be able to make a considerable stand, notwithstanding the superiority of their arms and horses; and that this corps relieved by another, and that by a third, would necessarily, in the end, fatigue, dishearten, and exhaust the *Spaniards*. He desired they would make trial of this new method; and the issue proved answerable to his wish. *Capaulican* was too prudent too expect that a single battalion could defeat the enemy; and he only required, that when the soldiers found themselves hard pressed, they would retire leisurely into the rear, and rally themselves behind cover, without disordering the rest of the forces, in order to renew, in their turn, the charge. Every thing was executed to his order; the first battalion engaged with great resolution, and a calmness that greatly astonished the *Spaniards*. After suffering the whole weight of the battle as long as was thought necessary, they retired with great deliberation, and were succeeded by another body; which having discharged the required duty, retreated in the same order, and made room for a third, in this manner keeping up an unintermitting engagement, for the space of seven or eight hours, until the *Spaniards* grew quite faint for want of refreshment, and retired precipitately. *Valdivia* ordered them to possess a pass at some distance from the field, to stop the pursuit. The fruits of this order were blasted by the treachery of his page, a *Chilefian*, who took this opportunity of deserting to his countrymen, acquainted them with the *Spanish* general's design, and directed them to gain the pass before the arrival of the enemy. Make use, "said he, of the advantage which the gods have put into your hands to recover the liberties of your country, and to rescue it from destruction by shedding the blood of those thieves and traitors." When he had spoke these animating words, he took up a spear, placed himself at the head of a body of *Chilefians*, charged the *Spaniards* with great fury, while another detachment seized upon the pass, agreeable to his directions. *Valdivia* and his troops were now enclosed on every side, and too much exhausted to make any considerable resistance. The *Indians* put all to death without pity or remorse, except *Valdivia* and a priest, whom they took prisoners, and bound to a tree, until they had slaughtered all the rest of the *Spaniards*. When they had fully satiated their revenge, and destroyed both men and horses, they carried *Valdivia* bound before their general *Capaulican*, who cruelly ordered him to be put to death. Writers differ in the relation of this event. According to *Garcilasso*, some alledge, that his treacherous page *Lauteru*, having first reviled and reproached him, then slew him with his own hand; others say he was bound to a tree, and his brains dashed out with a club, by order of the *Chilefian* general; while others affirm, that the *Indians* poured melted gold down his throat, bidding him satiate himself with that metal, after which he thirsted so violently. *Garcilasso* speaks of the death of this brave and unfortunate commander in a manner still different, and more tragical. He relates, that *Francisco de Rieros*, who was at that time an officer in *Chili*, affirmed on his return to *Peru* that the *Indians* passed the night succeeding the victory, in mirth and festivity, dancing round a great fire, upon which they broiled pieces of *Valdivia's* flesh before his own eyes, and eat it luxuriously, until he at length expired with loss of blood, and the extremity of torture. All the *Spanish* writers agree, that they made flutes and other instruments of his bones, and preserved his skull as a monument of their victory, which they celebrated by an annual festival. As to *Lauteru*, his services were judged to be of such importance, that he was raised to the high station of lieutenant-general to *Capaulican*, in which capacity he displayed the vigour of his genius, and boldness of his courage, in divers engagements.

^b LA VEGA, lib. vii. cap. xxiii. p. 287.

Farther successes of the Chileans.

- a THE defeat and death of *Valdivia* spread consternation among all the *Spaniards* in *Chili*, who now apprehend that the revolt of the *Aracceans* would become general. His lieutenant *Vellagea*, who was then at *Conception*, no sooner heard the news, then he assembled the troops dispersed in different provinces, and being reinforced with several thousand of his *Indian* allies, set out for the valley of *Araccea*, to revenge the death of his general. *Capaulican* did not chuse to encounter so powerful an army in the open field; but he artfully retired by such gentle steps as convinced the *Spaniards* that he was too weak to support their weight, and drew them on gradually into rough, unequal ground, and a country covered with wood, and filled with defiles, where the horse was miserably entangled, and rendered entirely useless. Having occupied all the passes in such a manner as to
- b prevent the *Spaniards* from extricating themselves, he boldly faced about, attacked *Vellagea*, in front, flank, and rear, and ordered his people to come immediately to close battle, with a view of destroying the effects of the fire-arms. The event was similar to that of the preceeding engagement. The *Spaniards* were routed with the loss of near three thousand men, including the auxiliary *Indians*, and the victors bent all their strength against the *Spanish* colonies. *Lauteru* marched at the head of a great army to *La Conception*, which he destroyed upon finding it abandoned by the *Spaniards*. He then laid siege to the city *Imperial*; and after continuing for some weeks before the walls, was forced by the heavy rains to relinquish the enterprize; a fortunate accident, which the pious *Spaniards* ascribed to the interposition of the virgin *Mary*, who, they affirmed, made her
- c appearance to the whole garrison; an assertion which we have the same reason to believe, as that the tutelary *Saint Jago* fought their battles against the *Indians* on horseback.

UNDISMAYED by the unfortunate issue of this undertaking, and the miracles wrought before his eyes in favour of the *Spaniards*, if one may credit their writers, the *Indian* general *Lauteru* resolved to frustrate the design of the enemy to rebuild *La Conception*. With this view he marched directly to that city, drove the *Spaniards* from their works, and again reduced the whole to ashes. After which he laid siege to *St. Jago*, with intention to demolish all the *Spanish* settlements in *Chili*, as these were the greatest obstacle to the recovery of public liberty. Here he was killed by an arrow, after he brought the garrison to extremities; upon which the *Chileans*, disheartened by the loss of their general, raised the siege and withdrew. Several other hostilities were committed on both sides; and the natives were in general so fortunate in all their attempts, that the governor

d of *Peru*, fearing the loss of the whole conquest, unless the most vigorous measures were taken, determined upon sending his son *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, with a powerful army, to suppress the rebellion. From this circumstance we may judge of the tediousness of the war, and the difficulty of the conquest, it being now the space of ten years since *Valdivia*'s first arrival in *Chili*. *Mendoza* pursued his instructions to reduce the *Aracceans* with the utmost vigilance; he encountered the *Indians* upon divers occasions with various success, and was at last so fortunate as to make *Capaulican* prisoner, whom he put to death, in order to strike terror into his adherents. However, all the abilities of *Mendoza* were

e insufficient to bring the war to an issue. The *Chileans*, though repeatedly defeated, were never dispirited; on the contrary, misfortune drove them to despair, and they determined to gratify their revenge at the expence of the last drop of their blood. They raised fresh forces, mounted cavalry, which they had taken from the *Spaniards*, fought with disciplined valour, ruined almost all the *Spanish* settlements, and, at the end of fifty years, remained unconquered.

Garcia de Mendoza sent to Chili.

- As it would greatly exceed the limits of a general history to relate every minute circumstance of this long and bloody war, we shall touch only upon a few material particulars related by the royal historian *De la Vega*, which will convey a sufficient idea of the
- f misery which the *Spaniards* sustained, and the obstinacy with which the *Chileans* persisted in the defence of freedom. When *Garcilasso* was in *Spain* in the year 1600, he received the following advices from a correspondent then residing in the country: That, on the 29th day of *November* 1597, a body of *Chileans*, amounting to five thousand horse and foot, two hundred of whom were clothed in armour taken from the *Spaniards*, took the city *Imperial* by surprize, put all the *Spaniards* to the sword, and reduced the place to ashes. On this occasion, near four hundred *Spaniards*, men, women, and children, were sacrificed to the fury of the conquerors. The same writer acquaints us, that four years after he received a letter, informing him, that of the thirteen different towns and cities
- g built by the *Spaniards* in *Chili*, six were destroyed by the *Indians*; namely, *Valdivia Imperial*, *Angol*, *Santa Cruz*, *Casteo* in *Chiloe*, and *La Conception*. "They overthrew, consumed, and laid desolate the houses and habitations of the *Spaniards*, dishonoured and prophaned the temples, obscured the brightness of that faith and devotion which shone in those
- " parts,

Particulars of the war.

“ parts, and so elated the spirits of the *Indians* by their success, that they grew bold and
 “ confident, omitting no opportunity of robbing and destroying the churches and mo-
 “ nasteries with fire and sword! They also learned, adds the same writer, many arts and
 “ stratagems of war. When they besieged the city of *Osarno*, they so hemmed in the
 “ *Spaniards* with their works, that they could receive no sustenance, except a few bad
 “ vegetables, which they were obliged to procure at the expence of desperate sallies. In
 “ the last siege which the *Indians* laid to *Osarno*, they surprised and killed the centinels,
 “ entered the town, butchered the children, chained down the women, and exercised
 “ every act of barbarity; but while they were thus employed, the *Spaniards* recovered
 “ from their consternation, snatched the critical moment, fell upon the *Indians*, and
 “ obliged them to fly with great precipitation, leaving their booty behind.” These are the
 words of the jesuit *Da Castro*, quoted by *La Vega*, who likewise adds to the same pur-
 pose, that the last victory obtained by the *Indians* was at *Villa Rica*, with great effusion
 of *Spanish* blood. They set fire to the four-quarters of the town, and killed all the friars
 of *Saint Dominique*, *Saint Francis*, and the *Marcedas*, with all the other clergy, carrying
 the women into captivity, many of whom were ladies of distinction and high quality.
 “ These were judgments, says *La Vega*, which God permits in his secret providence
 for the chastisement of mankind;” and were it allowable to judge of the dispensations of
 the divine will, they might be called just punishments on the *Spaniards*, for the wanton
 oppressions, and unheard-of cruelties exercised upon the innocent and brave natives,
 whose country they invaded, whose treasures they plundered, and whose persons they
 enslaved, under the barefaced disguise of propagating the most humane and benevolent
 of all religious institutions.

Admiral
 Brewer's ex-
 pedition to
 Chili.

BEFORE we quit this subject to return to the affairs of *Peru*, it may be proper we
 should mention the plan formed by the *Hollanders* for profiting by the losses of the *Spa-*
niards, and establishing colonies in *Chili*, concluding they would be well received by the
 natives, if they declared themselves the foes of their inveterate and implacable enemies.
 In the year 1642, the *Dutch West-India* company equipped a squadron under admiral
Brewer, which sailed from the *Texel* in the month of *November*, suffered considerably in
 doubling *Cape Horn*, and arrived in the month of *May* following on the coast of *Chili*.
 A party of fifty soldiers being landed, encountered a troop of *Spanish* horse, defeated
 them, and then took possession of the town of *Cavelmappa*. Afterwards the fleet steered
 for the island of *Chiloe*, and the appearance of the *Dutch* diffused such a panic among the
 inhabitants of *Castro*, that they removed their effects, and set fire to the city. From the
 relation given by some *Spanish* and *Indian* prisoners they made, all the particulars above
 related of the war were confirmed, with a thousand circumstances that aggravated the
 cruelty and insolence of the *Spaniards*. If we may credit the *Dutch* accounts, the *Chile-*
sians, even at this time, expressed the utmost detestation of the *Spaniards*, and were con-
 triving the means of throwing off the galling bondage. One of the natives came on
 board with the head of a *Spaniard*, whom he had just killed, and declared that his coun-
 trymen only waited the return of the dry season to gain their friends at *Osarno* and *Baldivia*,
 and begin a general insurrection. The *Dutch* commander *Brewer* died before any progress
 was made in the scheme concerted by the *West-India* company; and to this unfortunate
 event is the miscarriage of the expedition ascribed. He had formed an alliance with
 the *Chileans*, five hundred of whom he had on board the fleet, with whom his successor
 set sail for *Baldivia*, carrying with him the body of the deceased admiral, as he had de-
 sired to be interred in that city. At *Baldivia* the *Dutch* found only a few monuments of
 its former grandeur, the place where the city stood being over-grown with weeds and
 bushes; they were even disappointed in their hopes of meeting with treasure. Here they
 extended the treaty with the *Chileans*, a great number of caziques agreeing to join them
 against the *Spaniards*, on the promise made by the *Dutch* of supplying them with arms
 and military stores; but they refused to enter upon a written contract, declaring that a
 parole engagement and verbal promise was as obligatory as seals and written parchment.
 They suffered the *Dutch* to build a fort; but when a proposal was made of trafficking,
 and exchanging gold for arms, the caziques expressed their jealousy, and immediately de-
 clared there were no gold mines in their country. In a word, the *Dutch* found reason to
 apprehend, that whatever enmity the *Chileans* entertained against the *Spaniards*, they
 would join with them to expel the strangers; and therefore they very prudently withdrew,
 and returned disappointed to *Europe*.

WE left the marquis *Pizarro* deeply engaged in reducing the distant provinces, and in
 extending the dominion of the *Spaniards* over countries till now entirely unknown. By
 the number of detachments which he made, his army was so much weakened, that the
Peruvians

- a *Peruvians* again ventured to have recourse to arms, and would certainly have recovered their liberties, but for the aid furnished the *Spaniards* by their *Indian* vassals, who discovered all the passes and strong posts, and supplied them with provision and intelligence. In the province of *Los Charcas*, the natives made violent struggles to preserve their liberties. *Gonzalo Pizarro* had been detached to reduce that province, and, after repeated battles, was surrounded, and so distressed by the *Indians*, that the marquis found it necessary to march in person to his relief, with all his forces. *Garcilasso* alledges that he only sent a reinforcement, giving out that he would go in person if necessary; but that *Gonzalo* was relieved by a miracle wrought in his favour by *St. Jago* before the arrival of the succours: certain it is, that the province was reduced after much bloodshed, and that *Gonzalo* was then detached to the province of *Caneta*, to enter upon still more perilous adventures. The difficulties which he combated in this expedition, surpass description. After sustaining the united efforts of famine, fatigue, disease, and other calamities, he arrived on the banks of the river *Amazons*, where he built a kind of ship, which he committed to the charge of *Orellana*, with intention to supply his forces with provision; but *Orellana* deserted his interest, and, to crown *Gonzalo's* misfortunes, not only left him destitute of every means of subsistence, but entertained the treacherous scheme of procuring a grant of the country for himself; with which purpose he set sail for *Spain*. *Gonzalo* having eat up all his provision and horses, was then reduced to feed upon roots, herbs, and the flesh of insects and reptiles, the very sight of which would nauseate a less craving appetite. Many of his people perished for hunger, all were almost starved with cold, the apparel with which they began the expedition being worn to tatters. The utmost difficulties were combated in marching along the side of the great river of *Amazons*, upon account of the impassable mountains and forests that fell in their way, and forced the *Spaniards* to make prodigious circuits, crossing marshes, bays, and rivers, with incredible fatigue and perseverance. The cheerful and undaunted resolution with which the general supported every misfortune, inspired his men with emulation and courage; and though they could not avoid feeling distress, they forbore repining. The *Indian* auxiliaries served them rather with the affection of children, and the nearest kindred, than the fidelity of allies; they even deprived themselves of the pittance of loathsome food, in order to supply the *Spaniards* soldiers. The distance of four hundred leagues of a country, barren, rough, and inhospitable, separated them from *Quito*; yet it was resolved to return thither, as the design of the expedition was frustrated by untoward and unforeseen accidents. Accordingly they kept on the north side of the river, began their march over the summits of high mountains, and cut their way by dint of labour through rocks and thick woods, which might have been tolerable, had the body been sustained and strengthened with a sufficient quantity of wholesome nutriment. The sick were carried on the shoulders of the healthy, in which charitable employment no one was more indefatigable than *Gonzalo*; until hunger at length pressed with such violence, that the *Spaniards* were ready to devour not only their dead, but even the infirm and diseased. All their cloathing consisted of leaves, just sufficient to cover those parts which modesty required should be concealed. Above four thousand *Indians* and two hundred *Spaniards* perished already, without encountering an enemy; and those who remained at length entered a more open and plentiful country, which they regarded as the land of promise, and beheld as a miracle wrought by the finger of Providence to save them from destruction. Here they found abundance of deer, and other wild beasts, of which they not only made food but raiment, cloathing themselves with the skins of those animals. On their arrival on the frontiers of *Quito*, they kissed the earth in a kind of ecstasy, returning thanks to the Almighty, who had preserved them amidst such perils, and extricated them from so many dangers and difficulties.
- f Notice was given to the inhabitants of *Quito* of their approach and needy situation, upon which all the apparel that could be collected in the city was sent to them; but this was far from answering the necessity of the sufferers. *Quito* had been so depopulated and impoverished by the civil wars, that not above six suits of cloaths could be spared by all the inhabitants of this great metropolis of a wealthy province, nor more than twelve horses sent to the relief of the exhausted and emaciated adventurers. There was something melancholy in the excessive joy expressed by *Gonzalo*, and his companions, at meeting with their countrymen, and the public entry they made into *Quito*, clad like savages, in the skins of deer and wild beasts, their feet bare, and covered with wounds and sores, their swords naked without scabbards, and eat up with rust, and their countenances fallen, emaciated, and the most expressive picture of hunger and keen distress.
- g Two years had now elapsed since *Gonzalo* entered upon this unfortunate expedition, during which extraordinary changes and revolutions happened in *Peru*. The marquis

Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition to Caneta.

Discontent of the Almagrians.

They form a
conspiracy.

Pizarro was chiefly intent on suppressing the party of *Almagro*, as the only means of confirming his own authority, in the prosecution of which design he committed several violences that served only to increase the number of his enemies. *La Vega* is his professed apologist on this occasion; relating, contrary to the testimony of all other historians, that he suffered young *Almagro* to enjoy his paternal fortune at *Lima*, and relieve, by his bounty, all his distressed friends, whose estates had been confiscated, as if they were guilty of treason against his catholic majesty. Forgetting, a few lines after, that he admits this charge against the marquis^f, he affirms, that *Pizarro* used his utmost endeavours to gain the affections of the *Almagrians*, by considerable largesses and sums of money, procuring for them lucrative offices and honourable employments, which they obstinately refused, persevering in their malice and animosity, keeping up the breach, b filling the mind of young *Almagro* with the most rancorous enmity, and rejecting all assistance and kindness from the marquis, notwithstanding the urgent and extreme necessity to which they were reduced. To this conduct he ascribes the marquis's future severity; his friends advising him to compel those persons into duty and obedience, who were too obstinate to be won by presents and caresses. In consequence, *Almagro's* estate, by which his adherents were supported, was now confiscated. This inflamed his resentment, and he immediately wrote to all his friends dispersed over *Peru*, to repair to *Lima*, and assist him in revenging the injuries he sustained. The truth is, *Almagro's* estate was confiscated, as we have related, immediately upon his father's execution, and he was now detained a kind of prisoner in *Lima*, and supported wholly at the expence of the marquis, while all c those who bore any affection to his family were not only deprived of their estates, but excluded from all public employment, whereby they were reduced to extreme misery and wretchedness. A stigma was affixed on all who had served under *Almagro*^g; they were distinguished by the appellation of the *Chilimen*, and an edict was published, prohibiting any man to relieve them, under the severest penalties. Not satisfied with rendering their condition deplorable in *Peru*, effectual means were taken to prevent their return to their native country, lest their complaints might reach the ears of his Catholic majesty, and obtain compassion and redress. Necessity drove them into cabals and conspiracies; and being rendered quite desperate, they determined to revenge the murder of *Almagro*, the cruel usage of his son, and their own injuries, by spilling the blood of d *Pizarro*. The marquis, sensible he had justly provoked them, now kept close in the city, never stirred abroad without a strong guard; and watched with so strict an eye over his enemies, that they found it difficult to assemble in such numbers as to give any prospect of success to their designs. The greatest circumspection was necessary; they entered the city in the most formal manner, in small parties of two and three together, and were concealed in the houses of some persons who approved of the meditated revolution. Such was the necessity to which the proscribed faction, was reduced, that *Almagro* and seven of his friends possessed but one cloak, with which they made their appearance by turns, the rest staying half-naked at home, while one of their number was employed abroad in viewing the state of affairs, and forwarding their designs. This circumstance even *Garcilasso* e acknowledges.

WHEN the *Almagrians* in *Lima* amounted to near three hundred men, they began then to imagine their strength sufficient to carry their projects into execution. Among them were several experienced officers and veteran soldiers, who had frequently manifested their courage on occasions of the most signal danger. To these young *Almagro* resigned his own judgment, suffering them to conduct the conspiracy in the manner they believed most adviseable. The first scheme was to fall upon the marquis, as he went upon *Midsummer* day to hear mass in the cathedral church of *Lima*; but this design being either discovered or suspected, *Pizarro*, under pretence of some indisposition, confined himself, and assembled f his friends to consult on proper measures for recoiling the meditated blow on the heads of the conspirators. The disappointed conspirators now laid aside their hostile intentions, determining to wait the arrival of *Vaca de Castro*, who was sent over by the catholic king to adjust all differences among the *Spaniards*, and examine the truth of *Alvarado's* allegations, at that time soliciting the court that justice should be done to young *Almagro*, and the murderers of his father called to a severe account. This new resolution was again soon dropped, upon advice that the marquis, having received intelligence of their intentions, was now preparing measures of rigorous revenge. Fearing they might all be sacrificed to his fury, they now resumed their desperate designs, and rested all their future fortune g upon the success of one bold attempt against his life. To the number of thirteen, they

^f GARCILASSO, lib. iii. cap. v.

^g GOMARA, CARATE, HERRERA *passim*.

assembled

a assembled at mid-day at the lodging of young *Almagro*, and proceeded, with their swords drawn, through the market-place, directly to the marquis's palace, crying aloud, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant perish." They met with no opposition until they entered the palace, notwithstanding their menacing cries had drawn together a crowd of people in the great square. A page gave the marquis the first notice of the danger; upon which he ordered the hall-doors to be shut, and resolved to make a vigorous resistance; but his servants, terrified at the danger, deserted him, and made their escape over the windows, leaving him with his brother-in-law *Martin*, and two pages, who bravely resolved to share his fortune. *Francis de Chaves* had gone upon the stair-case, imagining it was some tumult among the servants, was met, and killed by the conspirators, who then forced themselves b to the door of the marquis's apartment. Here he had posted himself with his three faithful friends, determined to sell his life at a high price; though the time would not admit of his casing himself in armour. He fought with the most desperate fury, slew four of the conspirators, wounded several; but at last being left alone, his brother and pages having fallen by the hand of the enemy, he was surrounded and killed, by a wound in the throat, after he had given proof of the most heroic courage, of vigour and strength almost incredible at his advanced age. Thus fell *Don Francisco Pizarro*, in the capital city of that vast conquest, which he had made by courage, prudence, and unparalleled perseverance, by the hands of those brave soldiers, the instruments of his victories, and now the chastisers of his insolence, injustice, and cruelty. The *Spanish* writers drew a parallel c between his character, fortune, and tragical end, and those of his colleague and rival *Almagro*; and it must be confessed there was a striking resemblance, as the reader will perceive from what we have related of both. After so minutely specifying facts, it is almost unnecessary to draw a formal picture of this conqueror, who was liberal, undaunted, generous, until prosperity intoxicated his mind, and rendered him jealous, ambitious, and rapacious. We may date his misfortunes with the death of his colleague, from which time his character never shone with lustre; and, indeed, it never suffered an eclipse by the perfidious murder of the inca *Atahualpa*, although that action was rather permitted than promoted by *Pizarro* (A).

The marquis
assassinated.
A. D. 1541.

As soon as the conspirators had effected their purpose in the palace, they sallied forth b into the market-place, declaring the tyrant was dead, and were saluted and congratulated by their friends and associates, who had taken care that no assistance should be carried to the marquis before their return. They also secured all the arms and horses in the city, commanding the inhabitants not to stir about without leave. They plundered the marquis's palace, and the houses of his brother-in-law *Martin de Alcantara*, and secretary *Pizardo*, in which they found immense treasures in gold and silver. As to the furniture of the palace, they left it untouched for the use of young *Almagro*, whom they now proclaimed governor of all *Peru*. *Lima*, *Cuzco*, and most of the principal cities and colonies, acknowledged his authority; some, however, resolved not to declare themselves before the arrival of *Vaca de Castro*. The joy of success rendered every thing tumultuous at e first in *Lima*; but the spirits of the people soon subsided into more regular measures. *Almagro* was sworn by the corporation of this city to govern *Peru* agreeable to the laws, and conform himself to the king's pleasure. The late ministers were all removed, others more attached to the new governor being appointed to their employments, as the reward of their services. The rich and powerful of *Pizarro's* faction were imprisoned, and their estates and goods confiscated, to make good the losses sustained by the *Almagrians* during the late proscription. *Juan de Rada*, who was chiefly instrumental in the death of the marquis, was raised to the high dignity of a general of the forces, on account of the spirit and activity he had exerted as a conspirator. Others were promoted to other offices and employ- f ments, according to the degree of their zeal for the new governor, and animosity to the opposite party, without regard to any other qualifications; whence it followed that these preferments could not possibly afford universal satisfaction. The insolence of *Rada*, intoxicated with his sudden prosperity, contributed to augment the public discontents. This officer issued out all commissions in the name of *Almagro*, without consulting his friends,

Almagro pro-
claimed gover-
nor of Peru.

(A) The marquis *Pizarro* had completed his sixty-third year, and in despite of the fatigues he had undergone in prosecution of this arduous conquest, was healthy and robust. No man ever pursued a project with more intense application, or better understood how to improve the advantages he gained, to his own and the public benefit; if we except errors owing to pride, avarice, and ambition. He was diligent in building towns, planting colonies, and introducing the fruits, the indus-

try, and the manufactures of *Europe*, into *Peru*, as the only means of reconciling the natives to the *Spanish* government, by demonstrating its utility. To him the *Spaniards* owe their chief settlements in *South America*, *Pizarro* having either laid the foundation of their most flourishing cities, or at least rebuilt them in the *European* manner, and established a regular police, and settled administration.

or

or seeming to regard them as of any consequence. Here were laid the seeds of fresh civil divisions and cabals, against the life of the imperious and arbitrary minion. *Francisco de Chaves*, kinsman to the gentleman of that name, slain in the marquis's service, was at the bottom of the conspiracy, for which he suffered death upon the rack.

GARCIA de Alvarado, another officer high in *Almagro's* esteem, was no less cruel and insolent than *Rada*. *Alvarado* was employed by the governor to take possession of towns and plantations in his name, to seize treasures, levy soldiers, and disarm the *Pizarrists*, and all who expressed a dislike to the new government; which commission he executed with great severity. He went to *Truxillo*, and immediately dispossessed *Diego de Thora* of the office of judge of that place, notwithstanding he had been appointed by old *Almagro*, and reinstated by his son, on his first accession to the administration. At the city of *St. Miguel* he put several gentlemen to death upon frivolous pretences, only because he knew them averse to the present measures. Other officers employed in different provinces proceeded with equal rigour; but at *Cuzco* the commissioners were forced to some degree of moderation, knowing that the principal persons in that city were determined to acknowledge *Vaca de Castro*, if they were not gained over by lenity; and they were not only too numerous of themselves, but had too great sway with the *Indians* to suffer themselves to be used harshly. *Gomez de Tortoya*, a leading man in that capital, and the particular friend of the marquis *Pizarro*, had even declared his resolution of revenging his death; notwithstanding which, the majority of *Spaniards* and *Indians* submitted to the authority of young *Almagro*, merely because his interest happened to prevail. *Tortoya* dispatched messengers secretly to all his friends in the adjacent provinces who were attached to the *Pizarro* interest, acquainting them with the late tragical event, and requiring them to assemble the *Spaniards* in their neighbourhood in arms, to oppose the usurpation of the assassins, and revenge the death of their governor, and the king's representative. *Nuno de Castro*, *Garcilasso de la Vega*, and others, accordingly repaired to *Cuzco*, while *Tortoya* went in search of *Alvarez Holguin*, who, with a hundred men, had just set out upon an expedition to *Callao* before the late revolution. His application to this officer was successful. At his desire *Holguin* declared himself the enemy of the new administration, and took upon him, at the request of *Tortoya*, the dignity of captain-general of the league now forming against *Almagro*. He erected his standard, sent manifestos to *Charcas* and *Arequibas*, augmented his forces to two hundred men, directed his march to *Cuzco*, and so terrified the *Almagrian* party with the news of his approach, that they quitted the city with the utmost precipitation; but were pursued and brought back prisoners by *Nuno de Castro*, assisted by twenty harquebusiers. On *Holguin's* arrival at *Cuzco*, the party augmented astonishingly; the gentry flocked in from their plantations, and some of them aspired at the chief command; but were soon over-ruled by the sentiments of the majority, which declared in favour of *Holguin*, now confirmed in the post of captain-general by the suffrages of the party.

WAR was now openly declared against the *Almagrians*, the citizens of *Cuzco* obliging themselves to repay to the king whatever sums of money *Holguin* might expend from the royal treasury, in prosecution of the hostile measures intended. The news that *Alonso de Alvarado* had erected his standard in the same camp in the *Cbachapuyas*, arrived about this time, and augmented the confidence of the *Pizarrists* to such a degree, that they were very little disturbed with advice of *Almagro's* advancing at the head of eight hundred men to give them battle, though it was resolved in a council of war to march by the way of the mountains to join *Alvarado*. With this design they left *Cuzco*, using every possible precaution to avoid being surprised by parties of the enemy. In the mean time *Almagro* receiving minute intelligence of all that was transacting in *Cuzco*, determined by the advice of his officers to intercept *Holguin*, first securing his interest in *Lima*, and carrying off the children and friends of the late marquis, to prevent insurrections in his absence. One piece of barbarity exerted upon this occasion proved advantageous to the cause of his enemies. *Almagro*, out of personal pique, and in hopes of recovering the secreted treasures of *Pizarro*, ordered the secretary *Picado* to be tortured, and then put to death, because he resisted all the cruel measures to extort a confession.

Vaca de Castro arrives in Peru.

SUCH was the situation of the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, when *Vaca de Castro* arrived at *Quito*, with a commission from the king to succeed to the government of the kingdom, in case of the decease of *Pizarro*; otherwise his commission extended no farther than examining into the differences between the marquis and *Almagro*, and the circumstances of the death of the latter. From *Quito* he issued commissions to the different *Spanish* cities and settlements, constituting such magistrates as he thought proper, and in every respect exercising the prerogatives of governor; in which quality he was immediately received by a variety of provinces. He also received letters from *Holguin* and *Alonso de Alvarado*, who had now joined

- a joined forces, assuring him of their obedience to the king's pleasure, and requesting him to repair to take charge of the army at *Truxillo*. Among other exertions of power, he authorized *Barionoro* and *Aliaga* to take upon them the government of *Lima*; to whom the *Indians* immediately submitted, *Almagro* being at this time absent on his way to *Cuzco*. *De Castro* then set out for *Truxillo*, and was joined on the road by crowds of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who determined upon implicit obedience to the royal mandate; and although they were no friends to the tyranny of *Pizarro*, detested the violent measures of the *Almagrians*. His army was now very considerable, all the officers bound themselves by a sealed instrument to obey his authority, and, as the first proof of their sincerity, resigned their commissions into his hands, either to be renewed or revoked at the governor's pleasure. From
- b hence he marched to *Lima*, where he was received with the honours due to the viceroy of *Peru*, and joined by all the inhabitants able to carry arms.

EVERY thing succeeded in this manner to the wish of *Vaca de Castro*; while *Almagro*, disappointed in his designs on *Holguin*, directed his march to *Cuzco*, took possession of that capital, and new-modelled the magistracy, replacing all those who had absented themselves on the declaration of the opposite party. His next care was to provide a train of artillery, in which he found no difficulty, copper being plentiful at *Cuzco*, and his troops furnished with persons skilled in casting cannon. He was busied in the most vigorous preparations, when the death of his general *Rada*, and certain appointments that took place in consequence, gave breath to the expiring embers of faction, and again lighted up the flames of

c diffention, to the great prejudice of his affairs. *Christopher de Sotelo*, and *Garcia de Alvarado*, became now his chief counsellors, and had the whole direction of the army jointly, which each aspired to separately. Rivals in ambition and the favour of *Almagro*, their resentment was soon inflamed to the most rancorous animosity, which terminated in the death of *Sotelo*, slain in the market-place. The friends of the deceased resolved to revenge the injury; and every thing conspired to produce a civil war, when *Almagro* interposed his influence and authority, and effected a temporary reconciliation, dissembling his sentiments of the conduct of *Alvarado* to a more seasonable opportunity. However, it was not possible to remain long in this moderate and politic disposition; the violence of *Alvarado's* temper obliged him to come to extremities. That officer apprehending *Almagro's* vengeance, thought he could not render himself secure without shedding the blood of his general and benefactor; for which purpose he contrived to invite him to an entertainment, where he proposed executing his horrible project; but *Almagro*, who had some advice of the conspiracy, excused himself by pretending indisposition, and thus secured himself, and concealed the discovery, in order to draw *Alvarado* into his own snare. He confined himself in his bed, concealed some friends in the adjacent apartments, and feigned real illness with so much address, that *Alvarado* made him a visit, was seized, and immediately put to death.

- HAVING by this spirited and seasonable punishment quieted the tumult, he drew out his forces, amounting to seven hundred *Spaniards* and several thousand *Indians*, and began
- e his march, with intention either to give battle to the governor, or procure advantageous terms by treaty for himself and his friends. As his troops were almost all veterans, who had served under his father, and his train of artillery greatly superior to that of the enemy, he made himself pretty confident of victory, should it prove necessary to come to a hostile decision; but his intention was not to refuse the opportunity of compromising matters amicably. When he advanced within a few leagues of *De Castro's* army, he dispatched messengers with pacific proposals. They were ordered to represent to the governor, that *Almagro's* father had performed eminent services for the court of *Spain*, that he had always proved himself loyal and faithful to his sovereign, that he had been barbarously murdered
- f by the marquis *Pizarro*, that the revenge taken was just, and that his son now only demanded to be restored to the government of *Cuzco* and *New Toledo*, agreeable to the grant of the crown to his father. They also represented, that young *Almagro* resolved to obey his majesty's command implicitly; though he hoped the governor would not shew his partiality for the *Pizarros*, by approving of their notorious tyranny and oppression. Letters to a similar purpose were sent by the superior officers of the army, who complained that their services were rejected, as if they opposed the royal mandate, notwithstanding the king had not more faithful subjects in *Peru*. *La Vega* omits this circumstance, authenticated by the testimony of all other *Spanish* writers, and evidently shews himself prejudiced
- g in favour of *De Castro*. Nor does he take any notice of the governor's endeavours to seduce *Almagro's* officers to betray him at the very time they were negotiating a treaty; on the contrary, he affirms, that *De Castro* sent the first messengers to *Almagro*, with the most equitable overtures, and a promise of general pardon for himself and his associates,

*Almagro
marches a-
gainst him.*

He is defeated
and put to
death.

if he would now lay down his arms; which the other refused, until he should be confirmed a in the government of *Cuzco*, and all the jurisdiction included in the grant to his father. *Herrera* asserts, that *Castro* sent a *Spaniard*, disguised like an *Indian*, to examine the posture of *Almagro's* camp, with intention to surprise him while his mind was occupied with the result of the negotiation; and that the spy was discovered and hanged. The same writer also asserts, that he found means to corrupt *Pedro de Candia*, who had charge of *Almagro's* artillery. Suspecting the governor's insincerity, *Almagro* resolved to come to action, and accordingly drew up his forces in the vale of *Chapas*, rousing their valour by an animating speech, in which he reminds them of the virtues of his father, the cruel murder of that brave officer, and all the injuries they had sustained from the tyranny, insolence, and oppression of the *Pizarros*. Both armies were composed of veterans; that of *De Castro* was superior in number, but *Almagro's* better supplied with musquetry and artillery. *De Castro* harrangued his army likewise, and thereby quieted some unseasonable discontentments expressed by the soldiers; which circumstance we have from *La Vega*, though he forgets to acquaint the reader with the occasion of those murmurs. *Almagro's* camp was well fortified, the cannon being every way pointed in such a manner as to render him inaccessible, had he been served with fidelity. It was likewise situated upon a hill, which determined him to wait the attack of the enemy, who appeared eager to engage: as they advanced up the ascent, he ordered his artillery to pour grape shot upon their ranks; but astonished to observe that several discharges produced no effect, he suspected the treachery of *Candia*, taxed him with infidelity, and receiving no satisfactory answer, slew him with his own hand. He then pointed a piece of cannon so judiciously, that he cut off a whole troop of *De Castro's* soldiers at a single discharge; but they were now approached too close to suffer him to play his artillery. Both sides had recourse to the musquetry, cross bows, lances, and swords: they fought with great bitterness for several hours; when at length *Almagro*, finding himself deserted by some of his troops, and overpowered by numbers, retired with the inca *Manco Capac*, and some general officers, out of the field, intending to seek a retreat in the mountains, until a more favourable opportunity offered for trying his fortune in the field, and recovering his government (A). Unhappily he thought of stopping at *Cuzco* to secure his treasure, where he no sooner arrived than those treacherous friends, whom he had replaced in the magistracy, hearing of his defeat, resolved to purchase the governor's favour by the most atrocious perfidy. They seized their benefactor, sent him to *De Castro*, and met with the contempt which their villainy merited. In this action more than half the troops on both sides were killed or wounded; the victors shedding the blood of those who had thrown down their arms, and implored mercy. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy and intrepidity; and *Almagro*, who was then but twenty years of age, distinguished himself in such a manner as gained the admiration of his adversary, although he entirely forgot his extraordinary merit as soon as he had it in his power to satiate his revenge. Upon advice that he was seized, he posted to *Cuzco*, and without scarce any formality of trial, ordered young *Almagro* to be executed agreeable to the sentence pronounced before the battle. These were the direful effects of the civil divisions of the *Spaniards*; neither youth, age, infirmity, nor valour, could excite compassion in the breasts of the unfeeling victors. All gratified the dictates of bloody resentment, as often as fortune furnished the opportunity, thereby exposing themselves to a similar fate, and cherishing the seeds of faction, which a prudent administration would try every expedient to suppress. The party of *Almagro* was entirely extirpated, those who escaped in the field being hanged up or tortured to death by order of the governor.

DE CASTRO having fully established himself in the government by acts of cruelty which disgrace his memory, however necessary they might appear to the tranquillity of *Peru*, applied his attention with the most intense diligence to the civil administration of his government. He began with public institutions, which equally regarded the welfare of *Spaniards* and natives. All perceived the utility of his reforms, and the *Indians* paid the same respect to his edicts, as if they had proceeded from the lips of their adored incas. Divisions of land were made, and colonies of *Indians* and *Spaniards* transplanted from barren spots to countries more fruitful, but unpeopled. That his laws might be agreeable to the genius of the nation, *Castro* informed himself from the caracas and caziques, concerning

^b LA VEGA, lib. iii. cap. xv. HERRERA, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. ii. CARATE, cap. xvii. GOMAR, cap. cl.

(A) The *Spanish* writers relate the transaction in *Peru*, and the occurrences of this civil war, with so much partiality to one or other of the parties, that it is next to impossible to ascertain truth. We have therefore selected such circumstances from each as appeared to us the most probable, and the best attested; particularly with respect to the dispute between the *Pizarrists* and *Almagrians*.

the institutions of the incas, their method of administering justice, and other particulars; to which he conformed himself as nearly as the design he formed of establishing a more regular polity, and the doctrines of Christianity, would admit. He erected schools in several towns, ordering the children of the principal *Indians* to be educated in the principles of the Christian religion, and of rational morality. He restrained the *Spaniards*, by laws, from using the natives with their accustomed barbarity; he restored their lands to many of the caziques, and gave them a kind of civil limited jurisdiction. He imposed restraints on the licentiousness of the soldiers, and disposed their minds, by proper encouragement, to marriage, industry, and labour. Those who appeared dissatisfied with their lot, turbulent in their humour, or unfit to promote the ends of civil government, he sent into distant b unconquered provinces, in imitation of the policy of the marquis *Pizarro*. He inquired into the conduct of the king's officers, who amassed vast fortunes by rapine and oppression, whence he raised himself a great number of enemies among the *Spaniards*, while he engaged the affections and confidence of the *Indians*. In a word, he formed tombos, or places of refreshment, on all the roads, for the benefit of travellers, and the conveniency of commerce, and pursued every other measure which could render *Peru* great and flourishing in itself, and advantageous to the mother country (B).

ABOUT the time when *De Castro* arrived in *Peru*, *Gonzalo Pizarro* returned from the dangerous expedition we have related, to *Quito*. He thought himself injured by *Castro's* taking upon him a government which he claimed for himself, as the brother and legitimate successor of the marquis. The misfortunes he underwent in the conquest of *Canela*, instead of extinguishing the sparks of ambition in his mind, rather inflamed him to seize the opportunity of repairing all his losses, at the hazard of overturning the government, and throwing into confusion a kingdom, in which order was at length established, after a long series of bloody wars, rebellions, and conspiracies. The discontents of the officers and magistrates, over whom the governor kept a strict eye, furnished *Gonzalo* with the means of carrying on his designs. He improved their murmurs to his own views, and had actually formed a very considerable party, when the sagacity and vigilance of *De Castro* penetrating into his remotest secrets, frustrated all the effects of his machinations, without bloodshed, or any violent exertion of authority. He no sooner perceived what was d in agitation, and had undeniable evidence of the plot which was formed to assassinate him, and seize upon the government, than he sent privately to *Gonzalo*, and without betraying any symptoms of indignation, or even of the discovery he had made, ordered him to re-

Gonzalo Pizarro's conspiracy discovered.

(B) While *Castro*, in quality of governor, was passing such edicts, and establishing such ordinances, as he thought essential to the welfare of the people under his care, the friar *Bartholomew de la Casas* was laying before the court of *Spain*, a scheme of civil and ecclesiastical polity for the *Indian* colonies, which had been rejected as early as the year 1539, by the cardinal of *Seville*, then president of the supreme council of the *Indies*. The emperor now proposed this scheme to his council; and it was embraced, notwithstanding the cardinal, and several other members, protested against it, as no way congenial to the temper and disposition of the *Indians*. This scheme contained forty laws, the principal of which we shall relate, as they occasioned universal discontent in *Peru* and *Mexico*. It was ordained, that all estates should be held of the king, and revert to him after the decease of the possessors, without respect to the right of inheritance. That no *Indian* should pay taxes who gave an equivalent in personal labour, nor obliged to work in the mines or fish for pearls. That none of the king's officers should be allowed to keep *Indian* slaves. That all persons concerned in the late disputes between *Almagro* and *Pizarro*, should lose all jurisdiction over the *Indians*, by which the *Spaniards* in general, except a few new-comers, were divested of power and property, all having taken part on one side or the other. That a grant should be made in favour of the immediate conquerors, whereby they might enjoy their possessions for the space of two lives, then to revert to the king in the same manner as other estates, after making competent provision for the children and widow. That all persons arrived at a certain age, whether *Spaniards* or *Indians*, should marry. That, to encourage matrimony,

the wife should have power to enter into possession of the estate, at the decease of her husband, in case no children survived, and to enjoy it with another husband during her natural life (1).

La Vega makes several judicious remarks upon these ordinances, which he very justly observes could not answer the ends proposed. With respect to that law which exempted the *Indians* from taxes, he says it was founded upon the presumption of their inability, owing to their not being paid for their labour by the *Spaniards*. If this was really the case, he thinks the grievance might be more effectually redressed, by ordaining that severe punishments should be inflicted on the *Spaniards* who refused payment to the *Indians*, after they had performed their engagements, and finished their labour. The law ordering that the *Indians* should not be compelled to labour in the mines, or fish for pearls, was really calculated, he alledges, to indulge their natural indolence, and deprive the crown of the immense revenues arising from the mines of *Potosi*, *Huancabamba*, and other places. It is, indeed, manifest, that all the other laws which we have quoted, had evidently the interest of the crown, rather than of the subject, in view; and as to this, its apparent tendency was to secure the natural liberty of the *Indians*, and restrain the tyranny of the *Spaniards*, although the effect was no other than cherishing a habit of indolence and laziness, more powerful among this people than any other. Upon the whole, we cannot think so hardly of this scheme of civil policy as our author would seem to insinuate; as it evidently had a humane tendency, notwithstanding it was attended with inconveniences, from which no human institutions are exempted.

(1) *La Vega*, lib. iii. cap. xx.

pair immediately to his estate in the province of *Los Charcas*, and to remain there until his farther pleasure was known: a punishment so mild, that we may infer, the governor's prosecution of the *Almagrians* arose from private pique, from necessity, and from a wrong system of policy, which he had then adopted, and not from the cruelty of his own disposition. *Pizarro*, who was in no condition to dispute the governor's commands, obeyed, with seeming chearfulness, in order to remove the suspicions *De Castro* probably entertained; and as he understood that rich silver mines had lately been discovered in that quarter, he employed himself in working and improving them, until a more favourable occasion should offer for pursuing the dictates of his ambition.

WHEN *De Castro* had broke this impending storm, he again turned his mind towards the civil policy of the country in his charge, and laboured chiefly to ease the natives from the galling yoke of oppression imposed on them by the *Spaniards*; but still his endeavours proved so ineffectual, that daily complaints were transmitted to the court of *Spain* of the severity with which the *Indians* were treated, of their being destroyed in the mines, of the death of thousands by their removal from their native air and climate, and of the misery and wretchedness of incredible numbers of women and children, whose husbands perished under the rigorous usage of the *Spaniards*, too great for human nature to support. This is confessed by *Spanish* writers in general, and therefore the truth of it cannot be questioned; especially as the laws, just quoted in the margin, had their origin in those complaints, and were calculated to redress the evils, which in time must necessarily tend to the ruin of the country, and perhaps the extirpation of the conquerors. To these we have specified, the following were added, in order to prevent all equivocation, and convince the *Spaniards*, that, by exempting the *Indians* from compulsive labour, his catholic majesty included every species of bodily labour, as well as digging in the mines. Accordingly it was enjoined, under severe penalties, that the *Indians* should not be compelled to carry burthens, or employed against their will in buildings, or removed from one province into another, even though they were born slaves. Particular privileges were bestowed on the *Indian* freemen. To prevent subjecting the *Indians* to unjust servitude, it was enacted, that all masters should be obliged to have their servants examined before a magistrate, in order to ascertain, whether they had been tied to the glebe, now become the property of the master. It was also ordained, that the *Indians* might be proprietors of gold and silver mines, as well as the *Spaniards*; and should have liberty to carry the produce to market, and dispose of it to the best advantage. Every *Spanish* proprietor of lands was obliged, under certain penalties, to see that the *Indians*, in his jurisdiction, were instructed in the christian religion: and it was farther enacted, that the visitors, appointed to redress the grievances of the natives, should perform their duty in person, repairing to the several towns appointed for their courts, without intrusting the business to deputies, except in cases of sickness, and extreme necessity.

Vela is sent in
quality of viceroy
to Peru.
A. D. 1543.

He enforces the
new laws.

DE CASTRO had certainly acquitted himself like an able and honest minister, ever since the suppression of the *Almagrian* faction; nevertheless, his conduct was misrepresented to the emperor, by those persons who suffered by his strict integrity: it was therefore resolved at the court of *Spain* to appoint another governor, who should punctually enforce the new system of laws, to which he could have no reluctance, because they had no retrospect to his conduct, and could imply no restriction on his administration. Accordingly the emperor *Charles V.* nominated *Blasco Nunez Vela*, surveyor of the ports of *Castile*, to the dignity of president and viceroy of the kingdom and provinces of *Peru*. He had conceived the highest opinion of this gentleman's capacity, from the zeal and courage with which he had served him in divers inferior employments. In the month of *November* the viceroy embarked at *St. Lucar*, accompanied by *Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval*, with a fleet of fifty-two sail. *Sandoval*, with a part of the fleet, steered directly to *Mexico*, while the viceroy held on his course to *Peru*, arriving at *Nombre de Dios* on the 10th of *January* following, whence he travelled to *Panama*, where he released great numbers of *Indians*, and relieved them from the bondage imposed by the *Spaniards*, obliging their masters to send them back to *Peru* at their expence. Several remonstrances were made to him upon the injury which religion and the *Spaniards* must necessarily receive from this conduct. It was represented, that the lands would lie uncultivated, the mines unimproved, and that the *Indians* instructed in the principles of christianity, would relapse into their former errors, as soon as restraint was removed, and they returned to their caracas: but *Vela's* constant answer was, that the *Spaniards* had no right to encroach on their natural liberty; and the truth of christianity was not to be enforced by violence. After remaining twenty days in *Panama*, obliging those who had made great estates by the sale of *Peruvian* slaves to refund, and make several other alterations, he set out for his government, loaded with the execrations of the *Spaniards*.

a *niards*, and the blessings of the *Indians*. He set an example of the conduct which he required to be observed, ordering that his baggage might be carried by mules; and if any *Indians* were employed, that they should be men who voluntarily offered their service for hire, which he saw punctually paid. *Carate*, who was then governor of *Panama*, exhorted him, at his departure, to use less impetuosity in establishing a system of laws so odious to the *Spaniards*; alledging, that reformatations were to be wrought gradually and gently, in such a manner as to slide imperceptibly into practice: but *Vela*, disregarding this wholesome admonition, proceeded, on his arrival in *Pera*, to enforce them with the utmost rigour. Immediately the *Spaniards* took fire, and a spirit of mutiny appeared among all degrees of men. The report of the governor's proceeding diffused through every quarter b with great rapidity. He had promulgated the laws, and required their punctual execution on his journey from *Tumbez*, through *Pinna* and *Truzillo*; and was consequently received not only with coldness, but aversion, in all the cities. The manner in which he notified his arrival and commission, and superseded *De Castro*, likewise gave offence. The viceroy was taxed with insolence; and those who before exclaimed against *De Castro*, united against *Vela*, and offered their services to the late governor, in vindication of his honour; endeavouring, by all possible means, to effect a rupture between those two great personages, and throw into confusion the government which they determined not to obey. All was kindled into a flame, the humours of the people were raised to the highest degree of fermentation, by the artful practices of those persons who were interested in opposing the c new mode of legislation, and the viceroy's imprudent zeal. *Vela* had imposed taxes on all the *Spaniards*, as he advanced in the country, proportioned to their property; and they refused to pay them, on pretence that they held them upon a different tenure, from the governor *De Castro*, who enjoyed the same power with him, at the time he made the grants.

To apply a remedy to those evils, *De Castro* set out from *Cuzco*, attended by a numerous train of the citizens, and principal inhabitants, to meet the viceroy; and was presented, on his journey, with a letter from *Vela*, acquainting him, that from that instant his authority ceased; and all acts made by him, since the arrival of the new governor, were annulled. *Castro* obeyed, and resisted all temptations thrown in his way by the enemies of *Vela*, to disturb his government, and become the head of a faction. Immediately he dismissed the greater part of his attendants, and requested, that such as remained might go unarmed, in order to avoid every appearance of designing hostilities, notwithstanding he was admonished to the contrary. His arrival at *Lima* was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy, which all the endeavours of *Castro* could not suppress: however, to prevent their giving offence, he dispatched his secretary to the viceroy, to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and assure him of his perfect obedience to the will of his sovereign. His message was well received; he was invited to meet the viceroy at *Kimac*; he accepted d the invitation, was caressed for some time, and then imprisoned, on occasion of a tumult, which *Vela* ascribed to his intrigues. This augmented the public discontents. The inhabitants of *Kimac*, who had before resented the viceroy's refusal to confirm them in all the rights and privileges they enjoyed, became now outrageous. It was here, and not at *Lima*, as some writers alledge, that a piece of writing was found under a dish, upon the viceroy's table, to the following purpose: "He who deprives me of my property, I will deprive of life." Nor did *Vela's* behaviour to the incendiary at all quiet the clamours of the people. He pardoned the criminal, and they ascribed his lenity to his fears, which rendered them more daring and insolent. On the viceroy's coming to *Lima*, the prisoner was removed thither, and committed to the common jail. Upon which the inhabitants went in a body to *Vela*, and petitioned with great boldness against such an insult upon a person of *Castro's* rank; desiring that he might be removed to the town-house, and they would bail his appearance at the risque of a hundred thousand pieces of eight: a request with which the governor complied, from the apprehension of a general insurrection. Still, however, *Vela* persisted in his vigorous measures, and the people continued to plot and cabal. The judges and magistrates interfered. They advised *Vela* to a more moderate conduct; but he was inflexible, and treated their admonitions with so much contempt, that they began to enter into the sentiments of the malcontents. In a short time the resentment of both parties broke out in open violence, the judges setting at liberty one *Antonio Sobr*, whom the viceroy had imprisoned and condemned to death, after he had before granted him a pardon for the same crime.

THESE disturbances were not confined to *Lima*, where the viceroy resided; they extended g themselves over all the towns in *Peru*, inhabited by *Spaniards*. This was a fit opportunity for *Gonzalo Pizarro* to resume his ambitious projects; accordingly he practised secretly with the malcontents with so much address, that he soon was invited to protect his

De Castro imprisoned.

Gonzalo Pizarro takes arms.

his countrymen against the tyranny of the viceroy. To give sanction to his measures, ^a and the appearance of moderation to his designs, he artfully exhorted the malcontents to reflect on the consequences of opposing regal authority; and pretending to be convinced by their arguments, accepted of the dignity of procurator and agent general of *Peru*; a title that intimated his being a mediator between the viceroy and people. His intentions, however, were quite different. *Gonzalo's* great scheme was to procure the government into his own hands, without regard to the means. With this view he amassed all the treasure he could find in *Potosi*, assembled his friends, and set out for *Cuzco*, where he erected his standard, was joined by two or three hundred *Spanish* volunteers, and regarded as the head of the party forming against the viceroy. Under pretence of petitioning *Vela*, in behalf of the colonies, to suspend the execution of the new laws, he directed ^b his march towards *Lima*, after constituting *Francisco de Caraval* his major-general, and being proclaimed by the magistrates of *Cuzco* chief justice, and supreme in civil affairs.

GONZALO was aware that he was now in a direct state of rebellion against his sovereign, by opposing his ordinances, and taking up arms against his representative. He resolved, therefore, to give some colour to his proceeding, by alledging, he took arms against the inca, who, he pretended was assembling an army to besiege *Cuzco*. This pretext, however false, was specious at this juncture, as *Manco Capac*, the inveterate enemy of the *Pizarroi*, sent to acquaint the viceroy, that he was ready to take the field against *Gonzalo*, and to serve the court of *Spain* with the last drop of his blood. The inca was actually assembling forces, ^c when an accident put an end to his life, and the wretched subjection in which he was held by the *Spaniards*. A quarrel arose between him and a refugee *Spaniard*, who had sought his protection in the mountains, as they were playing at bowls. In the heat of passion, the *Spaniard* forgot his obligations to the inca, and the respect due to his character. He seized the bowl, and flung it with such violence, as fractured the skull of this unfortunate prince, and laid him dead on the spot^b; by which accident, all the viceroy's sanguine expectations, from so powerful an ally, were disappointed, and *Gonzalo's* hopes elated. To this unlucky circumstance was superadded, the unseasonable progress of the mutual animosity subsisting between *Vela* and the judges; who, in a manner, openly espoused the interest of *Pizarro*; or at least obstructed, by every method in their power, all his ^d measures, whether offensive or defensive.

^e Such was the state of the viceroy's affairs, while *Gonzalo*, with an army of five hundred well armed *Spaniards*, twenty thousand *Indians*, and a train of artillery, set out for *Lima*; having first stopped all intercourse between *Cuzco* and the principal cities, seized upon the king's treasures, a train of artillery sent from *Huamanga*, and also the estates and effects of persons deceased, appropriated by the magistrates to the crown. The inca's death was the occasion of those open declarations; for he could now pretend danger from the *Indians* no longer, and was compelled, in some degree, to avow the motives of his conduct. It was some time before the viceroy had intelligence of these proceedings. When advices arrived that *Gonzalo* was at the head of a formidable army, he was thrown ^e into great perplexity, on account of the bad terms upon which he stood with the inhabitants of *Lima*. However, he resolved not to be wanting in his duty, and accordingly set on foot the most vigorous preparations for suppressing this bold and unexpected rebellion. He beat up for recruits, seized upon a large sum of money belonging to *De Castro*, and shipped it for *Spain*, nominated officers in whom he believed he could repose confidence, and assembled an army, composed of six hundred *Spaniards*, and several thousand *Indians*. Orders were given to make fire-arms of iron and bell-metal; to which purpose he appropriated all the bells in the churches. To try the affections of the people, he directed that several false alarms should be raised; and to prevent any danger from *Castro*, whose fidelity he suspected, notwithstanding he had lately consented to his being ^f set at liberty, he seized and confined him on board a ship that lay in the harbour.

^g MEAN time *Pizarro* was not idle; while he was marching in a hostile manner to *Lima*, he was taking measures to justify his conduct to the court of *Spain*; for which purpose he commissioned *Tedeja*, the judge most devoted to his interest, to pass immediately to *Europe*, and represent to the emperor, the necessity he was under of seizing upon the government, to prevent the general desertion of the natives and *Spaniards*, in consequence of the viceroy's mal-administration. He proceeded also to seize upon all the shipping on the coast, whereby he commanded the navigation of the *South-sea*; to appoint new governors and magistrates in the towns; to punish with death all the friends of the government, and to exert every other prerogative of absolute dominion, obliging the civil to

^b LA VEGA, lib. iv. cap. vii.

The inca's death.

Preparations for war.

bend to the military power. That he might be able to maintain his army, he exacted from the *Spaniards* a third of all the rents or tributes they received from the natives; seized every thing belonging to the crown, and, by his conduct, evidently demonstrated his intention of throwing off his dependence on *Spain*, and rendering himself the absolute sovereign of *Peru*; a scheme by no means difficult in the execution at that juncture, had *Gonzalo* acted with more prudence and discretion, had his punishments been less rigorous, and his behaviour more affable and popular. Had he made the proper use of the universal dislike to the new regulations, and convinced the people, that he sought their good more than the gratification of his own ambition, he might, undoubtedly, have become the greatest *Spaniard* in *America*. We may rest satisfied of this truth, from the

b detestation in which these ordinances were held. *Pedro de Puelles*, who had been deputy-governor for *Vaca de Castro*, in the town of *Gucuno*, was a person of considerable influence, and of consequence well received by the viceroy, when he came to *Lima* to pay his compliments. His commission was now renewed, and he was desired to have all his friends in readiness to take the field, completely armed, at an hour's warning. *Pedro* exerted himself, upon this occasion, with diligence, and assembled a considerable body of forces, with which he was marching, in obedience to fresh orders, against *Pizarro*; but they had not advanced far, when some discourse arising about the consequences of the viceroy's being successful, it was unanimously agreed, that, if he proved victorious, he would endeavour, with all his power, to establish the new scheme of legislation; whence it was c inferred, that their most politic course would be to join *Pizarro*, in order to preserve their liberties and property, and oppose the dangerous innovations intended. This resolution was no sooner formed than it was executed, *Puelles*, and all his people, marching directly to reinforce the rebels. The same resolution was taken by a body of horse detached by the governor, under *Vela Nunez*, to intercept *Puelles*, upon the advice he had received of his defection. The soldiers had conspired to kill their commander, and follow the fortune of *Pizarro*. Their intention was discovered to *Nunez*; he made his escape in the night, and all his troops went over to *Pizarro*, whom he joined at *Guamanga*. From these instances it appears, how general was the dislike to *Vela*, and what *Gonzalo* might have effected, had he known how to profit by circumstances.

Revolt of the viceroy's troops to Gonzalo.

b BESIDES the land-forces which *Pizarro* had collected, he was absolute master of the ocean, in consequence of the seizure of the shipping. His admiral *Hernando Bachicao* had a powerful squadron, with which he distressed the enemy by every possible method. He attacked the city of *Panama*, and took all the ships in the bay; by this means augmenting his fleet to twenty-six sail. He had also a number of land-forces which he debarked occasionally, plundering and harrassing the coast, although the governor had assembled a little army for their protection. From *Panama* he steered for the island of *Pearls*, where he broke his faith to the inhabitants, committed dreadful ravages, imposed tributes, and levied contributions, rather agreeable to the measure of his wants and avarice, than the ability of the people. This naval armament, therefore, upon the whole, injured the cause of *Pizarro*, more than it promoted it. Provisions, money, and warlike stores, were procured indeed by means of the fleet in great abundance; but the tyranny of the admiral raised a great number of enemies to his party.

NOTWITHSTANDING the misconduct of the *Pizarrists*, such was the dread conceived by the bulk of the *Spaniards* of the new regulations, that the viceroy's affairs wore a very unpromising aspect. All the method he had tried to pacify the jealousies of the people, contributed only to inflame them, and the troops he assembled deserted as fast as they were raised. He had fortified *Lima* in the best manner suggested by his knowledge in the art of war; but still he did not chuse to trust to walls, when the people and garrison f were disaffected. It was his intention to retreat to *Truxillo*, which he communicated to the magistrates, after he had first fully digested his plan of operations. The judges opposed his designs with heat, and every thing was again thrown into confusion, just as *Vela* imagined that he had conciliated the minds of the inhabitants, by the proofs he had exhibited of his vigilance and care for their preservation. A council was held, it broke up in disorder; and the viceroy determined to embark in some vessels in the harbour, with the children of the marquis *Pizarro*, while his brother *Vela Nunez* conducted the forces by land. This measure occasioned fresh disputes; the citizens remonstrated against putting the lady *Francisca* in the hands of rude sailors, and the judges gave orders to g one *Robles* to seize the person of the viceroy. They granted a warrant for this purpose, and *Robles* executed it with punctuality, though with some difficulty, as *Vela* had assembled a body of soldiers, to the number of four hundred men; who, however, laid down their arms, when they perceived the citizens in open rebellion. The judges now required the king's admiral to surrender the fleet, and the children of *Pizarro*, into their hands; threatened,

A. D. 1544.
The fleet de-
clare for Pi-
zarro.

threatened, in case of refusal, to put the viceroy to death. *Geronimo Curbano* complied with the latter part of the demand; but he determined to run all hazards, rather than resign the only means of defence now remaining. Disappointed in the expected effects of these menaces, the judges contrived divers stratagems to surprise the fleet, and succeeded so well, that they made *Vela Nunez*, the viceroy's brother, prisoner; and then repeated their demand, with the most positive assurances, that neither brother should meet with mercy, in case the admiral continued obstinate. Nevertheless *Curbano* persevered in his sentiments: but he was deserted by the vice-admiral, and all the rest of the shipping, who went over to the judges, obliging *Curbano* to put to sea with the single vessel he commanded in person.

Pizarro re-
duces Lima.

THESE circumstances tended evidently to promote the interest of *Pizarro*. Thus far the judges and he seemed to act in concert against the viceroy; tho' it now appeared, that this was the single point in which they were agreed. The judges were no sooner in possession of the viceroy's person and the fleet, than they prepared a process against *Vela*, whom they intended to send back to *Spain*, to receive sentence, and sent orders to *Pizarro* to disband his forces; telling him, that the viceroy's misconduct had devolved the whole power upon them, by virtue of the king's commission. *Augustine Carate* was deputed with this message; which proved so unwelcome to *Pizarro*, that he seized *Carate*, and treated him with great severity. The answer returned to the judges was, that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was now constituted governor-general; in which quality, if they refused to obey, the city of *Lima* should be destroyed with fire and sword. To give weight to this answer, he proceeded on his march towards that capital of the *Spanish* colonies, and encamped within a quarter of a league of the city. A fresh summons was sent to the judges; and finding it was disregarded, *Gonzalo* began to erect batteries, with intention of laying siege to *Lima*, which produced the desired effect, the whole city declaring against the judges, and most of the inhabitants deserting to the camp. A party of twenty men, sent out to reconnoitre the works of the besiegers, was taken; and *Gonzalo's* army now became so numerous, that he dispatched *Carvajal* with a summons, declaring, if any farther delay was made, the city must suffer all the consequences of his vengeance, and the judges ascribe to their obstinacy the bloodshed of their fellow citizens. Even this menace could not move them, until *Carvajal* ordered some of the chief prisoners he had taken the preceding day to be hanged up in sight of the besieged. This staggered the judges; who at length yielded to the remonstrances of the citizens, and their dread of the consequences of their refusal to admit *Pizarro*. Accordingly his army was drawn up in order of battle; and he made his entry in triumph in the month of *October*. Festivals were appointed to celebrate this event, and *Lima* blazed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. From this period *Gonzalo* dated his authority, in virtue of the royal commission granted to his brother, which he declared was intended to descend to his heirs. Besides, this commission was corroborated by the authority of the judges, whom he forced into a compliance with all the new appointments and alterations he made in the government. *Gonzalo* procured their countenance to letters he thought fit to dispatch into *Spain*, to solicit the emperor, that he might be confirmed in the government which he had so boldly usurped, as the only means of restoring the public tranquillity.

The viceroy
assembles an
army.

THIS flow of prosperity was interrupted by some accidents that gave great disquiet to *Gonzalo*. *Vaca de Castro*, though the person most injured by the viceroy, not only declared his resolution of implicitly obeying the royal mandate, but escaped from *Panama*, on advice that the rebel admiral *Bachicao* was on his way thither. He intimated his design of opposing *Gonzalo*; and this accident became of more importance, because the viceroy had found means to effect his escape, and was now raising an army with great diligence. Before his arrival at *Quito*, he had collected above one hundred and fifty men, and was there joined by two hundred more, who had not yet been infected with the contagious spirit of rebellion. He took courage from the misconduct of his adversary, and entertained hopes that *Gonzalo's* insolence would soon turn the stream of popular affection, and once more reduce the humours of the people into their natural channel. He dispatched his son-in-law into *Spain*, to acquaint his imperial majesty with the state of affairs in *Peru*, and request that speedy succours might be sent against the rebels. A party of his men had been defeated in a skirmish with some of *Pizarro's* marauders; but he soon revenged this disgrace in person, by falling suddenly upon the victorious enemy, whom he entirely overthrew; however, the loss on the side of *Pizarro* was inconsiderable, and the effects of these skirmishes were only to animate the combatants to more bloody hostilities.

GONZALO had now determined to attack the viceroy with all his forces, before he should become more formidable. In consequence of this resolution, he bent his march to

^c GOMERA, cap. cxxxii. CARATE, cap. xi. lib. i.

^d LA VEGA, lib. iv. cap. xviii.

- a *Quito*, and sustained great hardships in crossing the deserts; but his soldiers being veterans, inured to action, they conquered all difficulties, and advanced so near the enemy, that *Vela* thought proper to decline a battle, and retire to *Quito*. *Pizarro* had found means to excite disturbances in his camp, by transmitting letters to his principal officers, with promises not only of pardon, but of great rewards. The viceroy imprudently suspected all who had received those offers, and punished them as if they had actually embraced the proposals. Hence arose a mutinous spirit, which, united to the fatigue and hunger sustained in his retreat, brought his affairs to the greatest extremity. Vexation and trouble had soured his temper, and he now added to unavoidable evils, by venting that indignation against his own people, which he was unable to pour down upon the heads of his
- b enemies. Some of his best officers he put to death on the most groundless suspicion of treachery; by which means he again alienated the minds of all the *Spaniards* in *Peru*, just as they were coming to a proper sense of their duty.

MEAN time *Pizarro* kept up the pursuit from *St. Miguel* to *Quito* so hotly, that the armies were frequently in sight of each other, and the royalists forced to keep constantly in arms, during a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues, in the course of which they were chiefly nourished by herbs, roots, and other vegetables. The approach of the rebels to *Quito* obliged the viceroy to quit that defenceless city, and retreat forty leagues beyond it; hoping that *Pizarro* would stop the pursuit, in order to refresh his men in a place abounding with necessaries: but he was mistaken; the rebels scarce halted at *Quito*, but

c pushed on with so much ardor and perseverance, as drove *Vela* to despair. When he saw a party of rebels descending a hill near his camp, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "Shall it be credited in future ages, that *Spaniards* can pursue the standard of "their king with such obstinacy, as to endure every possible hardship for the space of four "hundred leagues?" meaning from *Lima* to the place where he was then encamped, on the farther extremity of *Peru*. Still, however, he proceeded on his retreat; which at length determined *Gonzalo* to return to *Quito*, where he employed his time in mirth and festivity, as if the viceroy was already conquered.

He is pursued
by Pizarro

VELA being thus suffered to rest in quiet in the province of *Popayan*, he set to work in procuring more complete arms for his troops, and calling in all the detachments employed

d in distant conquests. It recovered his spirits considerably, that *Diego Centeno* had revolted from *Pizarro*, and was now making a powerful diversion on the opposite side of *Peru*: and notwithstanding his brother *Nunez* was taken prisoner in his passage to *Panama*, after having once escaped out of the hands of his enemies, he entertained hopes of a favourable issue to the war. He was joined about this time by *Juan Catreras*, with an hundred men; which reinforcement encouraged him to face the enemy, weakened by the detachment sent against *Centeno*; however, all his expectations were blasted by a stratagem of *Pizarro's*. That officer gave out, that he would go in person, with the greater part of his army, to *Charcas*, against *Centeno*, who was plundering his lands in that country, and leave *Puelles* with three hundred men for the defence of the frontier. He appointed his

e captains, begun his journey to *Quito*, corrupted a spy maintained by the viceroy in the city, whom he had discovered, and charged with false intelligence for his master, procuring from him the cypher used in his letters to *Vela*. At the same time he ordered *Puelles* to write an invitation to his friends in the viceroy's army in a cypher, which he took care to have explained to the spy, that they would spend some time at *Quito* in the absence of *Gonzalo*, where they might depend on being treated with the utmost cordiality, notwithstanding any difference of opinion in matters relating to the government; but care was taken to have these letters fall into the viceroy's hands, without affording suspicion of design. So many circumstances, the public report, the intelligence of his spy, and the in-

f tercepted letters, all convinced *Vela* of what *Gonzalo* desired to have believed. Immediately he assembled his troops on the first advices that *Gonzalo* had set out for *Los Charcas*, and began his march for *Quito* with the utmost privacy and celerity. His forces amounted to eight hundred men, but raw, undisciplined, and very indifferently accoutred; while *Gonzalo* had notice of every motion, directed his measures accordingly, privately joined *Puelles*, and upon a general muster found his troops to consist of two hundred musqueteers, three hundred pike-men, and an hundred and fifty horse, all approved hardy veterans. He encamped without the city in such narrow bounds as carried all the appearance of very slender numbers. *Vela* approached within two leagues of the entrenchments,

g without entertaining the slightest suspicion, upon advice of which *Gonzalo* decamped in the night without beat of drum, intending to surprise him; but the viceroy had taken the resolution of gaining possession of *Quito* before he hazarded a battle, and had on purpose begun his march in the middle of the night, over steep mountains and rugged precipices. He entered the city without opposition, and there first had intimation of the stratagem, which threw him into the utmost consternation. He communicated this piece of intelli-

gence; the necessary measures were debated in a council of war, and it was resolved, that as a retreat was now become impracticable, that the whole should rest upon the fortune of a battle, for which all the officers made the most vigorous preparations.

The viceroy is
defeated and
slain.

January 19,
1596.

ON the other hand, *Gonzalo* was no less surprised and disappointed to find that the viceroy had quitted his course; but when he was told by the *Indians* that he had taken the road of *Quito*, he pursued him with great rapidity, and soon came within sight of the royal army, drawn up in battalia before the city. A skirmishing immediately commenced between the advanced posts, which terminated to the advantage of the rebels, and brought on a more general and bloody engagement between the horse, who fought with great courage and obstinacy. The infantry had not yet come to blows, and seemed to wait with anxious expectation in what manner victory would declare on the side of the cavalry; when at length the impetuosity and stubborn valour of *Gonzalo's* veterans turned the scale, and made room for the foot to join in close engagement; for such was the extraordinary disposition of both armies, that the horse occupied almost the entire front. The royal infantry in the rear were somewhat disconcerted by the precipitate tumultuous retreat of the vanquished cavalry; but they soon rallied, and sustained the attack of the enemy with firmness and intrepidity, until perceiving the superior strength of *Gonzalo's* powder, and execution of his musquetry, they were seized with a panic, and routed with great slaughter. The viceroy fought like a private soldier, at the same time that he displayed all the qualities of an excellent general, animating, exhorting, soothing, and menacing his troops to perform their duty. He engaged *Montalto*, a brave rebel officer, hand to hand, and dismounted him, after an obstinate contest. He might now have escaped, had not his own courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, as an *Indian* coat which he wore over his armour hindered his being known. A soldier fell upon him with great fury, and laid him dead with the stroke of a battle-axe, little imagining that he was spilling the blood of the king's representative. It is affirmed by *La Vega*^c, that his intention was not to survive his power and honour, or subject himself to the mortification of becoming the prisoner of the conqueror. His head was cut off, and sent in triumph to *Quito*, to induce the inhabitants to receive *Gonzalo* as governor, while his body was interred with all the honours due to his quality.

IN consequence of this decisive victory, *Gonzalo* came into immediate possession of the whole authority. He disposed of every thing at his pleasure, punished his enemies, and promoted his friends without controul. Whatever his insolence might have been on former occasions, he certainly acted upon this with prudence and discretion. Assembling the prisoners, he represented the power which heaven had put into his hands, the designs he had to support and protect public liberty, the necessary consequences which must have resulted from the establishment of the new regulations, and the crimes committed by those persons who supported *Vela's* tyranny; after which he dismissed them with a general pardon, except a few of the ringleaders, whom he banished to *Chili* and the distant provinces, admonishing them not to incur his indignation by any attempts against his authority, or opposition to his measures. *Vera Nunez*, brother to the deceased viceroy, was permitted to live in *Quito*, on his promise to submit quietly to the present government, and to avoid all plots, cabals, and intrigues. He even allowed *Nunez* afterwards to accompany him to *Lima*, and treated him in the whole journey with the utmost familiarity; more perhaps than was justifiable in strict policy to a person who must certainly entertain a private animosity, however carefully he might disguise his behaviour^f.

The royalists
entirely de-
feated.

WHEN the troops were sufficiently refreshed after the fatigues of a long march and a bloody engagement, *Gonzalo* dispatched his lieutenant *Carvajal* with a strong party to the southward against *Centeno*, who commanded a little army of royalists, after having slain *Almeadras*, and eluded all the endeavours of *Alonso de Toro*, who opposed him with superior forces, both gentlemen of influence, and strenuous friends of the viceroy. Near *Callao* an attempt was made by *Centeno* to surprise *Carvajal* in his quarters; but he was disappointed, having found that officer ready to receive him, at the head of a superior army. *Carvajal* even pursued *Centeno* over mountains and deserts, but could never bring him to a general action, notwithstanding every day was productive of bloody skirmishes. At length he seized upon a pass, where he was of opinion the enemy must necessarily be surrounded, and forced to lay down their arms; but *Centeno's* vigilance extricated him out of this difficulty likewise, and forced *Carvajal* to confess, that in the course of forty campaigns made in *Italy* and other countries, he had never beheld so extraordinary a retreat as that performed by *Centeno*, over a desert country of two hundred leagues in extent, in the face of a superior enemy. It was impossible, however, he could long maintain himself in this distressed condition. He directed his march to *Arequaba*, where

^c LA VEGA. lib. iv. cap. 24.

^f GOMARA, lib. cxxxiii.

a he determined to embark his troops, and proceed to *Chili*, if shipping could be provided, for which purpose he sent an officer before him. A vessel bound to *Chili*, was hired: but just as he was ready to embark *Carvajal* appeared; upon which *Centeno* told his men that Providence was against them, that they must now disperse in small bodies, and shift for themselves, until some change happened; after which he took an affectionate leave, retired into the mountains, and concealed himself until the arrival of a new viceroy from *Spain*.

ALL opposition being now removed by the reduction of this last army of the royalists, the rebels used all their endeavours to persuade *Gonzalo* to assume the titles and honours of sovereign of *Peru*, independent of the emperor and court of *Spain*. *Carvajal* wrote him a letter, in which he observes, that, after having opposed the royal edict, cut off the head of the king's representative, and waged open war against his forces, there remained no other means of security than persevering in rebellion, assuming the crown, gaining the affections of the *Spaniards* by the most liberal actions, and conciliating himself in the best manner possible with the *Indians*; by which means he might bid defiance to all the power of *Spain*, it being improbable that his imperial majesty could transport a number of forces to so distant a region sufficient to conquer *Peru*. Whether it was that the vastness of the project struck *Gonzalo*, or that he deferred gratifying his ambition until he had first established the government, and tried the effects of his remonstrances to the court, we cannot determine; but certain it is, that he resisted all the temptations thrown in his way by his flattering officers. ^c *La Vega* ascribes this moderation to the firm belief he entertained that he would be confirmed in the government from a principle of policy, and restored by the court to all the employments held by his brother. His public entry into *Truxillo* and *Lima* was triumphant; but he assumed no regal honours, and even refused to walk under a canopy, as had been proposed. He entirely altered his conduct, and proceeded from insolence and pride, to the other extreme of affability, in order, by this means, probably to lay a foundation for the great designs projected by his adherents. He made *Nonojosa* high admiral of the seas, ordering him to sail to *Panama*, and detach *Ferdinando Mexia* across the *Isthmus* to surprise *Nombre de Dios*, which he accomplished without scarce any resistance; so that he now commanded the North and South seas, and could obstruct any supplies ^d from being sent either from *Old* or *New Spain* to the assistance of those who might prove inclinable to join the royal party, and again light up the sparks of dissention. Nor did he think these measures altogether sufficient for his security. Apprehensive of some turn of fortune, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to conciliate the court of *Spain* to his conduct, which he pretended only to justify by the extreme necessity of affairs. Accordingly *Aldano* was commissioned to go to *Old Spain*, relate all the late transactions in the most favourable light, assure his majesty of the zeal and loyalty of *Gonzalo*, and solicit the government for him, rather with a seeming view to promote the public interest, than recompense his services, or gratify his ambition. *Aldano* was further directed to promise repaying whatever had been expended of the king's treasure, provided *Gonzalo's* request and a general pardon were granted. ^e To enforce this application, it was intimated that a considerable sum of money should immediately be remitted from *Peru*, which it was expected would produce a good effect in the present necessitous circumstances of the *Spanish* court.

THE disturbances in *Peru* had now been of so long a duration, that every thing was known in *Spain* before *Aldano's* arrival, and that conquest given up as lost. It had been proposed in council to reduce *Gonzalo* by force of arms, and bring the bold usurper to condign punishment; yet the difficulty of transporting an army sufficient for that purpose, to so distant a quarter, occasioned the ministry to regard the enterprise as impracticable, until the misconduct of *Pizarro* brought about some favourable turn for assisting the royalists. ^f However, the solicitations of *Aldano* now ushered a gleam of hope: the ministry perceived that the usurper thought his situation ticklish before he would stoop to make concessions, or require any ratification and sanction of his conduct. A person who had ventured upon such gross violation of law, and evident rebellion, must have been disconcerted in his schemes, before he would throw himself upon the mercy of a prince whom he had so heinously offended. In this manner the *Spanish* ministry reasoned; in consequence of which they resolved to send the licenciado *Pedro Gasca*, a man of sense and probity, to take upon him the government of *Peru*, with the title of president only. A commission to this purpose was signed at *Vienna*, where the emperor then resided, in the year 1546, and ^g *Gasca* was dispatched with a slender convoy, both to save charges to the court, and avoid all appearance of pomp and ostentation to the inhabitants of *Peru*, which it was apprehended might give disgust. On his arrival at *Nombre de Dios*, he concealed the real purport of his commission, giving out that he had a message from the emperor to *Pizarro*, with which, if he refused to comply, he was to return directly to *Spain*, as he formed no pre-

Gasca is sent in quality of president to Peru.

^c LA VEGA, lib. iv. cap. 41.

tentions to be a warrior, and consequently had no design of enforcing obedience by dint a of arms. He farther intimated, that his chief business was to revoke the new regulations which had created such uneasiness, and to preside in the council. In fact, *Gasca's* power was unlimited; but this he prudently concealed, until he had sounded the affections of the *Peruvians*: and it is alledged, that in case he found matters could not be otherwise adjusted, he was empowered to grant the pardon required, recal the new ordinances, and constitute *Pizarro* viceroy of *Peru*, it being less culpable, as was observed in council, to allow the devil should be governor, than for *Spain* to lose the inestimable mines of *Potosi*, so much value did the court of *Spain* place on the silver of *Peru*, which experience hath evinced to be a ruinous and fatal acquisition.

THE first action which confirmed the opinion entertained of *Gasca's* policy, was the artful b manner in which he insinuated himself into the esteem of *Mexia*, who had been appointed governor of *Nombré de Dios* by *Pizarro*. To this gentleman the president addressed himself with such irresistible blandishments, that, with his whole garrison, he deserted the usurper, and soon after assisted *Gasca* in prevailing upon the admiral *Nonojosa* to declare with his whole fleet for his imperial majesty.

He gains the fleet.

The emperor's letter to Pizarro.

THESE important negotiations succeeding happily, *Gasca* determined to know how *Gonzalo* relished the news of his arrival; for which purpose he dispatched *Paniagua*, a gentleman of great penetration and address, to *Lima*, with a letter from the emperor, and another from himself, to *Pizarro*. In the former of these his imperial majesty condescended to cajole this usurper, acquainting him, that, being informed of the disturbances excited in c *Peru* by the viceroy's too rigorous execution of the new regulations, and persuading himself that whatever *Pizarro* and his party had done, was intended to promote the public benefit, and support the honour and interest of the crown, he had dispatched the licenciado *Gasca*, in quality of president, with full powers and instructions to terminate all differences, redress all grievances, and do whatever might contribute to the improvement of this valuable conquest, and the welfare of his subjects, whether *Spaniards* or natives; in which he required *Pizarro* to assist him with his advice and influence, assuring him, that the important services performed by himself and his family should be held in grateful remembrance. Nor was the president's letter less respectful. He blamed the severity and inflexibility of the viceroy for all the disturbances and effusion of blood. He declared his belief, that d his imperial majesty did not ascribe the late civil commotions to their disobedience or disloyalty, but to the necessity of circumstances which obliged *Pizarro* and his friends to act on a principle of self-preservation. He appeared to be not at all surprised at their opposition to the new laws, on account of the rigour with which the viceroy required they should be executed. "The most wholesome nourishment, said he, may be converted to "poison, by being improperly administered. His majesty hath now sent me to quiet "the minds of the people, by a revocation of those laws, according to the prayer of your "petition, with power to publish a general pardon of all crimes and misdemeanors already committed. I am enjoined to consult the people, and be guided by their opinion, with respect to the proper measures for promoting the interests of religion, and e "the welfare of the inhabitants." He then exhorted *Pizarro* to take these matters into serious consideration, and shew his gratitude to his sovereign for restoring him to the enjoyment of all his estates and possessions, after an act which another prince would have thought deserving of severe punishment. So favourable an interpretation of a conduct which would have admitted of a different construction, demonstrated the clemency of the monarch, and ought to insure the loyalty of the subject; a duty incumbent not only by the laws of nature, but explicitly enforced by those of revelation. "Your ancestors, "said the president, have distinguished themselves by their services, they have rendered "themselves illustrious by their loyalty; it will be your part to imitate this example in f "the largest characters, and not tarnish their lustre and lineage by your defection from "their virtues. Next to the salvation of our souls, our next care ought to be the preservation of our honour, the smallest blemish on which is perceivable in lucid bodies, moving in your sphere, and reflecting light on all things around them. The foulest spot, "next to disobedience to the God of heaven, is treason against your country, and "rebellion against your earthly sovereign. He is God's vicerent, and appointed by "him to preserve order and good government in society. Let me advise you, therefore, "to weigh those things with impartiality and prudence, and reflect upon the power of "your king, whose forces you are very unable to withstand; but lest your inexperience in g "his court, not having viewed the strength and numbers of his armies, should betray you "into an unjust estimate of your comparative powers, figure to yourself the puissance of "the *Great Turk*, who marched in person at the head of three hundred thousand fighting "men, came within sight of the imperial army, and retreated with precipitation, without "daring to give battle."

THESE letters occasioned warm debates in *Gonzalo's* councils. They were read several times, and still the hearers were divided about the answer which ought to be returned. *Carcenal* was for accepting the offers of his majesty, and returning to their duty and obedience. *Capeda* was of a directly contrary opinion; alledging, that all the promises were insidious, in order to prevail on them to lay down their arms, and then fall upon them defenceless. He represented, that if the president were once admitted, he would insinuate himself into the affections of the people, and dispose of them and their fortunes at pleasure. *Pizarro* declined giving his opinion until he had maturely deliberated a point of such importance; and in the mean time *Paniagua*, the president's agent, practised so artfully with the principal citizens of *Lima*, that they were ready to desert the usurper when the first opportunity offered, and they were sure of being protected from his vengeance. Although his late conduct had been unexceptionable, they ripped up old grievances, and complained that he had put several persons of distinction to death; that he had usurped their property, and violated their wives and children, as if these crimes had been recently committed. They embraced the general pardon offered, and *Paniagua* persevered in alienating their affections from *Pizarro*, and reclaiming them to their duty, in contempt of the menaces of the usurper, to put him to death if he discovered him tampering with the citizens. He was now encouraged to proceed with boldness by the declaration of the fleet; and this likewise contributed to make the inhabitants of *Lima* lend a more willing ear to his persuasions. However, all possible care was taken to keep their designs secret; and yet it was universally known, except to *Pizarro*, who had just resolved upon embracing the opinion of *Capeda*, not to admit the president, with which view he had dispatched orders to his admiral to provide a ship for his return to *Spain*. He had not yet received advice of that officer's defection, which had also been kept private, the more to disconcert the usurper, who would thereby be deprived of helps on which he depended. Having formed these measures, he thought proper to give *Paniagua* his final answer, in a letter directed to the president. Here he complimented the president's learning and good sense. He besought him to consider him as a person extremely devoted to his majesty, and to remember the incessant labours of the *Pizarro* family for the space of sixteen years to augment the territories and revenues of the crown of *Spain*. They had subdued countries of vast extent, abounding with more gold and silver than the united kingdoms of the world, at their own private risque, without putting the king to the expence of a single crown, and without any other reward than the consciousness of having served their prince and country with fidelity and success. They had indeed acquired treasures, but these were liberally expended in settling colonies, and supporting their conquests. They had not the inheritance of a single acre of land, the court of *Spain* granting only a kind of leases during life to the adventurers, which reverted to the crown upon their decease; and notwithstanding these cruel neglects, they remained fixed in their loyalty, and required no arguments to remind them of their duty, by setting forth his majesty's power, and the success of his arms, against his enemies. Towards the close of his letter he endeavours to demonstrate, that, to the imprudence and inflexibility of the viceroy, ought to be ascribed all those unhappy commotions sincerely lamented by every friend to society; and justifies his own usurpation, by observing, that he was chosen agent-general by all the cities and corporations of *Peru*, and empowered by them to oppose the violences of the viceroy, having transacted nothing without their concurrence.

THIS was the varnish with which *Pizarro* coloured over his own rebellious conduct, although it was known to the whole world that he had used violence in obliging the judges to surrender *Lima*, which alone evinced that he had not acted by their authority. To shew the proper respect to the imperial letter, with which he had been honoured, he dispatched several agents, men of quality and consideration, to represent his conduct in the most favourable light, and procure a ratification of the authority he had usurped; but these deserted him, went to *Panama*, and accepted employments, to which they were appointed by the president. This encouraged the royalists more and more to appear. *Centeno* and divers others descended from the mountains, and emerged out of those caves in which they had been long concealed. A party was forming against *Pizarro*, and every thing boded the revival of the civil war. The president, after issuing orders to the governors of *St. Martha*, *Carthagena*, *Granada*, and *Papayan*, to levy forces with all expedition, ventured to leave *Panama*, and set sail for the frontiers of *Peru*, arriving safely at *Tumbez*. The vice-admiral *Aldena* sailing to the coast of *Peru* with a squadron of four men of war, was joined by a great number of deserters, whom he immediately formed into companies, appointing officers agreeable to the powers vested in him by *Gasca*. *Jago de Nara* was induced, by the presence of the vice-admiral, the persuasion of *Centeno*, and suspicions which he entertained of *Pizarro's* farther designs, to declare for the president, after he had assembled a corps of five hundred men, and appointed the general rendezvous of the king's forces at *Caxamalca*.

Debates in Pizarro's council,

The president's agent gains the inhabitants of Lima.

Pizarro's answer to the president's letter.

Centeno and several others of the royal party quit their places of concealment.

Gonzalo
raises an
army.

ADVICE of these transactions soon reaching *Pizarro*, he saw the necessity of taking vigorous measures for his own defence. The revolt of his fleet, the constant desertion of those he had deemed his friends, and the daily increase of his enemies, filled him with reasonable apprehensions that his usurpation would meet with farther opposition, and set him upon levying troops with the utmost diligence. In the space of a few days, he mustered near a thousand men in the city of *Lima*, all veterans, well armed, and provided with horses and slaves for conveying the baggage; so that this body might be regarded either as cavalry or infantry, just as occasion required, and had the advantage of marching with great celerity, without fatigue, to whatever part they were destined. Nor was this his whole strength; he sent detachments to *Cuzco*, *La Plata*, and other places, ordering it to be published in all places, that the president had exceeded the king's orders in raising forces against him, and attempting to embroil in civil war a country which had just begun to taste the blessings of peace and tranquillity. He affirmed that the royal commission did not extend so far as to empower *Casca* to supplant him in his authority; it only constituted him president of the council, with instructions to pursue the most pacific measures. As he had exceeded the bounds of his authority, *Gonzalo* alledged that the people were no less concerned than himself to check a growing ambition; for if the president came off successful in his undertakings, they must expect to be plundered and dispossessed of those riches they had acquired with so much toil and bloodshed, and perhaps meet imprisonment, tortures, and capital punishments, as the rewards of their services.

He commences
a process a-
gainst the
president and
others.

To give sanction to those hostile preparations, it was thought necessary to have recourse to reason and arguments; for which purpose the lieutenant *Capeda* drew up a formal indictment, and began process against the president in the courts of law. The same was done against the admiral *Nanojosa* for betraying the fleet, and all the other officers who had deserted from *Pizarro*. To give the appearance of rigid justice to these proceedings, evidences were examined, and the crimes of treachery, breach of the peace, and robbery, were proved on oath against the captains. It was also proved, that *Casca* had received these effects illegally, knowing them to have been *Pizarro's*, and appropriated them to his own use; upon which the president and all the officers were condemned to death, and declared traitors by the judges at *Lima*. This sentence, however, was ridiculed even by the parties concerned, as it was well known that the sword, and not the forms and judgment of courts, must determine the fate of the supposed criminals. In effect, the desertion continued, numbers went over daily to *Casca*, the people were sufficiently sensible of the legality of his powers, they were weary of the usurpation of *Gonzalo*, and, like the multitude in every country, they embraced with eagerness whatever carried the appearance of change and novelty. *Casca's* conduct besides was full of affability, lenity, and complacency; he won their affections by the most insinuating carriage. Without seeming to cajole, he caressed, as proceeding rather from the friendship of his nature than policy. He was continually expressing his dislike to those regulations which had given offence, and expressing his satisfaction at the power vested in him of obliging the people by a revocation of the ordinances, and general pardon of offences.

Desertion in
Gonzalo's
army.

MEAN time the arrival of *Aldana* in the port of *Callao* greatly alarmed *Pizarro*, and obliged him to encamp in the fields, not only for the preservation of *Lima*, but to prevent desertion, which would become more difficult when the soldiers were exposed to public view. A message was sent from the fleet to acquaint *Pizarro* of the extent of the president's commission, and request him to resign an usurped authority, which he could no longer claim without direct rebellion and effusion of blood. *Panna*, one of the naval captains, had brought this unwelcome message, which he endeavoured to enforce by all his eloquence; but could procure no other answer than violent exclamations against the treachery of *Nanojosa* and *Aldana*. However, he performed excellent services to the royal interest, by making known in the camp the tenor of the president's commission, the revocation of the new laws, and the general pardon granted; in consequence of which desertion became so frequent, that *Pizarro* was soon reduced to six hundred men, the rest having enlisted with *Aldana*. Among these were the licenciado *Carvajal*, and several persons of considerable property, which persuaded *Gonzalo* of the disaffection of the city of *Lima*, and determined him to march to the southward as far as *Arequaba*. This march was not performed without great losses and disappointments. The soldiers found such frequent opportunities to desert, that the whole army was reduced to two hundred men, upon half of whom there could be no dependance. *Antonio Ribera* was left behind in quality of governor; but the usurper had scarce marched fifteen leagues, before the magistrates declared for the king, displayed the city-standard, assembled the people, published the revocation of the late edicts, the general pardon granted, and obedience to the president. Upon this *Aldana* debarked his troops, took possession of the city in the king's name, and was received with great demonstrations of joy. Not long after the president advancing farther along the coast with the remainder of the fleet, and a considerable body of land-forces, constituted

Lima declares
for the king.

a constituted *Norojosa* general by land; but he did not think it adviseable to take the field until he had assembled an army so much superior to the enemy as to insure success, and render certain the reduction of the empire. Indeed he chiefly relied upon policy, which he thought in the present juncture of affairs not only more secure, but also more serviceable to the general interest, although it dazzled with inferior lustre in the eyes of the people.

AFTER *Pizarro* had quitted *Lima*, he received intelligence that *Diego Centeno* had raised eight hundred men for the crown in the province of *Charcas*, and possessed himself of the cities of *La Plata* and *Cuzco*. Upon this the resolution was formed of attacking him, and recovering those cities; with provision, that, if the enterprize failed, the army should march into *Chili*, assist in the reduction of that obstinate warlike people, and by so important a service induce the court to grant a pardon for all past transgressions. This was the plan of operations settled upon leaving *Arequeba*. *Centeno* heard of his motions, and suspecting his design, advanced to give battle, burning the bridge over the channel of the lake *Titicaca* to stop the enemy, and prevent their taking another course. Upon this *Gonzalo* wrote to him, reminding him of their ancient friendship, and endeavouring, by the most soothing expressions, to gain him to his interest. He proposed a treaty, in which they would adjust all differences to their mutual advantage, *Gonzalo* declaring that he would accede to any reasonable propositions with as much satisfaction as if the parties had been brothers. *Centeno* answered the letter in similar terms; but, instead of complying with the contents, earnestly exhorted *Pizarro* to embrace the general pardon offered, promising to use all his influence with the president to bury in oblivion all past transactions, and secure to him not only his life, but his estates and honours, which he held legally, and by the authority of his sovereign; more he would not undertake, and resistance might render even this impossible. He delivered himself with so specious an air, that even *Pizarro's* messenger deserted him, and offered his service to carry some letters from *Centeno* to the president, which he performed with great fidelity. In these *Centeno* gave an account of the flourishing state of his own affairs, the decline of *Pizarro*, the continual desertion of his troops, his march towards *Cuzco*, and lastly of the proposals which he made to him, together with the answer he returned; intelligence which gave the highest delight to the president, and encouraged him to proceed boldly from *Truxillo* to *Lima*. But the scene was soon changed on this side. *Pizarro* and his officers, incensed, not only that their proposals were rejected, but their messenger corrupted, determined to give *Centeno* battle, and either force a passage to *Cuzco*, or perish in the attempt. He directed his march directly to *Huerina*, giving out that he had other intentions; but *Centeno*, by means of the Indians, was informed of his true course, and took his measures accordingly. *Pizarro* determined to avoid battle until he had advanced farther, *Centeno* resolved to come to action immediately; and with such diligence did both pursue their designs, that the armies came very unexpectedly in fight, and were in danger of joining battle before either had made the necessary preparations. *Pizarro* no sooner received intelligence of the enemy by his scouts, than he projected a scheme to alarm them; and as *Centeno* was no stranger to his activity, he exerted himself to prevent being surprised. Centinels were placed in all the proper stations; notwithstanding which, *Acosta* with a detachment of twenty musqueteers beat up one of the quarters, and spread consternation over the whole camp; had his efforts being seconded, a complete victory might have ensued. Next day the two armies advanced within three hundred yards of each other in the plain of *Huerina*, and then halted. They were drawn up with great military skill, especially *Pizarro's*, that important business devolving upon *Francisco de Carvajal*, one of the best and most experienced officers in *America*. His orders were to stand the enemy's attack firmly, until they advanced within sure reach of his shot, and then to pour in his fire with the utmost vigour.

f To provoke the enemy, he sent *Acosta* with a party of musqueteers to insult their front, and gave orders that he should keep up a retreating fight; which was executed so punctually, that *Centeno* was drawn into an engagement, and seduced to expend his shot before it could take effect. It was this finesse that more than counterbalanced the difference of numbers. *Centeno's* army consisted of near twelve hundred men fit to bear arms, that of *Pizarro's* did not exceed one third of the number: but the soldiers timed their fire so judiciously, that near a hundred and fifty of the enemy fell at the first discharge. The second put all in confusion and dismay, most of *Centeno's* officers were killed or wounded, and the infantry was in less than half an hour entirely defeated. It was otherwise with the cavalry.

g Here the weight and superiority of numbers proved more than an equivalent to good order and discipline. *Pizarro's* horse were borne down with the torrent, and himself in imminent danger of being killed or taken prisoner, had not the victorious infantry come speedily to his assistance, attacked the enemy in front and both flanks, and destroyed them almost to a man. We may venture to affirm, that in this battle was exhibited one of the first instances of the superiority of foot over horse, although it is passed over by writers as a mere

Centeno defeated.

October
1547.

mere skirmish that could prove nothing decisive with respect to large armies; whereas we are of opinion, that the skill of a general, the judgment of disposition, and the power of arms, are as conspicuous in small as in great bodies, and frequently more so, because the fortune of the day depends less on unforeseen accidents.

Pizarro enters Cuzco.

PIZARRO did not obtain this victory without bloodshed; near one hundred of his men were killed upon the spot; nevertheless, it was of the utmost consequence, as the hostile army was almost entirely destroyed, those who escaped the sword having been taken, and then incorporated with the other troops. Besides, a road was now opened to the heart of the empire, a happy turn was given to the spirits of his people, and he had a wide field opened, not only for recruiting his army, but amassing prodigious treasures. He now advanced to *Cuzco*, made his triumphal entry into that city, detachments were sent upon different expeditions, the king's treasures to an immense value were seized at *La Plata*; while the unfortunate *Centeno* was making the best of his way to *Lima*, over rugged mountains and barren deserts, attended only by a priest, who had faithfully shared in his calamities, and assisted in his escape.

The president goes in quest of Pizarro.

THE president was encamped with his army in the valley of *Sausa*, rejoicing at the advices sent him by *Centeno*, when intelligence arrived of this sudden turn of fortune, and cast a gloom upon the festivity and mirth of the royalists, though, from their great superiority of numbers, it could not throw them into despair. A few days only before, most of the officers were of opinion that *Gasca* had no occasion to increase his forces, since those under *Centeno* were quite sufficient to bring matters to a happy issue; fortunately, however, for the royal party, this opinion was not embraced, the president thinking it advisable to provide against all possible accidents. Some went even so far as to advise him to disband the army; but *Gasca* always replied, that the point in dispute was of too much consequence to leave any doubt upon the mind with respect to the issue, only to save the court a little money, and himself and friends some trouble. The event shewed how justly he determined. Had this army been disbanded, it would have been impossible to have raised another with the requisite dispatch; the people would have embraced the prosperous side, and then *Pizarro* would have poured down from *Cuzco* upon the lower settlements with an irresistible torrent. *Gasca* now exerted all his powers to animate the drooping spirits of his people. He told them, that *Centeno's* defeat was the mere fortune of war, and a ray of prosperity darded upon the usurper's affairs, only to render his adversity more insupportable. He exhorted both officers and soldiers to the punctual discharge of their duty, and, with a kind of prophetic spirit, gave them the strongest assurances of speedy victory. Next he called in his detachments, collected a fine train of artillery, and then began his march to *Cuzco*, at the head of nineteen hundred men, on the 29th day of *December*. On his march he was joined by great numbers of officers and soldiers, among whom was *Valdivia*, whose actions in *Chili* we have already related. The appearance of this officer diffused universal satisfaction. His valour was acknowledged, and now the royalists doubted not but they had a captain whom they might safely oppose to *Carvajal*. Many difficulties occurred on the march, which were conquered by the courage of the soldiers, and the good conduct and perseverance of *Gasca*, who displayed great genius in the different contrivances for crossing rivers. The passage of the river *Amancaes* was the most celebrated, as here the enemy opposed him, and he had to combat not only with the natural difficulty of the attempt, but to disconcert all the schemes to disappoint him, formed by the celebrated *Carvajal*; which he at last effected by the mere dint of superior fertility of invention.

Pizarro's infatuated conduct.

MEAN time *Pizarro* remained with the main army at *Cuzco*, felicitating himself on his late victory, and seeming to regard it as a decisive blow. *Carvajal* perceived the bad effects which security must necessarily produce, and laboured with all his influence to prevail upon him to seize on the strong posts in the enemy's way, evacuate *Cuzco*, and take the field with spirit and activity. When advices arrived of the president's approach, he redoubled his instances; but the infatuated *Pizarro* was wrapped in a fatal security, and rejected almost every proposal made to him by this prudent and discerning officer. However, he permitted *Carvajal* with a detachment to attempt the defence of the river, and then triumphed in his disappointment, as if it were a proof of the rectitude of his own opinion. *Carvajal* still insisted upon his taking the field, upon his dismissing the prisoners he had incorporated in his army, and relying rather upon a handful of certain friends, than a number of doubtful soldiers, upon distressing the enemy by marches and countermarches, dividing their forces, and then attacking them separately, when no opportunity offered of assisting each other. This proposal evinced the military knowledge of *Carvajal*; but it was rejected by *Gonzalo*, as injurious to his honour. He thought that avoiding battle with a defeated army would tarnish the glory of his late victory, without reflecting that it was the issue of the operations that must establish his character. He resolved to come to an engagement, and for that purpose gave orders that the army should be ready to march

- a march at beat of drum to the valley of *Sacsabuanuah*, about four leagues from the city. *Carvajal's* remonstrances were fruitless; that if he was determined to hazard a battle, he would wait at *Oracs*, on the opposite side of the city, for the enemy, in order to fatigue them the more, or at least introduce confusion in their army as they passed through *Cuzco*. When he quitted this city, his army amounted to nine hundred men, a third of whom were persons in whose fidelity *Carvajal* had no reliance, which made him the more averse to the general's resolution; however, he complied, and endeavoured all he could to conciliate the minds of the soldiers to a measure now unavoidable. When he reached the valley, *Pizarro* drew up the forces in a place inaccessible in the flanks and rear, an attack on the front being likewise attended with difficulties. Hither the enemy arrived in three days after, the
- b three following days passing in slight skirmishes, until the main body of the royalists had occupied the proper posts, when they faced about, and offered an engagement. It was now only that *Pizarro* began to distrust his soldiers; the vicinity of the danger made him inspect their conduct more narrowly: but it was too late; desertion had already begun, several were seized in the attempt to escape, they were put to death, and their punishment appeared to have no other effect than to alienate the minds of the remainder.

The armies meet in the valley of Sacsabuanuah.

- In this situation was *Pizarro*, when it was determined in a council of war held by the president, to give battle next day, on account of the scarcity of water that prevailed, and the incommodioussness of the situation. Different reasons prevailed on *Pizarro* to come to the same resolution, after he had first sent to the president to demand a sight of his commission, and the powers whereby he insisted upon his resigning the government, declaring that his refusal would be regarded as a signal for hostilities, and that he must be answerable for all the consequences. Two priests had been sent with this commission, and instructions to try all in their power to alienate the minds of *Gasca's* soldiers; which being discovered, the president ordered them to be seized, then published the general pardon granted to all who should now quit the interest of *Pizarro*, gained their affections, and sent them back to cherish the seeds of disaffection in the usurper's army.
- c

- MEAN time *Pizarro* had given orders to *Acosta* to alarm the enemy's camp in the night; and he was preparing to execute his instructions, when the desertion of a soldier ruined the design, by carrying intelligence to the president; however, it was attended with this advantage, that the royal army stood upon their arms the whole night, and suffered so much from the cold as almost rendered them unfit for action the next day when they were drawn out in the plain in order of battle. To *Capeda* was entrusted the care of ranging the troops, *Carvajal* being so much offended that his advice had been rejected upon so many occasions, as to refuse taking any concern, protesting that he gave all up for lost. As the armies were fronting each other, *Garcilasso*, father to the historian, deserted, and was received with open arms by the president. His example was followed by *Capeda*, the very officer in whose fidelity *Pizarro* reposed his chief confidence. Under pretence of examining a more convenient ground for drawing up the army, he gave spur to his horse, and joined the enemy, after he had been pursued and wounded by another of the rebel officers, who
- d
- e suspected his design. The desertion of two persons so considerable gave birth to a shoal of imitators; the royal camp was crowded with *Pizarro's* soldiers, all of whom declared they had seized the first opportunity of escaping and testifying their loyalty. The whole left wing of musqueteers, pretending to more fidelity than the rest, desired to be posted in such a manner as to obstruct the deserters, and embraced that opportunity of going over to the president. So uncommon a desertion rendered fighting unnecessary; the president therefore laid aside the design of giving battle, either because he had no great confidence in troops that had already betrayed their general, that he expected all *Pizarro's* forces to come over, or that he did not chuse to risque a battle with a handful of men now driven to despair, whose resistance might at least occasion considerable confusion of blood.

April 9, 1548. *Pizarro* deserted by his troops.

- f WITH *Pizarro* there now only remained the pike-men, who had likewise given symptoms of their inconstancy. *Carvajal* seeing the desperate state of the usurper's affairs, exerted his utmost diligence to retrieve them, but in vain; all the soldiers deserted, and left him almost alone with his general. The pike-men finding there was no possibility of eluding *Carvajal's* vigilance, threw down their arms, declared their resolution not to fight against the king, and then made off for the royal camp; upon which *Pizarro* resolved to surrender himself. He went up to *Pedro Villavicencio*, who commanded one of the enemy's out posts, and told him his name and intention, at the same time delivering his sword as a mark of his submission. *Pedro*, rejoiced at the importance of his prisoner, returned
- g
- Gonzalo* thanks for the honour done him, returned his sword, and offered to conduct him to the president's quarters; on their way to which *Pizarro* was met by *Centeno*, who con-

He surrenders.

^f GARCILASSO, lib. v. cap. 39.

Carvajal is
taken prisoner.

doling with him on his change of fortune, was answered by the prisoner, “ Captain *Centeno*, a
“ to-day there is nothing to be said upon this subject, but to-morrow you and the rest
“ who have occasioned my fate will have reason to repent your conduct.” Even in his
adversity he maintained his spirit and dignity. When brought into *Gasca*’s presence, he
vindicated his measures with becoming boldness, claimed all that he aspired to as his un-
doubted right, hinted at the ingratitude of the court to his family, and the conquerors of
Peru; but never dropped a disrespectful expression of his imperial majesty. His freedom,
however, highly offended *Gasca*, who ordered him to be removed and taken into custody.
At the same time *Carvajal* was taken prisoner, as he was endeavouring, at the age of eighty-
four, to make his escape by the swiftness of his horse, and used with great insolence and
cruelty by the soldiers, who ought to have respected his advanced age, and extraordinary b
military talents. They applied lighted matches to his neck, threw squibs in his face, and
were severely punished for insulting the unfortunate, by the generous *Centeno*, the priso-
ner’s bitterest enemy, who, upon this occasion, displayed the greatest magnanimity. He
conducted him in person to *Gasca*’s presence, where *Carvajal* maintained a contemptuous
silence, and then brought him back to his own tent, where he treated this old warrior with
the most profound respect and humanity. Nothing could be more extraordinary than
the whole carriage of this hoary soldier, from the time of his imprisonment to his execu-
tion. He was visited by all degrees of people; some came from motives of curiosity,
others to demand restitution of what they alledged his soldiers had plundered them of;
while others visited him merely to turn him into derision, and insult his misfortunes: but c
Carvajal was superior to their dastardly triumph; he beheld them with scorn, and, by the
severity of his replies, dismissed them in admiration of his wit and fortitude.

Both are exe-
cuted.

NEXT day *Gonzalo Pizarro*, *Carvajal*, and other captains, were formally tried and
condemned to be executed as traitors to their king and country. The sentence passed on
the former was, that he should be beheaded, his head fixed in the most public place in the
empire, his house demolished, the ground strewed with salt, and a pillar erected with the
following inscription, “ These were the dwellings of the traitorous *Pizarro*.” He was
carried by a mule to the place of execution; where he spoke to the soldiers and other
spectators in these terms, “ Gentlemen, you are no strangers to the services performed by
“ our family. My brothers and myself were the conquerors of this country. Many of d
“ you are possessed of estates and lands confirmed to you by the marquiss and myself.
“ Many of you likewise owe me pecuniary and other obligations, which I need not specify.
“ For my part, I die poor and destitute; even the cloaths I wear are not mine, they are
“ the perquisite of the executioner for his bloody service, and his reward for depriving
“ me of life: I beseech you therefore, gentlemen, that you will shew the gratitude you
“ owe me, to the Almighty, the author of all good things, that you will pray for my soul,
“ and shew that mercy to the spirit, which is denied to the flesh. I have strong assurances,
“ that, through the mediation of my Redeemer, and the intercession of your prayers,
“ my sins shall be forgiven, and myself made a partaker in that felicity in heaven,
“ which I could never obtain on earth.” Saying this, he laid his head with great compo- e
sure on the block, and the executioner severed it with one stroke from his body. His
faults were forgot, and his virtues recited, when popularity could do him no farther ser-
vice; and compassion soon turned the stream of violent hatred to respect and admiration
of himself and family, who were considered only as the conquerors of *Peru*, and the au-
thors of those immense riches which flowed in upon the *Spaniards*. As to *Carvajal*, he was
executed in the same manner, and to the last gasp sustained that heroism which had dis-
tinguished his whole life. *Garcilasso* employs several pages in describing his behaviour and
witty sayings in adversity; but as many of these favour of levity, we shall omit them in
honour to his memory, and as unfit to be inserted in a general history: f

‡ GARCILASSO, lib. v. cap. 39. HERRERA, dec. v. lib. iv. cap. 2.

a

S E C T. XI.

Containing a Relation of the Rebellions of Sebastian Godinez and Giron, with other Transactions.

WHEN the chiefs of this rebellion were removed, and the due punishment was inflicted on the delinquents, the president began to make regulations for restoring the public tranquility, rewarding those who had assisted him in suppressing the rebellion, and making divisions of lands, with all possible regard to equity and expectation. On *Valdivia* he bestowed the government of *Chili*, which he before possessed without a formal commission. Others who had signally distinguished their valour and loyalty, were gratified with other preferments; and all had the thanks of the governor, and a promise to be rewarded as soon as opportunity offered. The point which gave the greatest uneasiness was the distribution of lands. It was impossible to answer the expectations of every man, who rated his services far beyond his merit; the following letter was calculated, therefore, to silence the murmurs of disappointment. In this the president declared the number of estates which he had already bestowed upon the faithful subjects of his majesty.

"I have," said he, "made repartition of an hundred and fifty commanderies, agreeable to the justest notions I could acquire of merit and long faithful services; and I shall, in the same manner, bestow whatever shall become vacant, during my government, upon the inhabitants of the country, taking special care that no interlopers shall run away with the rewards of your toil and blood. Those that are not now gratified, may depend on my favour. I beseech you, therefore, to consider not what you or I would wish to enjoy, but what I have in my power to bestow. I have omitted nothing to serve you, immense donations have been made, many more will fall to my lot to make; rest satisfied, therefore, in my gratitude, and believe that I am sensible it is the duty of a christian to repay obligations, and the interest of a governor to secure the affections of the people by acts of justice and liberality." The distribution of lands was then published in *Cuzco*, agreeable to the governor's appointment; and, to avoid importunity, he quitted the city, and retired to *Guayana*, where he waited to observe the effects it would produce. Estates, to the yearly value of 150,000 pistoles, were already given away; yet the large promises made to the officers and soldiers, who had just assisted to resist *Pizarro*, were not yet fulfilled. It was expected that the estates of *Gonzalo* and his officers would now be confiscated, and assigned to them who had always firmly adhered to the government; but as secret promises were made to those who should desert the usurper, it was found impracticable to gratify both parties. The one insisted on the promise of maintaining what they already possessed; the other was no less positive in being rewarded at the expence of those whose rebellion rendered their services needful. In consequence, murmurs and factions arose; which *Gasca*, with all his prudence, could not appease, because they were fomented by certain persons who meditated their own elevation on the ruins of their country.

*Division of
lands, and consequent
discontents.*

Of all the malcontents, the most bold and dangerous was *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, notwithstanding he enjoyed to the yearly value of ten thousand pieces of eight out of the estate of *Gonzalo Pizarro*. This he deemed a very inadequate reward of his services; and highly resented, that any other should have received a superior gratification. He spoke with disrespect of the president's candor and discernment in the most public manner; and was reprov'd for his seditious behaviour by the archbishop of *Cuzco*, which served rather to irritate than amend *Giron*. He now set out for *Lima*, in order, as he pretended, to avoid the seditious storm which he saw impended over *Gasca*'s injudicious measures, and keep aloof from the solicitations of the soldiers and people to head their factions. This very apology was in itself of such dangerous tendency, that *Giron* was committed to prison; but afterwards released, upon his making submission, and promising to proceed directly to *Lima*, where *Gasca* now resided, to implore his pardon. Here he insinuated himself so far with *Gasca*, that he permitted him to levy forces in *Lima* and *Cuzco*, in order to reduce the province of *Charcas*, and suppress a band of robbers, who daily infested the kingdom of *Peru*, and rendered travelling upon the highways extremely dangerous. Some writers alledge, that the president was compelled to this measure, to gratify the ambition of a person whose influence he found very considerable among the discontented *Spaniards*; but certainly the remedy was inconsistent with his former caution and prudence.

The

The effects soon appeared; all the malcontents flocked immediately to the standard erected by *Giron*, and before he reached *Cuzco* his army was considerable; when he left it, it was formidable. He had published his commission to make new conquests with great solemnity; and was no sooner at the head of his army, than he artfully accused, in every conversation, the late measures of the president, which obliged some of the more moderate persons in the magistracy to signify to him the necessity of quitting the city. The soldiers behaved with the greatest insolence, and refused all submission to the civil power; affirming, that they acknowledged only the authority of their leader. When it was known that the magistrates had warned *Giron* of the necessity of leaving *Cuzco*, they assembled at his quarters in a tumultuous manner; and, on the other side, the citizens began to arm in their own defence. Just as matters were ripe for hostilities, both sides began to reflect on the consequences; and a treaty was concluded between the citizens and soldiers, whereby *Giron* consented to remove his forces, and deliver up six of the most insolent of his followers to be reprimanded.

Gasca resigns.

In this situation was *Peru*, when the president, perceiving that new troubles were raising, and the orders which he received from *Spain* to release all the *Indians* from bondage, would serve only to aggravate the evil, determined to resign his government, for which he had provided some months before, by desiring to be recalled. His petition was granted by the ministry, and Don *Antonio de Mendoza* appointed to govern in his room, with the title and ensigns of viceroy. This intention was no sooner known in *Peru*, than all the discontented drew up complaints to the administration against *Gasca*; who thought the most effectual method of eluding their clamors, would be to return with a large sum of money for the use of the necessitous *Spanish* government. For this purpose he enforced heavy taxes, fleeced the people without mercy; and having amassed the sum of three millions, he set sail for *Panama*, on the first notice that the new viceroy had touched the *American* coast. Here he made scarce any stay, setting out across the isthmus to *Nombre de Dios*, and ordering the treasure to be brought after, under a guard. At this time *Pedro* and *Ferdinando de Centinos* had taken arms, to revenge the injustice done them, in being dispossessed of the province of *Veragua*, subdued by their father, and granted to him and his posterity. This action they ascribed to *Gasca* forming the resolution to invade *Peru* before he quitted that government, and for this purpose seizing upon several ships in the *South Sea*, and assembling a body of forces. When they heard of the president's departure for *Nombre de Dios*, they fell upon *Panama*, took the city, and seized the royal treasure; with which not resting satisfied, they detached a party after *Gasca* to take him prisoner, and in the mean time lost all their booty. In the absence of this party, the inhabitants of *Panama* recovered from their consternation; and finding themselves more numerous than the rebels, took to arms, fell upon the rebels, drove them out of the town, and recovered all the treasure. The party sent after *Gasca* receiving intelligence of the misfortune of their associates, dispersed themselves; but many of them were taken and executed, together with the two *Centenos*, their leaders, who were hanged upon a gibbet of extraordinary height. Nothing could be more fortunate than this event, which suppressed, in embryo, a conspiracy that threatened the loss of all *Peru* and *Terra Firma*; for it was the scheme of the rebels, after they had made themselves masters of both sides the isthmus, to obstruct all relief from *Old Spain*, or the *West Indies*; to join the malcontents of *Peru*, whereby they might easily have reduced that kingdom, and possibly laid the foundation of a new and independent empire.

Insurrection at Panama; that city taken, and Gasca's treasure seized and again recovered.

As soon as *Gasca* retired to *Panama*, the judges published the second partition of lands which he had made; but deferred making known, for political reasons, before his departure. In their hands the administration was lodged till the arrival of *Mendoza*; they determined to make the full use of their short-lived power; they put in execution the new edict, which the president had prudently suppressed, with respect to releasing the *Indians* from personal service, and that rigid bondage in which they were held by the *Spaniards*. They required that the natives should no longer be compelled to work in the mines, to carry burdens, or do any laborious work; and insisted that their service should not only be voluntary, but that they should be paid a daily stated price. This edict, though undoubtedly humane and necessary, was, however, unseasonable at a juncture when the bulk of the *Spaniards* wanted only a specious pretext to rebel against the government. An insurrection immediately appeared in *Cuzco*; the disaffected immediately chose *Giron* for their leader, and augmented his numbers to so extraordinary a pitch, that the tumult was suppressed with the utmost difficulty. *Giron* being taken prisoner, was sent to receive judgment at *Lima*; but the judges knowing his popularity, and the universality of the discontents, would not presume to pass sentence, or even to call him to his trial. He was therefore

An insurrection in Cuzco.

a therefore dismissed, and rendered more insolent by this proof of their fear to correct him. The admiral *Nonjosa* appeared in his favour; and was supposed to foment these disorders, because the new regulations, with respect to the *Indians*, affected him deeply. His estate in the *Charcas*, where *Potosi* and the richest silver mines are, amounting to the annual sum of two hundred thousand crowns, would be reduced to half that value, were wages paid to the labourers. It was private interest, therefore, and not any other dislike to the edict, or the measures of the government, that stirred this officer up to faction and sedition. The rebellion of the *Centeno's* in *Panama* contributed to blow up the embers of discontent in different parts of *Peru*, and that country began again to groan under all the miseries of civil dissension. Although the intelligence of the defeat of the two brothers arrived
b soon after the news of their being in arms, yet were the humours of the people in too great agitation to be appeased, except by evacuation. The soldiers boldly declared their sentiments of the weakness of the government, for which they had of late years been taught, by numberless insurrections, to entertain but little respect. They had chosen leaders out of their own number, *Giron* not having yet returned from *Lima*; and their outrageousness proceeded to so great a length, that the magistrates of *Cuzco* applied to the royal court, but could obtain no redress, the corregidor, *Juan de Saavedra*, being of opinion, that gentle means alone ought to be tried, where the effects of force were doubtful. Hence the disturbances rose daily to a greater height. Some were terrified with the apprehensions of the dreadful consequences of civil commotions; others wished for rebellion,
c in hopes of gaining some private advantage from the public confusion. With this view they propagated false news, slandered the government, hinted that the principal persons in the kingdom encouraged the insurrection, and affirmed, that only the spirit of the people could prevent their being reduced to indigence and misery, by the various practices of the judges to raise taxes and tributes. Those who still remained well affected to the government, pressed the corregidor to exert himself with spirit, and make examples of some of the most seditious; but he excused himself, saying, that the sentence he had passed on *Giron* was reversed by the royal court, and an injury by that means done to his honour, and the prerogative of his office.

In this situation of affairs the viceroy *Mendoza* arrived at *Lima*, where he was received
d with great rejoicing, and extraordinary marks of esteem. The archbishop and magistrates endeavoured to prevail on him to make a triumphal entry under a canopy of state; but this he constantly refused. His bad state of health preventing his visiting the different cities of his government, he charged his son, don *Francisco*, with that business; who accordingly set out for *Cuzco*, to examine into the discontents which prevailed in that city, and proceed from thence to *Charcas*, and the more distant provinces. By his vigilance, and the activity of the magistrates, the tumult was at that time suppressed, and *Peru* delivered from one of the greatest dangers which had threatened it since the establishment of the *Spanish* government. After this he set out for *Charcas*, where he examined every thing with the most curious eye, took plans of the towns, made draughts of the mines of
e *Potosi*, in which all the silver mines were accurately delineated, established several necessary regulations in the different provinces, formed an exact estimate of the revenue deducible from the new conquest, and returned to his father at *Lima*, with an account of his progress and transactions. Thence he was dispatched in the month of *May* 1552, with all his draughts and plans, to give a relation to his imperial majesty of the present state of *Peru*; and soon after his absence the viceroy died, exceedingly regretted by all who regarded the interest of their country, and knew the value of a moderate, wise, and honest governor. By this unfortunate accident, the government devolved on the judges of the royal court; who no sooner were in possession of power, than they revived the decree for
f releasing the *Indians* from personal service, which was rather suspended than abolished during the late administration. However unpopular this regulation appeared, the judges always endeavoured to enforce it, as often as the administration came into their hands. They now required the execution with unusual rigor; which raised a ferment in all the provinces, especially in *Charcas*, where the service of the *Indians* was indispensable. To pay them would greatly diminish the profits of the proprietors of land, and private interest affected them more nearly than any impulse of humanity. Crowds of discontented *Spanish* inhabitants, and disbanded soldiers, assembled, upon a supposition they would receive countenance from the governor *Nonjosa*, who they imagined intended to act independently, and claim the power formerly usurped by *Gonzalo Pizarro*. There were some reasons for this opinion, founded upon certain dubious expressions which he had dropt at *Lima*; but *Nonjosa's* ambition being now gratified by the government of *Charcas*, where he possessed an immense estate, he altered his sentiments, and determined to support the
g government,

The viceroy
Mendoza arrives at Lima:

His death.

Troubles in the
province of
Charcas.

Nonojosa
murdered.

Don Sebastian
assassinated,
and Godinez
made general
of the rebels.

government, agreeable to the duty of his employment, without risking so large a fortune in pursuit of dangerous ideal projects. The malcontents soon discovered they would be disappointed in their sanguine expectations from the governor; they resolved, therefore, to turn their plot into another channel, and execute their schemes without his assistance. To obviate any difficulties he might throw in their way, it was agreed to put him to death, and set up *Don Sebastian de Castilla*, the most popular person in the province, for their commander. The malcontents spoke publicly of their designs; but *Nonojosa* obstinately refused to listen to the informations daily lodged, of a conspiracy against his life. His friends exhorted him to provide for his security; but *Nonojosa* could not persuade himself that soldiers, among whom he was so popular, and who had hitherto appeared devoted to his service, could so suddenly alter their affections, as to assassinate the leader they had lately adored. His temper was open and unsuspicious, and this deluded him into a fatal carelessness; or perhaps he thought, like *Julius Cæsar*, that it was better to die once, than live in perpetual terror; and that when a man was deserted by his friends, life was of no longer value. Certain it is, that he never provided guards, or in the least altered his former conduct with respect to himself, tho' he was extremely industrious in what regarded the public. The conspirators went on without interruption, and entered *Nonojosa's* palace without resistance, rushed into his chamber, and loaded him with wounds^a; after which they run into the streets, called out that the tyrant was dead, and wished long life to the king, to testify they were enemies only to the governors of the country, and not traitors to their sovereign.

HAVING finished this important business, the conspirators fell upon some of the principal citizens, whom they massacred, then plundering their houses, and committing the most shocking barbarities. The success which attended their measures rendered them fearless; by beat of drum they assembled all the inhabitants in the market-place, proclaimed their leader *Don Sebastian* governor, and chief justice of the province, appointed officers both civil and military, and disguised their treason under the thin varnish of doing every thing for the public good, and in the name of the sovereign. In a few days they gained possession of the town and mines of *Potosi*, where they found near two millions of pieces of eight, the property of the king, of the late governor, or of private persons. They also detached a party to seize upon *Vera Paz*, and murder the marshal *Alvarado*, who commanded in that city; but before their scheme was accomplished, fortune took a sudden turn, and divided the conspirators against themselves. Part of *Nonojosa's* soldiers began to reflect on the consequences of such violent proceedings, and even to repent of the murder of their general; a horrible action, which they resolved to expiate by shedding the blood of *Don Sebastian*, to whose ambition they now ascribed their own villainy. They were besides in hopes, that this action would prove so acceptable to the government, as to cancel all their former offences. They set about their bloody work, therefore, with the utmost confidence; chose *Basco Godinez* for their leader, and assassinated the general whom they had so lately proclaimed with much ostentation, appointing *Godinez* to all his employments.

A MILITARY government now prevailed in this part of the empire. The soldiers massacred and set up leaders at pleasure, imitating the example of the *Romans* towards the decline of the constitution, when the same person was invested with the purple, and torn in pieces by the mob in the space of a week; now the idol of the army, next day their detestation; just as fancy, caprice, ambition, and interest happened to prevail. *Godinez* obliged the magistrates to give sanction to the appointment of the soldiers, and confirm him not only in the dignity of general, but chief justice of the province of *Charcas*. By virtue of this authority, he acted with uncontrouled power; put all to death who were the objects of his resentment, or jealousy; caused several of the conspirators, engaged in the murder of *Nonojosa*, to be executed; and put on the appearance of extraordinary zeal for the king's service, as if he had been forced into the rebellion, and thrust into those employments, which he held with no other view than serving his imperial majesty. Even his intimate acquaintance, his accomplices in the death of *Sebastian*, and dearest friends, felt the rod of power, and were assassinated, to prevent their discovering his complicated treasons, and disappointing him of those rewards which he expected for his vigilance in behalf of the government. He seized upon the estate of *Don Sebastian*, feared lest his accomplices might demand a share, and expected the government would confirm this usurpation, in consideration of the service he had performed in removing that tyrant and traitor. The inability of the royal court to cope with *Godinez* in the field, obliged the

^a DIEGO HERNANDEZ, cap. xix.

a judges to have recourse to artifice, and seize the usurper by his own machinations. Pretending that they were convinced of his services, in taking off the rebellious *Sebastian*, and declaring for the king, they caused it to be signified to him, that they designed constituting him general of their forces, and assigning him a large estate in the province, which his public spirit had rescued from destruction; advising him to unite his forces with the marshal *Alvarado*, in order strenuously to subdue the rebels, and suppress the intrigues of the discontented. When they had sufficiently deceived him, they privately appointed *Alvarado* governor of *Charcas*, ordering him to march with all his forces into the province, and surprize *Godinez*, who expected him as an auxiliary. Every thing succeeded to their wish; the deluded *Godinez* received *Alvarado* as his friend, and was seized, condemned, and executed, with most of his officers. As he was led to the place of execution, the following proclamation was made by the hangman: "This man, for treason to his God, his king and his country, is condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered."

Godinez executed.

So many persons were involved in the rebellion of *Godinez*, that scarce a day passed without the dreadful spectacle of men executed, and severed limb from limb. The justices enforced the laws with more regard to justice than policy and prudence. This severity raised many enemies to the government, and gave birth to the revolt of *Cuzco*, headed by *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, which put a stop to executions, and obliged the royal court to apply their whole attention to the means of suppressing so dangerous an insurrection. The *Indians* prognosticated the consequences of such rigorous punishments, and openly declared their apprehensions that another rebellion would rise out of the ruins of the former, and real cause of disaffection be given by the excessive severity of the judges. Every corner of *Peru* was filled with discontents, and resounded with clamours, of the cruel proceedings against the rebels. No man thought himself secure, because the same laws by which the accomplices of *Sebastian* and *Godinez* were punished, might be extended to all who had served under *Gonzalo Pizarro*, or been engaged in the factions of *Almagro*, and the marquis *Pizarro*. The two last rebellions had been formed by the principal citizens of *Cuzco*, who possessed large shares in the mines of *Potosi*, now lying unwrought on account of the new edict, which required that no compulsion should be used with the *Indians*. They resented the strict obedience required to this law, the violent proceedings against the rebels, and also feared, lest, in course of the processes and punishments every day set on foot, their own secret practices might be discovered. To anticipate the event they dreaded, fourscore citizens drew up a petition to the governor, requesting that the edict might be recalled, and a stop put to those violent criminal processes, which were seen with horror by every man who felt for humanity: When this petition was presented, the governor perused it, and then tore it in pieces with indignation; which gave so much offence to the persons concerned, that they immediately laid the foundation of a general revolt. They engaged *Giron* in their schemes; and he soon became the most active, and, indeed, the leading person of the conspiracy. He had, for some time, watched the opportunity of gratifying an insatiable ambition, not at all impaired by repeated disappointment, and waited, before he declared himself, the issue of the revolt in the province of *Charcas*. Informed that *Alvarado* maintained a correspondence with *Ramirez*, the governor of *Cuzco*, and was concerting measures for destroying him and his friends, he resolved to anticipate their designs, and break out into open rebellion. For this purpose *Giron* assembled his friends, acquainted them with the danger, revealed all the intelligence he received concerning the schemes carried on by *Alvarado* and *Ramirez*, aggravated every circumstance, and affirmed that *Alvarado's* design was to strike at *Cuzco*, the root of all the evils of which he complained, as soon as he had lopped off the branches of *Charcas*. He exhorted them, therefore, to enter upon vigorous measures for their own preservation, and not tamely suffer unjust punishments like their friends in *Charcas*, under colour of law. The cause was general to all the *Spanish* planters; all were interested in opposing an edict which rendered their mines useless, and their estates a mere incumbrance, if they were deprived of the services of the *Indians*; and he assured them, they would soon be joined by great numbers as soon as it was known they had taken up arms to redress a grievance so general and important.

Giron's rebellion, its origin.

This assembly consisted chiefly of citizens, who were proprietors of mines or estates, or of soldiers of desperate fortune, whose only resource was in some new disturbance, was not difficult of belief; little persuasion was necessary to engage them to what they were before disposed. They closed with *Giron's* proposal, and offered their services in executing any plan for the preservation of liberty, which he should think fit to offer. A happy occasion now presented itself for putting their desperate schemes in practice. The daughter

A.D. 1553.
He seizes the
government of
Cuzco.

ter of a rich *Spaniard* was to be married at *Cuzco*, on the 15th day of *November*, and the nuptials were to be celebrated with great magnificence. The crouds flocking to this exhibition would render easy their project to seize on the governor and principal magistrates, who were invited to the wedding. When the day came, *Giron*, with twelve of the most desperate of the conspirators, rushed into the bridegroom's house, while the company were at supper. Observing some of them were making off, he desired they would fear nothing, for they were all engaged in the same measures; upon which he seized upon the governor and magistrates, killing two of three of the number who offered to make resistance, and suffering the rest of the company to go away unmolested. This gave suspicion that all were concerned; and it was a refined stroke of policy in *Giron*, who, by this means, drew to his party several persons, before ignorant of the plot, who thought their being suspected would be equally punishable with the actual commission of the crime. They joined in, therefore, with *Giron*, hoping to increase the conspirators to such a number, as would be able to subvert the government; and, by getting the laws into their own hands, obviate the punishments inflicted on rebellion, and even the suspicion of disloyalty.

When *Giron* accomplished his designs on the governor and magistrates, he committed them to prison, and then joined his party drawn up in the market-place, making proclamation for all the friends of liberty to assemble in arms. He then seized upon the royal treasure and the arsenal, beat up for recruits in the most public manner, and declared that all he had undertaken was for the service of his king and country. He complained, that all remonstrances made to the royal court were contemptuously rejected, and that nothing remained but to seize upon the supreme authority, until the situation of affairs could be properly presented to his catholic majesty. When he had assembled a considerable force, he required of the magistrates to constitute him chief justice; and such was his influence, or their pusillanimity, that his demand met with no refusal. The magistrates nominated him not only chief justice, but captain-general; and several other towns congratulated him on his elevation, and offered to support him in his measures with all their power.

Defeats a royal
detachment.

ADVICE of this revolt no sooner reached the royal court, than orders were issued immediately to suspend the execution of the new ordinance, to which they chiefly attributed the commotion. At the same time *Alvarado* was constituted general of the forces in the southern provinces, who were ordered to march towards *Cuzco*; and a resolution was taken to assemble an army in the neighbourhood of *Lima*, which was to join that of *Alvarado*. To prevent those who dreaded punishment for being engaged in the late rebellion, from throwing themselves into the arms of the malcontents, pardon was proclaimed to all who had fought under the ensigns of *Pizarro*, *Sebastian*, and *Godinez*, provided they would immediately enlist in the royal army, and serve against the enemies of their king and country; but by this time *Giron* was so strong, that he marched to *Rachabamac*, on his way to *Lima*, to give battle to the royalists. Here he received intelligence that the enemy was approaching, and was making preparations to bring matters to a speedy issue, when the desertion in his army constrained him to retire to a greater distance. In his retreat he was pursued by *Paolo de Meneses*, who had orders to harass his rear with a considerable detachment; but this officer was drawn into a snare, and defeated with great loss, before the main body of the royal army could come to his relief.

THIS victory was no way decisive; but it was of the utmost consequence to *Giron*, giving him not only leisure to augment his army, but enabling him to put a stop to the desertion, by infusing new spirits into his soldiers. He formed a complete regiment of well disciplined negroes, besides a number of *Spaniards*, who embraced his cause, the moment it appeared that fortune declared herself in his favour, although they were ready to join the opposite party. With this force he advanced to the plains of *Nasca*, on the sea-coast, about threescore leagues to the northward of *Lima*; while *Alvarado*, having assembled a thousand *Spaniards*, and ten thousand *Indians*, began his march from *Charcas*, and took possession of *Cuzco*, for the king, in the absence of *Giron*. Here, being joined by several detachments, he thought himself in a condition to cope with the rebels; he set out in quest of *Giron*, who then seemed to despise the enemy. Flushed with their late victory, so easily obtained, they imagined every thing must yield to them; but *Giron* judged otherwise, recommended caution as well as valour, and bid them fight as men whose future happiness depended on their courage, and who had their fortunes to shape with their swords. He assured them, that, besides a numerous body of *Indians*, there were a thousand well-disciplined *Spaniards*, veterans inured to fatigue and action, advancing against them from *Lima*, besides the still more powerful forces marching from *Cuzco*, under the conduct

- a conduct of *Alvarado*: "However, added he, if I had but four hundred men, on whose
 " fidelity I could depend, I should make no doubt of victory; since the battle is not to
 " the strong and numerous, but to the unanimous and valiant, to them who obey their
 " general, and not to those who each of them aspire at commanding." When he had
 taken off the rash confidence of his soldiers, without damping their spirits, or blunt-
 ing the edge of their courage, he marched and took possession of an advantageous post
 near *Chuguinca*, on the road the enemy must pass, wishing for nothing more than to be
 attacked, in this situation, by the royalists. Rocks, woods, and precipices, made his
 army inaccessible on every side; but *Giron* artfully concealed the strength of the post, the
 more readily to seduce *Alvarado* into an engagement: however, the stratagem failed, *Alva-*
 b *rado* knew the ground, and surrounded it with intention to cut off all supplies of provi-
 sion from the rebels, and reduce them to the necessity of engaging on less advantageous
 terms, or surrendering at discretion to avoid being famished. This measure was conducted
 with so much address, that *Giron*'s troops were soon brought to great extremity, of which
Alvarado received notice by an officer who deserted to him, and gave him further informa-
 tion, that the rebels intended to decamp in the night, and force their way through his
 lines. The deserter further alledged, that *Giron*'s camp might easily be forced, as all
 his troops were discontented with the hardships they suffered, and so sickly as scarce to be
 able to bear arms; upon which *Alvarado*, changing his resolution, gave orders to prepare
 for an attack. This was precisely what *Giron* wished for. He drew up his men to receive
 c the enemy, and animated them with the certain prospect of victory, and a speedy issue to
 their sufferings. There were only two accessible posts in his camp, and for their defence
 he chose those soldiers in whom he had the greatest confidence. Here the assault began.
 In one place the royalists were obliged to cross a river, up to the neck; and, in another,
 to march along a defile encumbered with rocks and bushes, and so narrow, that scarce
 three men could walk a-breast. They were cut off as fast as they advanced, by repeated
 well directed discharges of fire-arms. The cannon made dreadful havoc; yet the mar-
 shal persevered, leading his men on to successive assaults, and renewing the charge with
 such obstinacy, that had not a panic seized the soldiers, the whole army must have in-
 fallibly perished. Already two-thirds of his men were killed or taken prisoners; and *Al-*
 d *varado*, in despair, was marching up with the last division, when the soldiers, perceiving
 the fate of their companions, and the dreadful carnage made by the rebel artillery, turned
 their backs, fled with great precipitation, and carried off *Alvarado* in the croud of fugi-
 tives, in despite of his utmost endeavours rather to perish than survive the shame of his
 disgrace. Above four hundred and fifty of the royalists were killed or taken; while this
 important victory cost *Giron* no more than seventeen of his soldiers, who were soon replaced
 by the prisoners, who enlisted themselves, and embraced the side for which fortune seemed
 to declare. The booty was immense, and exceeding any thing ever before seen even
 in that rich country. The richest planters in *Peru* served in *Alvarado*'s army, and had
 arms and equipages suitable to their wealth and overgrown fortunes. Every thing was
 e adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones; the horse furniture and arms were particu-
 larly splendid; and so certain were they of victory, that some preparations had actually
 been made for a magnificent triumphal entry into *Lima*.

Gains a com-
 plete victory
 over the royal-
 ists.

THE confusion occasioned by this defeat among the royalists would have given the enemy
 the greatest advantages, had *Giron* known as well how to pursue as to gain a victory.
 Many insisted that the marshal was betrayed, without which he could not possibly have
 been defeated; and so far had this opinion prevailed, that suspicion fell upon particular
 persons. The judges met in council to pass judgment on the supposed criminals; and
 they were just preparing to consign to capital punishment the justice *Santillon*, when letters
 f arrived from *Alvarado*, and his officers, which fully cleared that gentleman, by reciting the
 real causes of this misfortune. The marshal laid the blame on the disobedience of his
 soldiers; but his officers charged him with rashness, and injudiciously attacking the enemy
 in an impregnable situation, when he might have forced them to surrender without shed-
 ding a drop of blood. *Lorenzo de Aldena* even ventures to reflect on his courage; for he
 adds at the close of his letter, "They say the marshal is wounded, but I am sure it was
 " neither with fighting, or giving encouragement to his soldiers." Whereas the enemy,
 and almost all the rest of his own officers, do him ample justice in this respect, and affirm,
 that the impetuosity of his courage must have occasioned the entire destruction of his sol-
 g diers, but for the reasons we have mentioned. Nothing was wanting to complete *Giron*'s
 success, but to improve the advantage he obtained by his valour, and pursue the enemy
 with vigour, while they were disheartened and divided. The bench of judges fell into
 warm disputes, whether they ought to accompany the army, to give the general more
 authority, and prevent the murmurings of the soldiers? And this affair was warmly de-

Offends the ci-
zens of Cuz-
co.

bated in the town-house of *Lima*, while the army ought to be employed in the field, to prevent such consequences as might naturally have been expected from a defeat. Happily for the royalists, *Giron* remained five or six weeks inactive in his impregnable camp; contenting himself with sending detachments to *Cuzco*, *Arequipa*, *La Paz*, and other cities, to plunder and despoil without limitation or restriction. Endeavours at the same time were used to augment the army, which, by means of the prisoners that inlisted, and the volunteers that every day flocked to *Giron's* victorious banners, soon increased to a thousand *Spaniards*, exclusive of the detachments, *Indians* and *Negroes*. To complete his train of artillery, which was much inferior to that of the enemy, he ordered the great bells of *Cuzco* to be cast into cannon, and inscribed with the motto, "Liberty;" the cant term used by all seditious persons to conceal ambition, and disguise rebellion against their king and country. The royalists made a proper use of this circumstance; they exclaimed against it as a piece of impiety and sacrilege, which the Almighty would not fail to punish. The citizens of *Cuzco* echoed the cry, because they resented the cruel pillage made by *Giron's* detachment, which had entirely alienated their minds from his interest.

WRETCHED was the condition of both parties; *Spaniards* and *Indians* were equally sufferers by these dreadful civil wars and frequent rebellions. It was but lately that the royalists were shedding the blood of their countrymen by the legal forms of courts, and plundering and massacring the adherents of *Giron*, who now retaliated the injury with a vengeance on the heads of all those who had declared themselves enemies to his cause, or even kept aloof with design of joining the stronger side. Many citizens in *Cuzco* were not only stripped of their estates, but deprived of their lives. Scarce a house escaped the fury of the soldiers, and the citizens were no less incensed at *Giron's* avarice than the clergy at his sacrilege. Both united against him, and composed so formidable a body, that he was forced to send for his wife and children, not chusing to trust his family in a city which had now openly declared its enmity. All this we may ascribe to *Giron's* own imprudence, for he might easily have secured the friendship of the capital, could he only have moderated his revenge and avarice. The inhabitants of *Cuzco* favoured his cause, were enemies to the new edict, and strongly prejudiced against the judges for the severe punishments inflicted on all who opposed its establishment; but now they perceived that *Giron's* aim was not to defend the property and rights of the *Spaniards*, but to acquire the power of plundering and executing his countrymen with impunity. It was this change in the sentiments of the citizens, which determined *Giron* to march to the pleasant vale of *Yuca*, where he refreshed his troops, and gave himself up to rural sports, until advice arrived that the royalists augmented to two thousand men, were marching directly to *Cuzco*, with a fine train of artillery, and numerous army of confederate *Indians*. He then retired to a strong pass, about forty leagues south of the capital, where he posted his army in such a manner as rendered an attack extremely dangerous, if not impracticable. This was the peculiar province of *Giron*; no general was ever more judicious or fortunate in the choice of ground for encampments. His wings and front were inaccessible by rivers, woods, rocks, or morasses, and behind he was secured by a deep rapid stream, which, however, did not obstruct his communication with the adjacent country. Besides, he commanded the province of *Charcas* by this pass, and thereby rendered himself absolutely master of the treasures of *Potosi*. His troops were not only regularly paid, but such a fund was laid up as might enable him to prosecute the war for a series of years, were money the only requisite.

Is pursued by
the royal army.

MEAN time the royal army passed the rivers *Amencay* and *Aperimac*, in their way to *Cuzco*, and met with considerable resistance from parties detached by *Giron* to dispute their passage. The artillery was carried with great labour, and employed no less than ten thousand *Indians*, every piece of cannon being fixed to a long beam, longitudinally supported by transverse beams laid upon the shoulders of the natives. In this manner the royalists arrived within a few leagues of *Cuzco*, when they received the unfortunate news, that a detachment of their forces, under *Gomez da Solis*, was defeated at *Arequipa* by *Piedrabita*; immediately they pursued their march to *Pacava*, the strong post in which *Giron* was encamped. *Giron* was in hopes the enemy's superiority in numbers would prompt them to attack him as they had done at *Chuquenca*; but they prudently resisted all the baits he threw out, and plainly evinced that they were grown wiser by experience. They encamped within sight of the rebels, in an open plain, where the cavalry might act with freedom, and maintained perpetual skirmishes, in which it was observable the enemy had generally the advantage; notwithstanding *Garcilasso* affirms their artillery was of no use, "Providence forbidding that the sacred metal, of which the churches were despoiled, should be employed in the destruction of mankind." For several days the two armies watched each other, without any attempts on either side to come to a general engagement; however, *Giron* was at length

- a length encouraged to attack the royalists by the constant superiority he had in skirmishing, and certain reports that the caution of the judges proceeded from their apprehensions with respect to the fidelity of their soldiers. It was, besides, rumoured, that the enemy were in great want of powder, matches, and all kinds of ammunition; and this report, tho' artfully propagated by the judges, was so easily credited by *Giron*, that he laid aside his usual caution, and resolved to act offensively. He called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved to make an assault in the night, upon a certain quarter of the enemy's camp. His officers had in a manner been forced into a concession by the earnestness with which he urged the proposal; for it was the unanimous opinion, that he should hold himself close in his quarters, maintain all the advantages of his situation, and thereby compel
- b the enemy to decamp for want of necessaries, or fight at a great disadvantage. In compliance, however, to him, they submitted, and *Giron* regarded their obedience as a proof of their being convinced by the force of his arguments, which served to confirm him the more in his resolution. Accordingly a muster of his army was made in the evening, whence it appeared that several had deserted, and probably apprised the royalists of his intention. Yet could not this unfortunate circumstance divert his resolution; on the contrary, fearing lest the desertion might continue, and thinking it probable that the enemy would soon be reinforced, he hastened to put his project in execution, and concerted his plan with so much prudence and ability as merited success. About two o'clock in the morning, when the moon was down, he sallied out of his camp at the head of six hundred musqueteers, two hundred pikemen, a regiment of negroes, and about thirty horse.
- c' The black regiment had orders to advance with all possible silence to the front of the enemy, and there to make a diversion; while, with the bulk of his army, he fell upon the rear. That his men should be able to distinguish each other in the dark, they were clothed in white; and had, besides, a word of battle, to prevent confusion, and enable them to rally, in case they should happen to fall in disorder: every thing was executed with the utmost punctuality; but the enemy had entirely altered their position upon the intelligence of the deserters, and marching out of the intrenchments, drew up in order of battle on the plain, planting their artillery in such a manner as to take the assailants in flank, according to the advices they heard of their intended disposition. The negroe regiment, meeting with no resistance on the front, entered the camp, killed several *Indians* and mules, and were returning in astonishment at what had become of the enemy, when they were saluted by a volley of grape-shot, poured from the mouths of eleven pieces of cannon, which almost cut off the whole corps. *Giron*, at this time, was firing with great fury upon the rear of the enemy's camp; when, to his great surprize, a shower of bullets came upon him from another quarter, which gave him the first notice of his disappointment, and determined him to make the best retreat in his power, although he sustained but little damage. Yet he could not prevent two hundred of his men from deserting him, notwithstanding his disposition was so good that he regained his camp without any loss from the enemy. The conduct of the justices was no less admirable. When they
- d observed the rebels retiring, an attempt was made to pursue, lest *Giron* might face about, and by this sudden motion alarm the troops, as if they had been drawn into an ambuscade. Every man was ordered to keep within the works, on pain of death, and the pursuit wholly entrusted to a detachment of horse, that made some unsuccessful attacks on the enemy's rear.

Is repulsed,

and deserted.

- Such was the issue of the battle of *Pucera*, in which not above twenty men were slain on both sides, unless we except the loss sustained by the negroe regiment, of which the *Spaniards* never made any account, regarding the death of a slave and of a brute, in much the same light. *Giron* found himself still in a condition to maintain his post against all the power of the royalists. The three following days he kept the judges in perpetual alarm, obliging them every night to draw up in battalia. Next day he drew out his army, as if to decide matters by an equal battle in the open field, or rather to draw the enemy on to attack him in his strong situation; but this motion was attended with a consequence very unfortunate to him, by furnishing *Vasquez*, with twelve more officers, in whom *Giron* had great confidence, with an opportunity of deserting. *Vasquez* had brought with him a silver helmet belonging to the lieutenant-general *Piedrabita*, in token of his resolution to come over to the judges, as soon as a fair occasion offered. The intelligence was extremely acceptable to the judges, who, till now, entertained only faint hopes of reducing *Giron* with his handful of soldiers; they, therefore, issued immediate orders for the troops to keep within their quarters, and avoid skirmishing, only sending out parties to facilitate the
- f desertion.

- g *GIRON* was confounded with the infidelity of *Vasquez*; still, however, he did not despair. He endeavoured, by the most soothing and animating expressions, to secure the affections

affections, and sustain the spirits of his soldiers. To prevent their being affected with the departure of the treacherous *Vasquez*, he laid before them the reasons that induced him to enter upon the enterprize, which was nothing less than the defence of their rights, properties, and lives, and acquainted them with what they must expect, if they followed the example of their perfidious companions. “ Be not troubled, said he, for the loss of *Vasquez*; he is but a man, and we can do without his assistance. Let me dissuade you from trusting to the pardon which he imagines he has secured by his treachery. No enemy ever yet rewarded a traitor, or encouraged him longer than while he was necessary to their purposes. You may rest satisfied, that, however they may care for *Vasquez* for the present, his life will be the price of his treachery, the moment I am subdued, and that he at present owes his safety to our resistance, and not to their esteem or regard. I have no value for my own life, but as it may contribute to your safety; for I am confident of the punishment in wait for all those who trust to the promises of the judges, who will make no scruple of hanging up a deserter with his pardon about his neck. It is valour alone that can place you beyond the power of our enemies, and secure you against an ignominious death. Our situation is by no means desperate; if we are unanimous, we shall still be victorious; at least we still have this satisfaction, that we die with our swords in our hands, in the defence of freedom, and have escaped that ignominious punishment due to the credulity and perfidy of our associates.”

A RAY of hope seemed to dart into the soul of *Giron* from the effect this speech produced on his soldiers. Every sentence was echoed with applause; but scarce had the day passed before a third of the whole number deserted. This threw him into despair; he every moment expected to be betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and could devise no other means of warding off the danger, than by taking refuge in the mountains; which resolution he put in practice the same night, without communicating his design to one individual, leaving the few remaining troops to shift for themselves. *Giron's* flight was no sooner known in his camp, than *Alvarado*, who acted in quality of lieutenant-general, went in search of him, with a hundred men devoted to his service; but taking a different rout, were all surprised and taken by one of the king's generals, detached by the judges in pursuit of the rebels, of whose flight they were informed by several deserters. Nine of the principal officers were executed on the spot, and the rest of the prisoners sent to *Cuzco* under a strong guard, there to receive, agreeable to legal forms, the punishment due to their crimes. Another of the rebel generals had the good fortune to go over to the royal army, with great part of the forces, before *Giron's* flight was known, and for some time enjoyed the benefit of the pardon that was published; but he was hanged up afterwards for this rebellion, by order of the next viceroy, who paid no regard to the pardon granted by the judges. As for the unhappy *Giron*, he wandered alone for several days through pathless, desert mountains, hiding himself in woods and caverns. At last he was discovered by some of his faithful soldiers, who resolved to participate in his misfortunes. They comforted each other for some days in their affliction, and then fell into the hands laid by their enemies. *Giron* was taken prisoner, sent to *Lima*, and publicly executed, his head being fixed up over those of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and *Francisco Carvajal*. Thus ended the rebellion and life of *Francisco Hernandez Giron*, who had distinguished himself by actions truly glorious, had they been performed in the service of his king and country.

ON the arrival of the marquis *Canneta*, who was appointed by *Philip II.* to succeed *Mendoza*, most of the rebel officers, even those who had deserted before their affairs became desperate, were executed. The viceroy made his public entry into *Lima*, in the month of *July 1557*, and was received with all the respect due to his exalted dignity and high quality. Immediately he placed guards on all the roads leading to the great cities, with orders strictly to examine all passengers, and seize any papers found upon them, the better to discover the plots and conspiracies which might be in agitation. Even *Spaniards* were required to make use of passports in travelling from one town or province to another. All the cannon, small arms, and ammunition, in the different cities, were carefully collected, and lodged in magazines and arsenals, to be opened only with leave from the viceroy, and every possible step was taken to suppress any forming rebellions, and extinguish the latent sparks of the late conspiracy. Several of the principal officers engaged in the revolts of *Pizarro*, *Sebastian*, *Godinez*, and now of *Giron*, were banished, and their estates confiscated, or sent into the galleys. All the commissions granted by the judges were revoked, and new appointments made. To silence at one stroke all murmurs against these arbitrary proceedings, he ordered several persons, who had expressed their disapprobation of his measures, to be seized and sent to *Spain*, under pretence of recommending them to the king for rewards which he could not bestow. These were the steps taken by the new viceroy

A. D. 1554.

Giron taken
and executed.Marquis Can-
neta made
viceroy of Pe-
ru.

- a to enforce obedience to the laws, and impress a favourable opinion of the vigour of his administration. Hitherto only the *Spaniards* were considered as objects of his policy; he now turned his attention towards the natives, and laboured to attach them to the government by acts of mildness and liberality. His first endeavour was to prevail on *Sayri Tapac*, a prince the nearest in blood to the late inca *Manco Capac*, and regarded by the *Indians* as the legitimate sovereign of the empire, to quit the woods and mountains in which he concealed himself, accept of the friendly offers of the *Spaniards*, and a yearly appointment sufficient to maintain the splendor of his exalted rank and quality. To render the negotiation less difficult, he applied to *Donna Beatriz Corja*, aunt to the young prince, to use her influence with his guardians, and assure them that no deceit was intended, the proposal resulting entirely from the viceroy's sincere desire of seeing *Spaniards* and *Indians* united in the strongest bonds of amity, and all enjoying equal happiness under his government. Accordingly this lady dispatched a messenger of the blood-royal to the mountains of *Vilca Pompa*, where the court resided. After encountering manifold difficulties, the messenger was admitted into the presence of the prince, his guardians, counsellors, and captains, who directed his affairs during his minority, and the viceroy's proposal was taken into consideration. Though it was brought by a kinsman from a lady, whom they knew to be strongly attached to the royal family; yet they could not help suspecting the sincerity of the *Spaniards*, and regarding the overture as a stratagem to get the young prince into their hands, possibly to treat him in the same manner they had done the inca *Atabualapa*. That no precaution might be omitted, this little fugitive court dispatched an express to *Cuzco*, with instructions to sound the real sentiments of the *Spaniards*, and examine narrowly whether they had not deluded *Donna Beatriz* by specious appearances. As these mutual embassies took up more time than the viceroy expected, he grew impatient; and thinking to accelerate matters, he charged a friar, who had gained some reputation as a politician, with a commission immediately to the prince; but so cautious were the *Indians*, that they seized all the passes, and forbid the friar access to the court. However, *Donna Beatriz* at last finished the business, by going in person to the mountains of *Vilca Pompa*, presenting the prince with certain proofs of the sincerity of the *Spaniards*, and demonstrating that the proposals made by the marquis were perfectly consistent with policy, and that rule of administration which he adopted, of uniting the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in one common interest. After warm debates in the council, the proposal was at length accepted, and an instrument made out, whereby the inca consented to quit the mountains, and live among the *Spaniards*, in consideration of the annual revenue of seventeen thousand pieces of eight; to secure the payment of which the estate of *Francisco Hernandez*, part of the valley of *Yuy*, together with lands and *Indians* in the jurisdiction of *Cuzco*, were settled upon him for life, and during his peaceable conduct. He, besides, enjoyed the title of lord of the valley of *Yuy*; a poor equivalent for his empire, which he, however, willingly accepted, as soon as he was made sensible that the viceroy was serious in the offer. *Garcilasso*, indeed, alledges, that when the instrument was presented to him in gilt paper by the archbishop, he took up the fringed velvet covering upon the table, and folding a corner of it in his hands, exclaimed, "All this table and fringe formerly belonged to me; but now the *Spaniards* repay me with a single thread for the support of my dignity, my household, friends, and family."

One of the inca princes prevailed on to accept a pension.

- The reconciling the inca to the *Spanish* government was certainly a masterly stroke; but the marquis *Canneta* punished those who had ever appeared in arms against the king with so much rigour, that he raised a great number of enemies to his administration. Complaints were daily pouring in upon the ministry of king *Philip*, which rendered it necessary to appoint a new viceroy, as the only means of appeasing the murmurs. Accordingly *Don Diego Azevado* was nominated to that quality; but he dying on his voyage, the government devolved on the *Conde de Nueva*; and he again was in a little time succeeded by *Don Francisco de Toledo*, under whom the persecution of the royal blood of the incas was revived. It was now discovered that *Sayri Tapac* had an elder brother, the grandson of *Manco Capac*, who also kept his court in the mountains, in order to avoid the slavish bondage imposed on the rest of the *Indians*. The title to sovereignty, it would appear, was disputed by the friends of the young princes, and each of them maintained a little court, which just served to remind them of their birth-right. By this time *Sayri Tapac* was dead; and indeed removed, as some imagine, by poison, to ease the *Spanish* government of the load of his maintenance; so that *Tapac Amaru* had an undisputed claim to the throne of his ancestors. The viceroy was desirous of drawing this prince from his retirement, either upon the same principle with his predecessor the marquis *Canneta*, or to prevent the disturbances which might possibly arise from his pretensions. With this intention he sent messengers to him, and offered to support his royal dignity with the same

Persecution of the incas.

revenue settled upon his brother, if he would consent like him to live among the *Spaniards*,^a and acknowledge the sovereignty of the catholic king. The proposal met with many difficulties, either upon account of the suspicions entertained of the viceroy's real intention, or the reports propagated of the violent death of the prince's brother. His friends strongly admonished him to continue rather in his present retirement, where he enjoyed freedom and independency; till a proper opportunity offered of asserting his right, than to trust his life and liberty in the hands of such perfidious allies, whose generosity was only a masque to their ambition and avarice. This advice the prince followed, and returned a suitable answer to the viceroy's message; upon which a council was held at *Lima*, to deliberate upon the means of reducing the inca to the terms required. The result was, that as the prince refused to accept the equitable conditions offered him, he should be regarded^b as an enemy, and compelled into such measures as were necessary for the security of the *Spaniards*. It was added, as an additional reason for taking up arms, that he had posted himself in such a manner, as to obstruct all intercourse between *Cuzco*, *Humanca*, and *Rimac*, on the roads to which his *Indian* subjects pillaged and robbed all the *Spanish* travellers. What truth there might be in this allegation, we cannot positively determine; certain we are, that the grievance was never mentioned before the *Spaniards* found it their interest to quarrel with the inca; and the truth is rendered very suspicious by the following argument, which was urged in council for coming to hostilities; namely, that insurrections might be raised in this empire by the claimant to the imperial dignity, countenanced and supported both by *Indians* and *Spaniards* descended from *Indian* mothers, unless timely precautions were^c used. *Garcilasso*, indeed, positively denies the fact of the robberies, affirming that the inca's friends supplied him with provision brought from the flat country; but never once used violence to a *Spaniard* or even to an *Indian*, unless carrying off some cattle to answer the necessities of nature, to which, however, the inca had a just title, could be construed into rapine and plunder.

The inca *Ta-
pac Amaru*
taken,

THE viceroy, swayed by the opinion of his council, and in great expectation of recovering the hidden treasures of the late incas, ordered a body of troops to be raised under pretence of completing the conquest of *Chili*. *Garcia Loyola* had the command of this corps, which was no sooner formed than he began his march to the mountains of *Vilca Pompa*. Upon the news of his approach, the prince, with his court, fled twenty leagues^d farther into this desert country, and was closely pursued by the *Spaniards*. Upon this he began to reflect, that being neither able to resist their power by open force of arms, nor to elude their search for any considerable time, his best method would be to surrender himself before they were too much irritated, as he was conscious to himself of no crime which should make him dread their vengeance. Accordingly he put himself into the hands of *Loyola*, in full confidence that the *Spaniards* would take pity on a prince whom they found naked and half famished: little did he imagine the cruel persecution that was intended. The attorney-general was immediately directed to make out an impeachment, in which was set forth a number of the most notorious falsities. He was accused of having ordered his servants to plunder the *Spanish* merchants and travellers; of entering into a confederacy^e with the caziques, who lived under the protection of the *Spaniards*, and had lands and lordships assigned them; and of forming a conspiracy to overthrow the present government, and expel the conquerors of *Peru*. Similar processes were formed against divers caziques, and *Spaniards* born of *Indian* mothers, as if they were concerned in the inca's designs of recovering the imperial dignity. In consequence they were all closely imprisoned, many were put to the torture to confess crimes of which they had never been guilty, and give false evidence against their friends and relations, and the most shocking spectacles of tyranny and barbarity were daily exhibited. All the kindred of the inca were banished to *Lima*, where, in the space of two years, they all perished with famine, hard^f labour, or diseases incident to the moisture of that climate; while the unhappy prince himself was condemned to suffer an ignominious death, merely to remove the fears, quiet the suspicions, and gratify the avarice or ambition of the oppressive conquerors. When sentence was passed, his supposed crimes were proclaimed by the common crier, to give the colour of justice to the most iniquitous proceedings. When his fate was signified to the inca, his reply was, that he knew of no crime he had committed. If the viceroy entertained any jealousy of him or his people, he might easily quiet those apprehensions by sending him to *Spain*, where he should rejoice to kiss the hands of the king: but it was impossible, he said, that the viceroy could harbour any jealousy; for if his ancestors, with an army of two hundred thousand men, could not resist two hundred *Spaniards*, entire strangers in the country, how could it be conceived that he would attempt recovering his^g dominions with a handful of men against the conquerors, now so greatly multiplied and dispersed in all the provinces? He urged the improbability of his surrendering himself, had he

and condemned
to death.

- a he been conscious of any guilt : he was sensible of his innocence ; and he, therefore, gave himself up to the *Spaniards*, in hopes they would settle upon him the same revenue assigned to his brother. He appealed to the king, and the great *Pachacamac*, from the sentence passed by the viceroy, who, not content with enjoying his empire, must likewise deprive him of his life, without the least colour of offence. “ This, said he, is the price which the perfidious *Spaniard* pays for my empire ; this is the return for my confidence. I am injured, and am therefore to suffer an ignominious death ; but the gods cannot behold such injustice with impunity ; remorse at least will torture the breast of the tyrant !” A prediction which was verified soon after. In such pathetic terms did this unfortunate prince bewail his situation, and exclaim against the cruelty of the viceroy, that all who heard him were deeply affected. The *Spaniards* themselves presented a petition to the viceroy in his behalf, exhorting him not to fally his administration with so inhuman an action, as the murder of a prince deprived of his inheritance, and thrown upon his compassion ; but *Don Francisco de Toledo* was inflexible. He either believed that the inca’s death was essential to the security of the empire, or he had proceeded to such a length that he was ashamed to retract. A scaffold was therefore erected in the most public part of the city, the prince was brought forth from his dungeon, mounted upon a mule, a halter round his neck, with a cryer before him, proclaiming that he was a traitor and rebel to the catholic king. When he ascended the scaffold, he desired to know what the cryer said ; and being informed, he exclaimed in a kind of phrenzy, “ Let it be published to all the world that I am falsely accused, and that I now die, only because it is the pleasure of the tyrant.” With these words he stretched forth his neck to the executioner, his head was severed with one stroke from his body, and the air was immediately filled with the lamentable cries of the *Indians*, and the groans of *Spaniards* themselves, who could not behold this act of barbarity unmoved. Thus ended the male race of the royal blood, and the troubles of *Peru*. *Toledo* was recalled soon after, severely reprimanded by the king for his cruelty, his estate sequestered to the crown, and himself confined to his house, where he died of grief, remorse, and chagrin.
- The inca put to death.
- b
- c

S E C T. XII.

In which the Reader will meet with an Account of the Origin, Kings, Laws, Religion, Learning, &c. of the ancient Mexicans.

WE proceed now to give a concise view of the ancient history of *Mexico*, which, according to the order observed in the preceding volumes of our labours, should have gone before the conquest, but we presumed to make this alteration in the disposition of the work, for reasons extremely obvious. *America* was discovered gradually, in consequence of a series of expeditions made by the *Spaniards*. It would have been improper to enter upon the history and description of the country, before we recited those expeditions, the natural order being to give first an account of the means by which the *Europeans* acquired their knowledge of the *Indians*, and then relate the effects. Had we presented these particulars to our readers, after the manner of the *Spanish* writers, in the order in which they became known to the *Spaniards*, the ancient history must not only have interrupted our narrative of the conquest, but the description of the customs, manners, and provinces of the several kingdoms, would have been dispersed in broken unconnected scraps, which for want of method would afford neither pleasure nor instruction. Yet such is the disposition of *Herrera*, and the best *Spanish* authors; the bad effects of which we experienced in course of the numberless occasions we had to consult these writers. Agreeable to this plan, it is proper we should enquire into the ancient history and manners of the *Mexicans*, before we describe the modern government of that people, or enter upon the description of the country.

*Origin of the
Mexicans.*

If we may give any credit to the *Mexican* tradition, that empire was first inhabited by a savage and barbarous people, who lived naked upon fruits, roots, and the game they took in hunting, at which they were very dexterous. They had no idea of assisting nature, or cultivating the earth; caves, or hollow trees, were their dwellings and houses; laws, and all the acts of civil society, were utterly unknown to them; whence, says *Herrera*, they were called *Chichimecas*, or *Otonnies*, signifying in the language of the country, barbarians. Some of these nations remained unconquered and uncivilized in the mountains in the days of *Cortez*; and we find that general forming alliances with them, and making them subservient to his purpose, in consequence of the information he had of their love of liberty, and detestation of the *Mexican* government. Like the *Tartars* of the northern parts of *Asia*, they migrated from one province to another, just as it answered their convenience; and when they went upon their hunting expeditions, they were attended by their women, the children being left suspended upon the boughs of trees until their return.

THE *Chichimecas* either removed voluntarily from the plains of *Mexico*, or were driven from thence by another people, equally savage, whom the *Spanish* writers call *Navatlacas*, without giving any other account of their origin, than their emerging into light from the seven caves, according to their own tradition, and as the name imports; but where these caves were situated, or what was directly meant by the word, we have no information. *Acosta* indeed relates in general terms, that the *Navatlacas* were composed of seven tribes, who anciently dwelt in those countries, lying between the thirtieth and fortieth degrees of northern latitude; and about the year 820 began to remove to the country denominated *Mexico*, spending eighty years in their progress. This migration was effected by single tribes, who set out on their journey in search of new habitations, and moved on gradually without regard to the rest of the nation, if a people unconnected by laws, or any kind of civil policy, can with propriety be called a nation. Colonies were planted by the way so leisurely, that, according to the christian computation, it was not before the beginning of the tenth century the first tribe called *Suchimilcans*, or gardeners of flowers, established themselves on the south-side of the great lake of *Mexico*, where they built a city, after the name of its founders.

1st Tribe.

THE next tribe that removed from the northern continent, in quest of more comfortable habitations, were the people called *Chalci*, or the race of *Chalcas*. Their migration was several years subsequent to that of the *Suchimilcans*. They likewise arrived on the banks of the *Mexican* lake, were pleased with the situation, and resolving to settle themselves, laid the foundation of the city, called by their name *Chalcas*, signifying, according to the interpretation of *Herrera*, the people of the mouths.

2d Tribe.

THE people called *Tepeacans* were the third tribe that removed from their own country, and fixed themselves on the fertile banks, of this beautiful piece of water. The city

3d Tribe.

which

a which they founded was called *Azapuzalco*, or ant's nest, a term given to express the extraordinary increase and industry of the first inhabitants.

THE people of the adjoining mountains, termed *Calhua*, composed the fourth tribe, 4th Tribe, colonized the eastern banks of the lake, built the city *Texcuco*, and were much admired for the politeness of their manners, and the sweetness of their language, which, according to the *Spanish* writers, greatly excelled all the other dialects of the *Mexican* tongue; whence it appears that all those tribes had one original fundamental language, from which arose the different dialects.

BEFORE the arrival of the tribe called *Tlatleucans*, the four sides of the lake were occupied, which obliged the people to continue their journey across the mountains, and possess themselves of the spot called *Eagle's Valley*, or *Quahunabunac*, now known by the name of the *Marquisate*. Here they built the city *Quahunabunac*, which some writers call *Queruvaca*, in a fruitful, flat, and pleasant valley. 5th Tribe.

THE tribe denominated *Tlascaltecs*, advanced still farther, and seized upon the country called *Tlascala*, or the *Land of Corn*, from its exceeding fertility in grain. They combated the utmost difficulties, not only from the roughness of the countries over which they passed, especially the inhospitable snowy-mountain, but the natives, who are reported to be of gigantic stature, and to have obstinately defeated the pretensions of the strangers. At last, after many bloody battles, they were forced to yield to superior numbers, and retreat, like the rest of the *Chichimecas* and *Otomies*, to inaccessible mountains, where they preserved their liberties against all the power of the *Mexican* empire, until the invasion of the *Spaniards*. 6th Tribe.

AT last arrived the seventh tribe, about three centuries after the migration of the *Suchimilcans*. Some alledged they were called *Mexicans* from their leader *Mexi*. They advanced southwards to seek out new habitations, being told by their god *Vitzliputzli*, that they should obtain the dominion over all the tribes who preceded them, and possess a country abounding in fine feathers, precious mantles, gold, silver, and the most valuable jewels. Relying implicitly on the completion of this prophecy, they began their tedious journey, carrying the image of their god inclosed in a chest, supported by the shoulders of four priests to whom the deity, according to their tradition, revealed the course they should take, and the accidents that would occur in the journey. From these priests, who found means to persuade this simple people that they were inspired, the *Mexicans* received laws, religious rites and all the regulations of civil society. They never pitched or removed their camp but by the advice of these sacred impostors; the priests directed when they should decamp, and when settle, probably as it answered their own convenience, and contributed to support their influence. Whenever they halted, an altar was erected in the midst of the camp, under the auspices of the priests, upon which the idol rested, who was supposed to issue directions with respect to sowing, reaping, and building. Many years were consumed in this migration, before the *Mexicans* reached the promised land. Colonies were left behind, and the course of their journey was marked with instances of their ignorance, superstition, and industry. At length they arrived at *Mechoacan* where they proposed terminating their labours: but the god was displeased with their design; he thundered down his vengeance, and in one night a multitude of the *Mexicans* perished. Probably disputes arose about the place they should chuse for their abode, and the bloodshed which followed was ascribed to the anger of the divinity. For this reason the *Mexicans* again began their peregrinations, but with such reluctance, that they poured out their complaints in the bosom of a sorceress among them; which coming to the ears of the priests, they declared it was the will of the deity, she and her family should be left behind. The sorceress finding herself abandoned, founded a town called *Malinalco*, ever since reputed famous for witchcraft, assigned for the residence of the magicians employed in the service of the emperors, as appears by what we have reported of *Moteczuma's* ordering the necromancers to stop the progress of *Cortez*. *Acosta* relates a number of fabulous particulars from the *Mexican* tradition, which we will not stop to transcribe; sufficient it is that all the lands round the lake being already occupied, this tribe was forced to have recourse to arms and intrigue, to procure a settlement in the spot fixed upon by their deity. At last they obtained a little establishment on certain islands in the lake, on condition of paying a tribute to their countrymen, who founded an exclusive right in conquest and possession. This proving irksome to the free spirit of the people, the priests gave out, that *Vitzliputzli* appeared to them in a dream, and commanded the *Mexicans* to fix their abode in that part of the lake where they should find an eagle perching on a fig-tree, rising out of a rock. Immediately they set out in search of this habitation, and found a most beautiful eagle sitting, as had been described, on the fig-tree, the wings expanded, the eyes fixed upon the sun, and a little bird struggling to get out of her talons. All fell down and worshipped the object; *Herrera* alledges, that they offered

Mexico built.

offered human sacrifices, and sprinkled the tree with the blood of one of the children of the sorcerers, 1-It behind at *Malinalco*. It was on this very spot the *Mexicans* built the city of *Tecuhitlan*, or the *Tuna* tree on a rock. Hence were taken the *Mexican* arms, of an eagle with her wings displayed, gazing intensely upon the sun, a snake in her talons, and one foot resting on the branch of a fig tree, to which the emperor *Charles V.* made some additions after the conquest of the empire by the *Mexicans*. Gratitude to the god was the first care of the *Mexicans*. Accordingly they erected an altar in the midst of the island, in which they reposed the idol of their god, and then fell to work in building a city, which they divided into four quarters, now called the wards of *St. John*, *St. Mary*, *Rotunda*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Sebastian*. They exchanged fish, hogs, and wild fowl, caught in the lake, with their neighbours for timber, stone, and other materials for building; they joined several islands by bridges, filled up great part of the lake with timber and stone-work, and thus raised the foundation of the famous city of *Mexico*, by very early proofs of their genius, invention, and industry. The inhabitants being distributed into the several wards, the great god *Vitzliputzli*, or rather his priests, directed that each should have its tutelary deity to preside over the ward in a subordinate capacity to the supreme divinity. To these the priests gave names, and assigned places of worship; which was no impolitic method of encreasing the number of the sacerdotal tribe, and extending their influence.

8th Tribe.

HERERA mentions an eighth tribe, which migrated from the north, after the building of *Mexico*; and notwithstanding this circumstance is omitted by other historians, it seems to be as well founded as the rest, every one of which is replete with fable and absurdity. This tribe was distinguished by long hoods, which were afterwards adopted by the *Mexicans* in their dances. They first settled at *Tula*, and were ever afterwards distinguished by the appellation of *Tulaticans*, although their last abode was at *Guaxaca*. They were charitable, devout, ingenious, and excellent husbandmen. They contributed greatly to civilize the barbarous inhabitants of the lake, and were held in such high esteem that when any man was complimented on his genius, wisdom, and justice, it was usual to say he was a *Tulotican*.

The Mexicans elect a king.

THE above partition of the city of *Mexico* could not prevent the inhabitants from falling into parties and factions that threatened the destruction of the infant state. Colonies were therefore sent abroad in search of new habitations, that sufficient room might be made for those who remained. Most of the swarms sent off in this manner united, and settling themselves at *Tlatelulco*, soon forgot all respect for the mother-country, grew turbulent, and waged perpetual cruel wars with the *Mexicans*. These foreign attacks, together with the civil commotions which still continued, brought the *Mexicans* to the brink of despair, and obliged them to deliberate upon some method of establishing the harmony and tranquillity of the city. Several proposals were made; but all were attended with some inconvenience, being calculated to elevate one faction upon the ruins of another. The project most universally received was, that a king should be elected, with full power to execute whatever he thought conducive to the safety and interest of his people; but so many of the chiefs put in their claim for this distinguishing proof of superior merit, that in the end it was resolved to chuse a savage out of some of the surrounding nations. The *Mexicans* had been long at variance with the monarch of *Culuacan*, and it was hoped that, by chusing his grandson, the two cities might be united in one common interest, and connected, by a perpetual alliance. The overture was made to the sovereign of *Culuacan*, and accepted. His grandfather married the prince to a young lady of the first quality in his dominions, and then sent the youthful monarch with his consort to govern the *Mexicans*, by whom he was received as a guardian angel. On his arrival he was addressed by a long instructive speech, made by one of the oldest men in the city, giving him to understand, that he was raised to that exalted dignity, not to gratify his appetites, and tyrannize over his subjects, but to watch over their welfare, labour to promote their happiness, undergo much fatigue, and take upon him the whole burden of public affairs. *Acamapixtli* promised all that was enjoined, and confirmed it with an oath; after which a crown was placed on his head, and his hand filled with arrows, to express that he was the defender of the city.

1st King.

FOR a series of years the *Mexicans* were torn in pieces by civil broils and foreign wars; now they became a moderate people, obedient to their sovereign, and sensible of the benefits they deduced from this change in their political system. They not only enjoyed felicity at home, but rose daily in reputation abroad, which excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes and states; whence followed wars and tumults, that for a time disturbed their peaceful tranquillity. Among other princes with whom they were at variance, was the king of *Azaafzalco*, to whom they were forced to make submission, and pay a yearly tribute; which mark of their inferiority so elated that tyrant, that he soon became capricious and

- a and whimsical in his demands, insisting that the *Mexicans* should not only supply him with timber, but sow corn in the water, and pay him the annual produce. The *Mexicans* murmured at the unreasonableness of the imposition; but their God *Vitzliputzli* comforted them with assurances, that this insolence of the *Tepeacans* would be recoiled upon their own heads, with directions how to comply with the absurd demand, and with promises of future rewards, should they persevere in the task without murmuring. He brought them to make floating baskets of reeds, which they filled with earth, and where they sowed corn, the produce of which they paid by way of tribute to the proud tyrant. *Azcapotzalco* was astonished at their ingenuity; but instead of relaxing in his demands, he insisted upon things which he believed were still more impossible, to try whether the *Mexicans* were really magicians as he suspected.
- b The next tribute he imposed was very extraordinary. He demanded, for the acknowledgement of the ensuing year, that certain birds should be brought to him, with their eggs so ready to hatch, that the young should break their shells in his presence; with which the god likewise enabled them to comply. *Acamapixtli* in vain endeavoured to break the galling yoke; the god, say the *Mexicans*, reserved this blessing for a proper season, and this excellent prince yielded his last breath, after a reign of more than forty years spent in beautifying the city, building bridges, regulating his dominions, and performing every duty of a great and good monarch. Many of the canals and aqueducts, so much admired by the *Spaniards*, were the work of *Acamapixtli*; who, notwithstanding he left a numerous family, would appoint none of his children for his successor, saying, that his people had a right to dispose of themselves as they thought proper, and that to impose a sovereign upon them was to deprive them of their natural liberty.
- c

THE children of the deceased monarch reaped the fruits of this instance of moderation. With one voice the *Mexicans* proclaimed *Vitzilicutli* the successor to his father's dignity, as soon as the funeral obsequies of the late prince were performed. He was crowned and anointed with the utmost ceremony, and adored in a manner little inferior to the gods. It was the custom of the *Mexicans* to appoint one of the elders of the city to infuse salutary maxims in the breast of the new monarch, by a formal harangue, pronounced before the assembled people. The sage chosen for this purpose recommended it to *Vitzilicutli*, as the duty of a prince, to be the guardian of the infirm, the aged, the widow, and orphan; to be the father of the public, and to study the happiness of the people, whom he called the feathers of his wings, the balls of his eyes, and the ornament of his countenance. Immediately after his coronation, the young monarch, by the advice of his council, married the daughter of *Azcapualco*, the inveterate enemy of his country, in hopes of reconciling the two nations; and the project succeeded so far, that the whole tribute was remitted, except two fowls and some fish, which was yearly sent as a testimony of the vassalage of the *Mexicans*.

- d
- NOT long after, this prince died, and the people elected in his room his son *Chilupa-* 3d King.
poca, out of respect to his grand-father, altho' he was then but ten years of age; but
- e *Azcapualco* dying, the treacherous *Tepeacans* murdered the minor king of *Mexico*, and thereby revived the antient animosities of the two nations. To conduct the war that ensued, the *Mexicans* chose *Izcoalt* for their fourth king.

- IZCOALT* was a prince of great valour and prudence, inheriting all the virtues of his illustrious father, the royal *Acamapixtli*. He declared war against the *Tepeacans*, and pursued it with so much success, that the enemy were entirely subdued, and the dominions reduced to a province of the empire. His nephew *Tlacaclec*, the greatest warrior of his time, was at the head of the *Mexican* troops; and this general no sooner finished the *Tepeacan* war, than he turned his arms against the cities *Tacuba*, *Cacoaycan* *Suchimilco*, and all the tribes surrounding the lake of *Mexico*, whom he defeated and compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of his monarch. Every thing succeeded with the fortunate *Izcoalt*, who may properly be deemed the founder of the *Mexican* empire; because in his reign the city first extended her authority over the warlike nations of the lake, acquired the reputation of superior power and valour, and established that system of legislation, which was soon adopted by all the barbarians inhabiting this immense tract of country. He made some very considerable alterations in the political constitution of the *Mexicans*, by convincing them of the inconvenience resulting from popular elections, and persuading them to transfer their right of chusing their sovereigns to six electors, whom he nominated, namely, the kings of *Tezcuc* and *Tecuba*, and four princes of the blood royal. The people consented to this infraction on their liberties, and were never afterwards permitted to intermeddle in elections. Some of the great causeways were also built by *Izcoalt*, particularly that of *Suchimilco*, this being the punishment inflicted upon the conquered city, which the *Mexican* prince thought the most probable means of preventing her revolt, an immediate communication being opened with the capital.
- f
- g

AFTER

5th King.

AFTER a prosperous reign of twelve years *Izcoalt* died, and the elders met for the election of a successor. The general *Tlacuellec*, whom *Herrera* calls *Tlacaellec*, was one of the number, and had by his virtues acquired such influence, that his nephew *Moteczuma*, the first of that name, was raised unanimously to the throne of *Mexico*. To this prince is ascribed the barbarous custom of sacrificing all prisoners taken from the enemy, to add to the solemnity of his coronation; a custom founded on the savage policy of this warlike people, intimating, that warlike abilities were the most essential qualities in a monarch. To express his readiness to lay down his life for his country, *Moteczuma* was no sooner placed before the sacred fire in the temple, where the oath was administered to him, than he drew blood from the veins of his arms and legs, with the sharp bone of a tiger, and sprinkled the altar. Immediately after he invaded the *Chalci*, conducted the war in person, proved victorious, and returned triumphant with a multitude of captives, the principal of whom he sacrificed on the day of his inauguration. The *Chalci*, however, were obstinate; they were defeated, but not conquered. The war went on with great vigour, and cost *Moteczuma* the life of a brother; who, being taken prisoner by the enemy, had an offer of being raised to the royal dignity. This extraordinary proposal he rejected until he could speak with his countrymen; and to gratify a prince who had gained on the affections of the *Chalci*, they ordered a scaffold to be erected, from which he was allowed to harangue the *Mexicans*. "The gods forbid, said he, that I should be dazzled by the
 "splendor of a crown into treason. Learn of me, ye *Mexicans*, the duty which you owe
 "to your king and your country;" with which words he flung himself headlong from the scaffold, and perished. All admired the virtue of this young prince, the *Chalci* were inconsolable, and *Moteczuma* was animated to revenge his death. Several bloody battles were fought, and the *Chalci* entirely subdued, after an obstinate struggle. The *Mexican* altars reeked with the streaming blood of the prisoners, sacrificed to the manes of the prince; and hence this custom came to be established, it being afterwards usual in all the wars, to offer up the blood of their unfortunate captives to the gods.

T L A C A E L L E C was still at the head of the forces. To his good conduct chiefly was owing the reduction of the *Chalci*, and of all the nations bordering on the north and south seas; but he was less successful in the wars against the *Tlascalans*. This brave people had formed themselves into a republic, and defended their liberties with unparalleled courage. They foiled all the address of the *Mexican* general, and with greatly inferior forces withstood the utmost efforts of the numerous armies of the enemy. The *Mexican* tradition, and from it *Acosta* alledges, that *Moteczuma* suffered the *Tlascalans* to maintain their independency, only that he might have an enemy to exercise the *Mexican* youth in war, and furnish the altars of the gods with sacrifices; notwithstanding which boast, it is certain, that many serious attempts were made to reduce a nation that was considered as a galling thorn in the sides of the *Mexican* emperors. When *Moteczuma* had secured himself against all foreign attacks, he applied to the civil œconomy of his kingdom; which, upon account of his vast conquests, required extraordinary regulations and changes. He settled the royal court with great state and magnificence; he established courts of judicature in all the provinces; appointed censors to examine into the manners of the people; and, lastly, built that celebrated temple to the god *Vitzliputzli*, so much admired by the *Spaniards*, and so minutely described by all the historians of that nation.

6th King.

AFTER a reign of twenty-eight years, in which he displayed the virtues of a good citizen, an experienced general, and a wise monarch, *Moteczuma* died, leaving the crown to be disposed of at the pleasure of the electors. The general *Tlacaellec* had considerably enlarged his influence during the late reign. His glorious victories rendered him extremely popular; the conquests he had made, added greatly to the grandeur and power of the empire; and the civil regulations which he projected, contributed to secure the happiness of the people. It was no wonder then, if the *Mexicans* were desirous of raising to the supreme dignity a person so well qualified to govern. All the electors voted with one voice that he should be rewarded with the imperial diadem; but the prudence of *Tlacaellec* triumphed over his ambition, and resisted all the importunity of the *Mexicans*. He positively refused to accept the crown for himself, while he recommended *Tezazic*, the eldest son of the late monarch, to their favour. It is difficult to imagine what could induce the general to this choice. *Tezazic* was pusillanimous, weak, and equally unfit to extend his dominions by war, or to render his empire respectable in peace; however, as *Tlacaellec* undertook to supply the deficiencies of his capacity, the young prince was elected, anointed, and crowned, with the usual ceremonies. The practice of the last monarch had established it as a custom, that every new elected sovereign should immediately distinguish his merit, by the reduction of some neighbouring nations. *Tezazic*, much against his inclination, was obliged to comply with a custom, now regarded as essential to the constitution, and an indispensable condition of his election. He therefore set
 out

a out with an army to subdue a province, and behaved so ill, that he returned with great loss, and disappointed in his purpose. However, he kept up the appearance of a conqueror, endeavouring to divert the attention of the *Mexicans* from his misconduct, by shews and festivals; at one of which he was poisoned, after a short inglorious reign of no more than four years.

ALTHOUGH the recommendation of *Tlacuellec* proved unfortunate in this instance, he nevertheless preserved his influence. The choice of a successor was referred to him; and the general, out of gratitude to the memory of *Moteczuma*, nominated *Axayaca*, the second son of that monarch, and brother to the lately deceased sovereign. Old age disqualified *Tlacaellec* from commanding the army in person; his son was therefore raised to the dignity of general in chief of the *Mexican* armies by the grateful *Axayaca*; soon after which the venerable *Tlacaellec* died, and was buried with all the honours due to his extraordinary merit, and attachment to the royal family.

THE first expedition made by *Axayaca* was against the province of *Tecomtipique* and *Guat-ulco*, two hundred miles to the southward of *Mexico*, which he subdued, after defeating the enemy in a pitched battle. He returned in triumph to the city attended with a crowd of captives, whom he sacrificed in the temples at his coronation, and then set out upon another expedition against *Tlatelulco*, in which he was equally fortunate (A). The remainder of this prince's reign was pacific and happy; eleven years being spent, from the time of his coronation, in subduing his enemies, enlarging his dominions, augmenting his reputation, and promoting the felicity of his people.

WHEN the throne became vacant by the death of *Axayaca*, the electors chose *Autzal*, one of their own number, to the supreme dignity. This prince was nothing inferior to the most glorious of his predecessors in valour, wisdom, affability, and every virtue that graces and distinguishes the monarch. Being informed that the inhabitants of *Quax-acatatlan* had committed some violence against the tributaries of his crown, he set out with an army to punish their insolence, and soon reduced the city to submission. Proceeding in the course of conquest, he extended his dominions as far as *Guatemala*, annexing that province, and divers others, to his crown. But the fame of his victories was still inferior to the reputation acquired by his clemency to the conquered, his generosity to his soldiers, charity to the poor, and humanity to all. Void of all ostentation, he studied only the good of his subjects, and prudently checked that ambition of conquest, which frequently renders the subjects wretched, while it makes the sovereign great. *Autzal* spent his treasures in beautifying and enlarging the city of *Mexico*, in promoting industry, and rendering their habitations convenient to the inhabitants. With this view he brought a river of fresh-water into the city; but was so unfortunate as to drown several houses by an accident. However, he repaired this loss by dint of industry and genius, and completed his design to the great astonishment of all men, who beheld with admiration, so vast a body of water, directed according to the pleasure of the king, sometimes making its way over, and sometimes under mountains. This aqueduct has always been regarded as one of the most ingenious pieces of art in the great city of *Mexico*. He reigned about eleven years, honoured and admired; he died deeply regretted, leaving the throne to be filled by a prince of a different character, equally splendid in his virtues and vices, but more unfortunate than undeserving. This was *Moteczuma* the second of that name, whose history we have already related, the principal event of which was the invasion of the *Spaniards*.

SUCH is the history of the ancient *Mexican* kings, deduced entirely from oral tradition, and consequently replete with manifold falsities, the most glaring and absurd of which we have thought proper to expunge, though we will not presume to vouch for the truth of all we have been obliged to retain. The earlier ages of the most civilized nations, even of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, is filled with the most incredible fictions and absurd fables; what then shall we think of the ancient history of a people who were ignorant of the use of letters, and forced to convey their ideas to posterity, either by impressing them deeply on the minds of their children, or committing them to the perishable materials of cotton in hieroglyphical signs, so imperfect as frequently to admit of various interpretations?

WE may form some idea of the genius and learning of the *Mexicans* from the manner in which they adjusted their kalender. This they disposed and regulated by the sun's

(A) *Herrera* and *Acoſta* have adopted a fabulous part of the *Mexican* tradition with respect to this war, which they seem to credit as a certainty. They relate, that the enemy metamorphosed themselves into swans, geese, and frogs; were encountered in this shape by the *Mexican* kings; defeated with great loss, and as a punishment obliged to imitate the cries of the animals whose figures they had assumed. *Herrera* alledges, that to this day the *Tlaleluncans* are bantered with this ridiculous punishment (1).

(1) *Vide dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.*

motion, making his altitude and declination the measure of times and seasons. To every year were allowed three hundred and sixty-four days, which they divided into eighteen months, assigning to each month twenty days. Thus the remaining four days they added at the end of each year, to make it answer the course of the sun. They believed that these four days were designedly left by their ancestors to be employed in mirth and recreation, for which reason they devoted them entirely to dissipation. Industry ceased, shops were shut up, the course of justice was stopt, and even the rites of religion were neglected during this period. Nothing but diversion was regarded, the *Mexicans* signifying by this their intention of renewing the labours of the ensuing year with renovated vigor, the beginning of which they placed on the first day of the spring, differing from the solar year, according to the computation of their astronomers, only three days, which they took from our month of *February*. a
b

BESIDES the division of the year into days and months, the *Mexicans* had an intermediate division of time into weeks, each of which consisted of thirteen days, with particular names, marked in their kalendar by certain images. Their age consisted of fifty-two years, or four weeks of years, the distribution of which was extremely ingenious, and described in the following manner by the elegant *Antonio de Solis*. They drew a large circle, which they divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing one year to each degree. In the centre stood the image of the sun, from which proceeded four rays of various colours, equally dividing the circle, and leaving thirteen degrees to each semi-diameter. These divisions were calculated to represent the signs of their zodiac, upon which their ages had their revolutions, and the sun his aspects, prosperous or adverse, according to the colour of the descendent ray. In a larger circle, inclosing the other, they noted with their hieroglyphical signs and characters all the accidents and occurrences of the age worthy of being transmitted to posterity; so that the *Mexican* kalendar was a kind of chronological register of facts, and annals that greatly assisted their oral tradition, by giving the fundamental points of those transactions upon which their writers, poets, and historians expatiated. *De Solis* calls the kalendar a species of secular maps, or public instruments, which served for a proof of their history; still, however, these hieroglyphical signs and characters were imperfect, and liable to misconstruction. Schools were instituted, wherein the youth were taught to celebrate the great actions of their heroes, and the most memorable events of the preceding ages, upon which the *Mexicans* relied much more than upon their kalendar. Upon the whole, imperfect as this method must appear to us who are acquainted with the use of letters, it must be acknowledged to be an ingenious substitute, and among the wisest institutions of the *Mexican* government; as the very recital of these martial achievements must necessarily inflame the youth with a desire of emulating the glory of their ancestors. c
d

IN the *Mexican* computation of their ages, there was a strong tincture of absurd superstition. They believed that the world was in danger of being destroyed, when the sun had completed the course of those four greater weeks; and when the close of this period arrived, they seriously prepared to sustain the shock of this dreadful and ultimate calamity. On the last night they bid farewell to the light of the sun with tears and moans; they expected death without previous sickness, they extinguished their fires, broke their household furniture, neglected their food, and abandoned themselves to sorrow. Thousands might be seen walking about the fields, agitated with the most violent transports of despair, until the dawn of the succeeding day revived hope, when they saluted the rising sun with all their musical instruments, with hymns and songs that expressed their tumultuous joy. They congratulated each other, that a new age was begun, and they should no more be subject to similar danger for the space of two and fifty years; for which blessing they crowded to their temples, to return thanks to their gods by sacrifices, and to receive from their priests new fire, which they kept burning with the utmost violence for the whole day before the altar, the night concluding with songs, dancing, and other diversions, dedicated to the renewal of time, in much the same manner as the *Romans* celebrated their secular games. *Herrera* affirms, that in *Yucatan*, and several other provinces of *New Spain*, the inhabitants had bound books, with leaves, on which were inscribed the virtues of plants and animals, the equation of time, and all the memorable events of preceding ages. "In the province of *Mexico Proper*, says he, they had a library of histories and kalendars, wherein they painted such things as had proper figures in their natural representations, and others that had none, with arbitrary characters." By which he would seem to intend, that sensible beings were represented by their pictures, and abstract ideas typified by certain fixed characters and symbols, similar to our art of writing and painting. e
f
g

Religion of the
Mexicans.

WITH respect to the religious rites and ceremonies of the *Mexicans*, they were replete with such absurdities, cruelties, indecencies, and obscenities, as detract greatly from the good

- a good sense conspicuous in the people, and cannot well be described consistently with the strict decorum to be observed in history. Amidst a multitude of lesser gods, and the obscurity and blindness of their idolatry, they still acknowledged one supreme Deity, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, the Author of all good things, and the Principle by which we live, move, and have our being. To express this great original of all things, the *Mexican* language wanted a term, no words being thought sufficient to describe his attributes. They only signified their belief in the existence of this Deity by casting their eyes towards heaven with profound veneration; and giving him, after their way, the attribute of ineffable, in the same manner as the *Athenians* worshipped the *Unknown God*. Notwithstanding they ascribed omnipotence to the supreme Deity, they had no conception of ubiquity and omnipresence; they could not believe, that it was possible that the same God could govern the whole universe without the assistance of inferior ministering gods. They were persuaded there were no gods in the other parts of the heavens, until men began to grow miserable in proportion as they multiplied. They regarded the inferior gods as favourable spirits, produced as there appeared occasion, without shrinking at all at the absurdity of supposing them to owe their existence and divine nature to the miseries of human nature. They entertained an imperfect notion of the immortality of the soul, and of eternal rewards and punishments in a future state; though their ideas of virtue, vice, and moral rectitude, were extremely gross and absurd. Like most other savage nations, who pushed their inquiries to futurity, they blended the most ridiculous superstitions with evident truths, and buried great quantities of gold and silver with their deceased, to bear the charges of a tedious journey to the next world. Princes were honoured with mausoleums of great extent and magnificence; and it was usual with women to bury themselves also with their husbands, to testify their affection. The funeral of a prince was a dreadful spectacle; his whole household was obliged to accompany him to the next world, or to be stigmatized in this with ingratitude to their benefactor; a vice of the blackest dye among the *Mexicans*. The bodies were conducted with great pomp and solemnity to the temples, from whence the priests came forth to receive them with their copper censers, burning incense, and singing elegies and dirges to the accompaniment of hoarse, ill tuned flutes; the whole forming a melancholy, dreadful discord. The funeral obsequies of a great man continued for ten days, during each of which some of his vassals or servants offered themselves voluntary sacrifices, in order to render his dreary journey to eternity more easy by their services. The corpse was handed to the place of interment by all the ensigns and trophies belonging to the deceased. In a word, cruelty and pride obscured all the lights held forth by reason and superstition, rendering the *Mexicans* more wretched than if they had never carried their thoughts beyond the present existence. Funerals.

- Next to the supreme God, the ancient *Mexicans* held the sun, moon, the morning-star, and the sea, in the greatest honour. It was to compliment *Cortez* with divine honours they called him the offspring of the sun. The idol *Vitzliputzli* was their greatest sensible god; he presided over all the lesser idols; and, as some imagine, was the representative of the invisible God. The idol nearest in quality to this god, was the deity of penance and remission of sins, whom they called *Texcalitliputca*, made of jet black marble, and finely adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. In his left hand the idol held a pen of beautiful feathers, issuing from a plate of finely burnished gold, in which he held some darts, intimating the punishment he inflicted upon the wicked; and his throne was adorned with human skulls and bones, to denote his presiding over famine and pestilence. At *Chalula*, the inhabitants adored a famous idol, stiled the God of Commerce, because the people of that city employed themselves in merchandize. The figure and ornaments of this deity were expressive of his attributes; but one essential quality of all the *Mexican* idols was, to have an aspect hideously ugly, by way of inspiring terror. It would be tedious to specify all the lesser deities of both sexes adored by the *Mexicans*; we shall therefore only observe, that they frequently raised living men to divine honours, giving their prisoners the name of the idol to whom they were to be sacrificed. For the space perhaps of a whole year, they were treated with the honours thought due to the idol, worshipped in its stead, adorned with the jewels of the god, and fed with the most delicious offerings. When a prisoner was intended to be sacrificed, he walked along the streets, the people flocked round and worshipped him; they held forth their children and sick, that he might come and bless them; but care was taken that he should always be attended by a strong guard, to prevent his escaping.

THE *Mexican* priests were divided into the same orders and classes as the gods whom they served; those of the great idol *Vitzliputzli* succeeded to the sacred office by a kind of inheritance, the right of becoming the ministers of this god being vested in certain families. The priests of the other temples were by election, though many of them had been offered up to that function from their infancy. The sacerdotal office was one of the most Mexican priests.
lucrative

lucrative and important in the state, as the clergy had great influence in all political and civil affairs, directing not only the consciences of the people, but the judgment of the sovereigns; in return for which they were obliged to perform certain rigid and painful penances, as the price of the honour and esteem in which they were held by all degrees of mankind. The high priest was likewise the sacrificer; he first plunged the knife into the breast of the unhappy victim, and tore out the heart of the bleeding sacrifice, which his blind zeal enabled him to perform without remorse, and regard as an action of sublime piety and devotion.

Marriages.

AMONG the *Mexicans*, marriages bore the form of civil contracts, blended with certain religious ceremonies. The preliminary articles being adjusted, the contracted pair appeared in the temple, and one of the priests sounded their inclinations, by certain ceremonial questions, appointed by law for that purpose. He then took the tip of the woman's veil in one hand, and a corner of the man's garment in the other, and tied them together, to express the indissoluble union of the lovers, and inseparable tie of their affections. Nor did this ceremony complete their marriage; the pair returned to their habitations, under this emblem of the nuptial yoke, visited the domestic fire, accompanied by the same priest, and offered worship to that element, which they believed essential to their union and happiness. They surrounded it seven times, after which they sat down to receive equal shares of the treat, and then the marriage was thought to be accomplished. The portion brought by the bride was registered in a public instrument, that every part of it might be faithfully restored, in case of a separation, which frequently happened. Here the law laid no restraint on inclination; mutual consent was judged sufficient cause for a divorce. The parties were supposed to be best acquainted with their own affections; and as their happiness was chiefly concerned, they were left to be their own judges; an institution which under certain restrictions, ought perhaps to be adopted, even on political principles, by more civilized nations; unless marriage be supposed a religious rite, ordained by the christian doctrine in its present form. When the nuptial tie was dissolved, and the parties separated, the boys became the care of the father, while the mother was enjoined to provide for the girls; and it was capital even again to unite or cohabit, that a due restraint might be laid on caprice and sudden transports of anger and violent passion. Thus, notwithstanding the natural fickleness of the people, divorces were extremely rare, and more instances of connubial happiness were to be seen in *Mexico* than in any other country. The danger incurred by attempting cohabitation after the dissolution of the nuptial bond, was sufficient to prevent their giving way to slight sallies of resentment, while any sparks of mutual affection remained; and the law thought it unreasonable to oblige two persons to inseparable union, who entertained for each other only sentiments of disgust. The *Mexicans* were extremely delicate of the chastity and conduct of their wives, as a point in which the honour of the husband was deeply concerned; so that amidst that boundless licentiousness with which they indulged their sensual appetites, they abhorred and punished adultery with the utmost rigour; less upon account of the atrociousness of the crime, than the inconveniences resulting.

Baptism.

As soon as a child was born, the infant was carried to the temple with great solemnity, and received by a priest, who pronounced a grave and pathetic oration upon the troubles and miseries to which it was doomed on entering into this life of wretchedness and corruption. In the right hands of infants of distinction the priest put a sword, and in the left a shield, to express the military life to which they were destined. Mechanical instruments were put into the hands, of the male children of plebeian extraction, and the females of every degree were adorned with the spindle and distaff, intimating the proper sphere of the more tender sex. This ceremony being ended, the infants were brought up to the altar, and a kind of circumcision was performed, by drawing blood from the privy parts with the prickle of maguey, after which they were dipped in water, while certain barbarous innovations were repeated. A ridiculous kind of communion was likewise observed at stated periods by the *Mexicans*, which the priests administered with great devotion, by dividing into small bits, a paste idol, which they called the god of *Penitence*. We need not observe the near resemblance of these institutions to those of the *Jewish* and *Christian* religions; it must strike the imagination of the most careless reader; yet we cannot avoid once more repeating, that many of the rites and ceremonies of the *Mexicans* were so barbarous in their nature, so shocking to humanity, so absurd, bestial, and incongruous, as to seem altogether incompatible with the regularity and undeniable œconomy observable in other parts of the government. One of the most detestable, though originally founded on policy, was the human sacrifices made to the gods; which was carried to so great a pitch of religious fury, that twenty thousand, on times, have sprinkled the altars with their blood in a single day. In one word, the *Mexican* religion was an abominable compound

a compound of impiety, absurdity, and cruelty, rendered more glaring by the accidental ray of natural reason, which sometimes enlightened the dreadful object.

It has already been observed, that the ancient government of the *Mexicans* was at first popular or republican; that the factions into which the people were divided obliged them to elect a sovereign; that the power of election was lodged in the hands of the whole body of the community: but this being found attended with inconveniences, it was delegated to the kings of *Teczeuco* and *Tacuba*, and four princes of the blood royal. We also observed that the king elect, after the reign of the first *Moteczuma*, was obliged, previous to his coronation, to invade some neighbouring nation, to augment the dominions of the crown, and to return with a number of captives, whom he was to sacrifice to the gods at his inauguration. In his return in triumph from this expedition, the monarch was met by the nobility, the ministers of state, and the chief personages of the sacerdotal function, who conducted him to the temple of the god of war, shed the blood of the human victims, then clothed the prince in the imperial robes, put a golden sword, edged with sharp flints, in his right hand, and in his left a bow and arrows, to express his supreme authority over all matters civil and military. The diadem was then placed on his temples by the sovereign of *Teczeuco*, the first elector of the empire; and one of the oldest ministers made him a speech, congratulatory and exhortatory, to the purpose we have already related. He was anointed by the high-priest with a kind of balm, jet-black, sprinkled with consecrated water; and, after receiving the blessing of this religious sage, adorned with a mantle, on which were painted the images of skulls and human bones, to remind him of his mortality. Several drugs, medicines, charms, and incantations, were likewise used at the coronation, to preserve the prince from the infection of diseases, and the power of enchantments; after which he offered incense to the god *Vitzliputzli*, and took an oath to maintain the religion and customs of his ancestors, to preserve the people in all their rights and privileges, and to render his subjects happy, and his empire powerful. It is also reported that he was obliged to swear, that the sun should shine by day, and the rains fall in their proper seasons; and that the land should neither be infested with plagues, famines, nor inundations, during his reign; by which it was not understood that the prince had power over the elements, but that he should do nothing to cause the vengeance of heaven, or draw down the punishment of his sins upon his innocent people.

IMMEDIATELY after the king's coronation, his court was appointed. His household and guards were magnificent beyond imagination; but as we have described many of these particulars in the history of the conquest of *Mexico*, it will be sufficient to repeat that *Moteczuma* II's court was splendid beyond that of any of his predecessors. No less than two hundred noblemen of the first distinction formed his body-guard, and served him with profound reverence at table. *De Solis* makes the number still greater, and describes the worship paid to the emperor as of a piece with the adoration shewn to the gods. No less than three thousand women were kept in the palace to gratify the lust of this monster of sensuality, who, in other respects, was a prince of great spirit, policy, and magnificence. In former reigns, the palace was crowded with concubines; but *Moteczuma* greatly augmented the number, and selected them from the virgins first in quality and beauty in his empire, either given by their relations, or violently extorted by way of tribute to the sovereign. Two of these ladies, the prince's favourites, were particularly distinguished, and the *Spanish* writers honour them with the title of queens; but whether they acquired this pre-eminence from their superior quality, from the peculiar favour of the sovereign, or in consequence of some contract before they were taken to the royal bed, we are not informed.

THE revenues of the crown have before been mentioned; they were indeed enormous, but the chief fund arose from the voluntary or extorted contributions of the people. All the laborious citizens and merchants of this vast empire contributed a third of their profits to support the imperial dignity. Officers were appointed, who made regular circuits to collect the revenue, in which they never suffered any deficiency, from whatever accident it might arise. The poor were stripped of their all, and the rich obliged to pay for the necessities of their inferiors. Whatever became of the subject, the monarch must be maintained in the utmost splendor and luxury of pomp.

THESE were gross imperfections in the *Mexican* government, which nevertheless was not devoid of excellencies. There was a remarkable harmony among the different departments of the constitution. There was a council of state, a council or board to manage the royal revenue, a council of war, which regulated every thing relative to the army; a supreme council of justice, and a board of trade and commerce. We shall relate the prerogatives of the principal of these, from whence the reader may form a pretty accurate idea of the ancient constitution of the *Mexican* empire. In the council of state were de-

bated all matters of great importance; such as the imposing taxes, framing laws, forming alliances, or declaring war or peace. In this the king was supreme, and indeed arbitrary, when he chose to dissent from his counsellors, whom *Moteczuma II.* consulted, rather out of form than regard to the constitution. The supreme tribunal of justice resided at *Mexico*, and consisted of twelve judges, who determined all appeals from the lower courts, and gave a final verdict, unless the emperor thought proper to interpose. The towns and provinces had their proper judges and officers, who heard the parties and decided causes. Their decisions were summary and verbal; both sides appeared with their claims and witnesses, and judgment was immediately given, except when the point in litigation was too intricate for the determination of that court, in which case it was remitted to the superior tribunal at *Mexico*. There could be no bills nor answers, no tedious declarations and pleadings, to obscure truth and confound the judges, because there was no writing, which in this instance might be considered as a felicity. Unadorned facts and naked truth, undisguised by sophistry and rhetoric, alone prevailed; and if justice was at all perverted, the cause was immediately known, namely, that it was the pleasure of the sovereign it should be so, with which the people readily acquiesced. Custom and the institutions of their ancestors usually regulated the conduct of the judges. Rewards and punishments were dispensed with the greatest caution, and most rigid regard to justice. Murder, theft, adultery, and even the appearance of treason, were punished with death; sodomy and robbery too were deemed capital crimes; but some writers alledge, that the first instance of theft and robbery was punished only with the loss of liberty, and the second with the loss of life: Corruption in the ministers was capital; but slighter misdemeanours were easily pardoned, says *De Solis*, in a country where religion itself deformed justice by tolerating vice. The crimes committed by the magistrates were closely inspected by the prince, and always severely punished. This must be confessed from the superficial view of the *Mexican* policy exhibited by the *Spanish* writers, that they were possessed of some moral virtues. Their integrity and strict regard to that kind of justice with which they were acquainted, was sufficient to redress injuries, and maintain society among fellow citizens. The *Mexicans*, amidst all their impieties, impurities, and absurdities, still preserved some regard to that primitive equity implanted in the human soul, when men had no laws, because they were ignorant of crimes.

THE council of war nominated all inferior officers, issued out the pay of the soldiers, took care that the army was properly supplied with provision and every other necessary, and recommended to the royal notice those officers who had distinguished their zeal for the public service by their courage or capacity. As the government was in a great measure military, the soldiers were more favoured than any other degree of people. They sooner rose to great fortunes, to dignities, posts and employments, and even to civil titles and honours, than persons of the same quality of any other profession. Wherever the troops resided, they were distinguished by particular privileges and immunities; for this reason the nobility and gentry flocked to the army as the regular channel of preferment. It was therefore easy for the *Mexican* government to maintain a prodigious army, where men of fortune served at their private expence, in hopes of raising themselves to the royal notice by their merit. Besides, the caziques, and curacas, or governors of provinces, were obliged to bring a certain number of men into the field when required; and, if we may credit *De Solis*, the emperor of *Mexico* had thirty vassals, who could each of them raise a hundred thousand able-bodied soldiers; which alone sufficiently demonstrates the power of the empire, and renders next to supernatural the conquest of the *Spaniards*. These troops were commanded by their respective princes in person, who all received their orders from the emperor in person, or his representative. In all wars of great importance the emperor took the field, it being deemed extremely impolitic to commit great armies to the care of subjects, as it might be the means of seducing them from the fidelity they owed to the crown, and exciting an ambition which before lay dormant, because it was not roused into action. Military honours were instituted as rewards to those who had eminently distinguished their valour; they were of different kinds, in order to discriminate between the different degrees of merit. Some wore the eagle for a badge, others the tyger, and a third the lion, as the devices of their several orders. There was one of a superior nature, to which none but princes were raised, whatever merit they might possess. Of this order the emperor himself was always a member. They wore their hair tied back with a red ribbon, to which were suspended a number of tassels, which hung down their shoulders, according to the exploits they performed, a new one being added every time they performed any signal action. This was an admirable contrivance to excite emulation; and the honours were eagerly sought after, because they were never abused or conferred on the unworthy by court-favour. Signal services alone gave a title to those

- a those dignities, and it was necessary that the exploits of which they were the rewards, should be performed in the presence of the whole army, before those promoted could procure respect or esteem.

THE council of trade and commerce was strictly united to that of the revenue. They conferred together on the means of rendering the impositions on commerce most advantageous to the crown, and least oppressive to the subject. The board of trade examined all projects offered for the benefit of commerce, promoted them if approved, and rejected them if they were found inadequate to the purposes intended. They also adjusted and regulated all differences among merchants, and rated the market-prices of all commodities. We have, upon a former occasion, minutely described the great fair of *Mexico*,
b at which the officers of the crown and the board presided, which may suffice to convey an idea of the prerogatives, and the utility of this board.

WE must take notice of the care taken by the *Mexicans* of the education of their children, and the diligence with which they studied their inclinations, as one of the most laudable institutions of their policy. Public schools were erected for the children of plebeians; and colleges, or seminaries of more polite learning, for the sons of the nobility. The method of education was adapted to the peculiar genius of the child, and the station in life in which he was to act. There were respective masters for every different branch of education, for infants, children, and youth, who had the authority of the king's ministers, and were justly regarded in that important light, because they formed
c those principles and qualifications, which afterwards fitted their pupils for the service of their country. In these seminaries the young men spent their lives, until they were fit to emerge into light, embark in the publick service, and pursue those professions in which they were instructed. One of the first branches of education was to decypher those signs and characters, of which their kalendar and historical register was composed; and to recite, by memory, those songs which contained the valiant actions of their ancestors, and the praises of their gods. In the next superior class, they were taught modesty, humility, a gentle mild behaviour, and those qualities of the mind which endear men to the world, and prove so agreeable and useful to the peace and felicity of society. This was a species of ethical learning, by which moral habits were inculcated instead of refined speculative
d principles; the masters were, therefore, of greater reputation and ability than the former, eminently skilled in the human heart, and fully practised in the means of contending with youthful inclinations, and correcting violent passions. When the youth had acquired what was deemed a sufficient moral knowledge, and were supposed able to bend their passions to reason, they passed on to the third class, where they employed themselves in robust exercises, and were taught to govern strength by dexterity and address; they raised heavy weights; they wrestled, and vied with each other in running and leaping. They were instructed in the use of arms, how to handle the sword, throw the dart, and shoot the arrow with force and exactness, in which many became extraordinary proficient. They were inured to hunger, thirst, fatigue, hardened against the inclemencies of the
e weather, and formed in all respects in the rudiments of the military art, as far, at least, as it was understood in *Mexico*. When the young nobility returned home, they were then allowed to pursue their inclinations, and to embrace a civil, military, or religious life, just as they thought proper; it being very reasonably supposed, they would succeed best in that sphere to which they were led by inclination, without any compulsion from their parents. The military life was generally preferred, as the most certain path to preferment and honour; but before it was irrevocably embraced, the children of nobility passed another trial, which merits attention. They were sent to the army to experience the hardships of a campaign, before they enrolled themselves in the military list, and undertook a profession which they might find disagreeable in practice, however pleasing
f it might appear to the imagination. Here they were obliged to carry loads of baggage like the meanest soldiers, to inure them to fatigue, mortify their vanity, and accustom them to subordination and obedience; the most essential part of discipline, and the most difficult to be acquired by a proud ambitious spirit. They were obliged to give proofs of their perseverance, constancy, and valour: none was admitted who changed countenance on sight of the enemy; and it was observable, that these probations proved of the utmost service in battle, all being emulous to signalize themselves, and many plunging headlong into danger, from a persuasion, that some degree of temerity was inseparable from juvenile valour. With these institutions it is scarce conceivable how the *Mexican* empire should have so easily been overthrown; but there was a fatality that seemed to hasten the downfall and ruin of this most powerful and polished nation of all *America*.

Education of children.

S E C T. XII.

Containing the history of the incas, and the religion, government, customs, and manners, of the ancient Peruvians.

Account of the
ancient Peruvians.

THE origin of nations is so involved in obscurity, that little can be related with certainty, respecting the earlier periods, and remoter ages, of the most civilized people, that has any pretensions to antiquity. What fables are intermixed with the histories of *Rome* and *Athens*! Even the origin of modern nations, though posterior to the use of letters, hath its difficulties, and every day furnishes matter of debate among antiquaries: how, therefore, can we expect to find truth unmixed with falshood and absurdity, in the accounts given by the barbarous natives of the origin of those kingdoms and empires, whose subversion afforded the first inlet to the enlightening beams of science, and the bright dawn diffused over every object, by the use of those characters invented happily to carry our ideas to posterity, with the same precision they occurred to our own minds? Accordingly we find, that nothing can be more improbable, superstitious, and ridiculous, than the account given of the *Peruvians*, before they were reduced by their incas to a regular form of government, unless we except the means by which this extraordinary change, and revolution of manners, was effected. The genealogy of the sovereigns favours strongly of that adulation ever paid to the rulers of the world, who are often inferior to the brute creation; while they are regarded by their indiscriminating subjects as something above human. *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the most authentic historian of *Peru*, himself descended, by the mother, from the royal line, lavishes his praises on the incas, as the civilizers and humanizers of a barbarous people, who wandered about like the beasts of the fields, without laws, government, or the least idea of virtue or rational religion. Perhaps he intended to compliment the regal dignity at the expence of human nature; certain it is, that the horrible picture he has drawn of the ancient *Peruvians*, before the foundation of their monarchy, is the highest panegyric on the conduct of the incas. If we may credit this writer, the ancestors of the *Peruvians* were savages, distinguished from the brute creation only by speech, and the human form; they were fierce, ignorant, and cruel, almost beyond belief. We shall begin with their religion, if that term may be applied to such abominable superstitious institutions, every way suitable to their corrupt manners, and grovelling notions.

Religion.

THE ancient *Peruvians*, like the negroes on the coast of *Africa*, had a multiplicity of gods; almost every object that presented itself was raised into a deity. Nations, provinces, tribes, families; and individuals, had their peculiar gods; the *Peruvians* not being able to comprehend how the same deity should be able to attend to the various actions of different persons. Herbs, flowers, trees, shrubs, caves, rivers, and all kinds of animals, were worshipped by this savage people, who sacrificed to those material gods not only their enemies, but their own children. Mountains were adored for their height, trees for their shade, tigers for their ferocity, other animals for other qualities, and many for their power of doing mischief. *Garcilasso* confirms the account of *Blas Valera*, who relates, that the inhabitants of the mountains of the *Andes* were man-eaters, and sacrificed their fellow creatures and even their children to serpents, whom they deified. Prisoners taken in war were immediately quartered and divided for the benefit of the captors, or sold in the shambles. Should any person of distinction happen to have fallen into the hands of this savage tribe, they stripped him of his garments, tied him to a stake, cut him in pieces with knives and sharp stones, pared off all the fleshy muscular parts, and sprinkling the bye-standers with the blood, eat up the flesh with the utmost greediness, before the eyes of the unhappy victim, regarding his excruciating anguish as the most delicious sauce. The women wet their nipples with the blood, that their infant children might partake of the shocking sacrifice. All this was performed by way of religious offering; and when the wretched victim expired in agonies, the remainder of his flesh and bowels were devoured with a more solemn and silent reverence. "Such," says *Garcilasso*, "was the manner of these brutes, because the government of the incas was not received into their country." Nor need we indeed be astonished at the profound veneration with which their race of princes was regarded, if the people ascribed to them the changes wrought on their manners.

Manners.

THE government of the antient *Peruvians* was equally barbarous with their religion. There was no regular system of policy; a few families lived together in caves, rocks, and forests, and roamed for their prey over the country like wild beasts. Neither the arts of building, sowing, planting, or cloathing themselves, were known to these barbarians.

Nature

a Nature produced sufficient for their wants, in the spontaneous roots, fruits, and herbs, of the earth; and the only luxury known, was that of feeding upon the flesh of their fellow-creatures. Sometimes a ruler started up among the *Peruvians*, and then they were reduced for a while to a kind of societies. Whoever had courage or policy enough to acquire a superiority, might easily tyrannize over the whole, and treat them as slaves. When this kind of despotism was established, the situation of the *Peruvians* became still more wretched; no change was wrought in their manners, and they lost their liberty. Their daughters and wives became the property of the tyrant; even their lives were sacrificed to his caprice, and their skins employed in covering drums, to regale the ears of this monster of cruelty. In other parts they lived without lords, passing their days like so many sheep in all simplicity; not that virtue moderated their nature, but that stupidity rendered them equally insensible to good and evil. Even their barbarity was the result of their insensibility. It was no way shocking to them to dispose of the flesh of their prisoners in the shambles, and fatten children, in order to be served up as delicacies to table. Lust unrestrained by laws, customs, or natural decency, was a ruling passion among the *Peruvians*, who propagated like beasts without discrimination, and gratified their appetites with the first woman that offered. Where there was no regular society, there could scarce be any idea of those refined passions of love and friendship, which are the result of communication and mutual converse. No regard was paid to kindred, or affinity of blood, in the gratification of the senses; mothers, daughters, and sisters, were used without distinction. In some countries a kind of nuptial rite was observed; but it was no less depraved than the vicious impulse of nature. Those women who were the most lascivious and incontinent, were the most esteemed. It was the most notorious prostitution of virginity, and most dissolute life in the maiden state, that best recommended to a husband. Certain tribes were charged with preserving inviolate the chastity of their female children to a marriageable age, when they were exposed in publick, and the proofs of their virginity shewn to the whole world; others are taxed with the beastly sin of sodomy; and it is affirmed, that sorcery, witchcraft, and the arts of poisoning, arrived at great perfection in several of the provinces of this empire. These, however, are the tales of tradition, blazon'd out by the royal historian in the strongest colours, only to heighten the compliment intended the incas, by demonstrating the happy effects of their government, and the surprising changes wrought on the manners of the most savage people on earth, by dint of prudence and policy. These effects being supposed to exceed human means, the following fable was invented, to account for the manner in which the *Peruvians* were civilized, and give lustre to the pedigree of the royal line. It is confidently related by *Garcilasso* as a tradition universally believed in his family; and we shall beg leave to transcribe it from his commentaries, rather to shew the genius of the nation, than to gain the belief of the reader.

GARCILASSO having one day questioned the inca, his uncle, concerning the origin of the nation, and the rise of the incas, was answered in these words. "Cousin, I most willingly comply with your request; for it is of consequence for you to know these things, and impress them deeply in your heart. You must therefore understand, that all this region and country was formerly one intire forest and desert, and the people a kind of brutes, devoid of religion and government, destitute of all the arts necessary to society; and ignorant of sowing, reaping, building, spinning, or weaving. They dwelt in pairs in caves in the rocks and mountains, fed on roots, herbs, grass, or human flesh. All their cloathing consisted of leaves, or the bark of trees, and the skins of beasts. In a word, they were altogether savage; they had no property in women, or single enjoyment of the sex, but used their females in common like the brutes, and gratified their lust on the first object that occurred.

"THIS was the situation of our ancestors, when our father the *Sun*, taking pity on their wretchedness, sent a son and daughter of his own from heaven to earth to instruct our people in the knowledge of his divinity, that so they might adore and worship him, giving them laws and precepts to regulate their lives like men endowed with reason. They were empowered to live in houses and society; they were taught to sow the land, cultivate trees, rear plants, feed flocks, and enjoy them like civilized persons, who made a proper use of their rational faculties. With these instructions our first parent, the *Sun*, placed his two children in the lake *Titicaca* (about eight leagues from the capital city of *Cuzco*), giving them full liberty to travel to whatever part of the country they chose, with this restriction only, that when they stopped for a night to sleep and refresh themselves, they should strike a gold wedge which he gave them into the earth. This wedge was about half a yard in length, and above an inch thick; and if it sunk with one stroke into the ground, there they were ordered to take up their future residence, and form a court, to which all the people should resort. They were further directed to govern themselves with reason, justice, piety, clemency, and lenity. After they had reduced them to obedience, and subjected them to laws, they were enjoined to perform all the offices of tender parents to children they love, and to

imitate the example set them by their parent the *Sun*, who doth good to all the world, furnisheth light and heat, maketh the seeds to vegetate, the trees to be prolific, and the flocks to increafe; watereth the lands with dewes from heaven, and daily performs a circuit in which he visits every corner of the earth, to discover the necessities and wants of all things, and apply the proper remedies. "Thus, after my example, said the great author of their being, I would have my children employ all their care in cherishing virtue, and rooting out bad habits from the human breast: from henceforth I constitute and ordain you lords and sovereigns over this people, that they may be reclaimed to reason by your instructions, and maintained in regular society by your government." "Thus our father the *Sun*, proceeded the inca, having declared his pleasure to these his two children, dispatched them to execute their important commission; and they, beginning their journey from *Titicaca* northward, tried to strike the wedge in the ground at every place they reposed themselves, but it refused to enter. At length, after various fruitless efforts, they arrived at a poor place about seven or eight leagues southward from the city (*Cuzco*), which to this day is called *Pacavet Tampu*, or the *Shining Dormitory*. This is one of those colonies which this prince planted, the inhabitants of which boast of the title bestowed on it by the first of our incas. From hence he and his queen descended to the valley of *Cuzco*, at that time a wild and barren desert (A), halting at *Huanacauti*, where again the wedge of gold being tried, was received by the earth with such facility, that it sunk at one stroke, and never more appeared." "Then, said the inca to his sister and wife in this valley, our father the *Sun* hath commanded that we should make our abode, and in so doing we shall perform his pleasure. It is necessary, therefore, that we should now separate and take different ways, in order to assemble the people in such a manner as we may be able to preach and propagate the doctrine among them which he recommends." Accordingly our first governors proceeded by different ways from the desert of *Huanacauti* to collect the people, which being the first place of their residence which they hallowed by their feet, that we know of, we have deservedly erected a temple wherein to adore and worship our father the *Sun*, and offer up thanksgivings for this benefit conferred on mankind. Our inca the prince pursued his way northward, while his consort and sister directed her steps to the south, declaring to all men whom they met in the wild thickets and uncultivated places, that their father the *Sun* had sent them to be the instructors and benefactors of those inhabitants, and to wean them from that rude and savage life to a method of living more agreeable to reason and human society. In pursuance of these commands they related to the people, they came to gather those who were scattered among those mountains and rude places into more convenient habitations, where they might live in society and friendship, upon such food as was allotted by nature for man. The people heard, beheld, and were astonished. They saw these children of the *Sun* cloathed in the habits in which their father had vested them; they observed their ears pierced to receive the complaints of the oppressed, and adorned with jewels as a mark of their superior dignity and birth; they greedily sucked in their words and promises of comfort, yielded to their persuasion, adored them as the offspring of a superior being, and resigned themselves to their tutelage and government. These wretches relating the wonder to each other, the fame of the prince and princess spread abroad; insomuch that multitudes of men and women flocked to them, submitting themselves to their obedience.

"GREAT numbers being collected in this manner, our first governors gave orders that provision should be made of such fruits as the earth produced for the sustenance of man; left, being scattered abroad in search of nourishment, the bands of society should be broken, the main body divided, and the members diminished. Others were employed, in the meantime, in building houses according to the models given them by the prince. This was the origin of our imperial city of *Cuzco*, which was then divided into two parts; the one called *Hanan Cuzco*, or the *Upper*, and the other *Hurin Cuzco*, or the *Lower Cuzco*. Those who assembled under the king inhabited the former, and those of the queen's train peopled the latter; a difference arising from no superiority assumed by the king, and intended only to distinguish his followers from those of his consort, and to remain an eternal monument of the rise and origin of society. This is the reason, added the inca, that in all our empire this diversity of lineage hath remained, being ever since distinguished by the appellations *Hanan Aylla* and *Hurin Aylla*, signifying the upper and lower lineage; and *Hanan Sugu*, and *Hurin Sugu*, the upper and lower tribes.

"WHEN the city was peopled in the manner above recited, our inca taught his people those labours that contribute to the conveniences of life, such as ploughing the land, sowing it with grains and seeds fit for the nourishment of man, and the instruments necessary to carry on husbandry with facility and advantage. He also taught his subjects to cut chan-

(A) *Garcilasso*, by a slip of the pen, calls this valley a mountain; in which he has been followed by Sir *Paul Rycaut* his translator.

a nels for those rivulets which now water the capital, and to defend their feet from stones and thorns by shoes, and their bodies from the inclemency of the weather and the vicissitudes of seasons by cloathing. On the other hand, the queen instructed the women in good housewifry, taught them all the domestic arts; to spin and weave cotton; to make garments for their husbands, their children, and themselves; with all the other little offices that could render life agreeable, and reconcile the men to the harder labours.

b "THE *Indians* being reduced to some form of civility, felicitated themselves on their change of condition; and with singular acknowledgments of the benefits received, travelled with joy through the rocks and woods to communicate the happy news to the other savages, who had not yet tasted the blessings showered down by the children of the *Sun*. They recounted all the favours bestowed on them, and confirmed their relation by showing their new habits and cloathing, and describing their diet, houses, and employment. The curiosity of the savages to behold these wonders was roused: they resolved to have ocular demonstration of all that was repeated, ranged themselves among the rest to learn and to obey; and one in this manner inviting another, the people increased, in seven or eight years, in so extraordinary a manner, that the inca was enabled to raise a considerable army, and make conquests where influence and persuasion proved insufficient to draw men from their barbarous way of living. He taught them how to make bows and arrows, and instructed them in the use of these weapons; so that they soon became a formidable power, and obliged all the surrounding states to receive those legal restraints, which serve to promote the happiness of mankind.

c "THAT I may not be tedious, said the inca, in relating the transactions of our ancestors, and the achievements of our first inca, you must know that he reduced all to the eastward as far as the river *Paucartainpee*, eighty leagues westward, quite to the great river called *Apurimac*, and southward, for nine leagues, as far as *Quequesona*. To the several districts contained within these limits, he sent colonies, to some places a hundred families, to other lesser numbers, according to circumstances. These were the beginnings of this noble city, and of this vast empire, which your father and his countrymen (meaning the *Spaniards*) have conquered from us, or rather of which we are despoiled and defrauded. These were our first incas and kings in the early ages of the world, from whom the succeeding princes and d We ourselves are descended; but how many years it may be since the *Sun* our father sent his offspring among us upon earth, I am not able to ascertain precisely; but I imagine it may be about four hundred years. This inca was called *Manco Capac*, and his queen was named *Caya Mama*, of *Huaco*, both being children and brethren of the sun and moon; and now, having satisfied at large the request you made of me, I abstain from tears, that I may not fill you with sadness; although my eyes, refraining from flowing, occasion drops of blood to fall from my heart on account of the inward grief I feel for the calamities of our empire and the misfortunes of our incas (B)."

a GARCILASSO, lib. i. c. 7, 8, 9.

(B) The following story is related by *Herrera*, as another method by which the *Indians* account for the origin of their monarchy. It is still more absurd and ridiculous than the former, and is besides intirely omitted by the author of the royal commentaries. At *Pacavac Tampu*, which *Garcilasso* translates *Shining dormitory*, and our author *The house of veneration*, there appeared three men and three women. The names of the former were *Ayarache*, *Aranca*, and *Airamanca*, and of the latter, *Mamacola*, *Mamacona*, and *Mamaragna*, all of them cloathed in long mantles, and short tunics, so beautiful and elegantly wrought, that they were called *tocabo*, or royal. They had a golden sling of peculiar virtues, produced great abundance of wrought plate, assumed the government of the country, built *Pacavac Tampu*. *Ayarache* having got the sling into his possession, overturned mountains, and gained such a superiority, that his brothers, jealous of his power, laid a stratagem to destroy him. They persuaded him to enter a cave for a precious vessel, which they had forgot, and to pray to their father the *Sun*, to assist them in the reduction of that country, and bending the minds of the savage people to the regulations of social institution. The unsuspecting *Ayarache* entered the dark recess, and no sooner disappeared, than his brothers blocked up the mouth of the cave with stones, to prevent his return; immediately upon which a dreadful earthquake was felt, which overturned mountains, and entombed hills, woods, and rocks, in the bowels of the earth. *Ayarache* was seen flying through

the air with beautifully painted wings, and a voice was heard, admonishing the two brothers not to be afraid, for *Ayarache* was going to found the empire of the incas. *Ayarache* then discovered himself to his brothers, and entered into farther conversation with them. He desired them to build a temple where *Cuzco* now stands, in which the *Sun* should be worshipped: he predicted that it would grow into a great city: he promised to watch over its safety and growth on a neighbouring hill, in his present form, which he desired might be held in adoration by his brothers, and their posterity; and he required, that as an emblem of their sovereignty, they would have their ears pierced as his were, and had no sooner pronounced the injunction, than they perceived his ears adorned with pendants of great beauty and richness. This was a return for their perfidy, which the two brothers did not expect. Full of gratitude and admiration, they promised to fulfil with punctuality every particular that was enjoined. They went to the hill, now call *Guonanere*, there raised altars to *Ayarache*, were favoured with another visit from him, and told to bind their temples with that garland, which the incas ever after wore as a mark of regal dignity. Reasons are given in this absurd fable, why *Airamanca* was chosen inca in preference to his brother *Aranca*, for he was vested by *Ayarache* with the imperial mantle. The ceremony of coronation was performed by the *Orejones*, a species of magicians, who were suffered to inhabit the country; and for this reason they were rendered capable of succeeding to the

SUCH was the fabulous relation of the origin of the empire and the establishment of monarchy among the *Peruvians*, which was firmly credited by all the natives of the country. If we might be permitted to interpret this account in the most natural and probable meaning, we should imagine that the first inca, *Manco Capac*, had formed this tale the more easily to induce the credulous multitude to embrace his doctrines, by pretending they were of divine origin. It could not be long, indeed, before they must have gained reputation even without this pretext, so admirably were they calculated to civilize, polish, and refine the mind, and to promote social converse and felicity.

WHEN *Manco Capac* had founded *Cuzco*, and reconciled his savage subjects to society, he began with planting colonies, as we find by the above narrative of the inca. To the eastward he established thirteen villages, filled with the tribe called *Roques*. To the westward he planted thirty villages within the space of eight leagues, which flourished so amazingly, that in a few years the whole country, as far as the royal road of *Cantifuya*, was thickly peopled; and from these first inhabitants were formed three great nations, namely, *Masca*, *Chilgui*, and *Paperi*, of considerable repute in the *Peruvian* annals. This prince likewise planted the valley of *Sacsalumona*, and twenty leagues round, establishing such wholesome regulations that the human species multiplied and increased with the astonishing rapidity of plants, cherished and raised by the parental hands of the skilful husbandman. To every new colony were communicated new instructions, fitted to their peculiar circumstances. The arts of plowing and sowing, of planting and pruning, of forming aqueducts and conservatories of water, of building, cloathing, and every other particular necessary to the commodious sustenance of life, were taught to all; but the laws of civil œconomy, for the support of friendship, brotherhood, and the dictates of nature and reason, were diversified. It was laid down as a general maxim, that all unruly passions should be subdued, all animosity one with another be forgot, and that they should distribute impartially the same justice to others which they required for themselves. Above all, the sage inca was careful to inculcate precepts of chastity and delicacy with respect to the sex, in which the *Indians* were hitherto peculiarly gross and brutal. He ordained that adultery should be capital, as well as murder, rapine, and robbery. For this purpose, it was necessary that marriage should be instituted, and every man enjoined to take only one wife. This was laying equal restraints upon both sexes, which the inca thought would be a means to induce the women to bear the restriction without repining. To prevent confusion in the lineage, it was besides recommended, that the people should confine themselves in their marriages to certain tribes, which, in our opinion, was the most impolitic ordonnance of this legislator, as it laid the foundation for separate interests, and divided the whole body of the people into casts and clans, each of whom afterwards struggled for independency. At twenty the men were supposed by the law to be marriageable, and capable not only of propagating the species, but of managing their families with prudence, and supporting the necessary labour; the women were allowed to marry earlier, for reasons deduced from the nature of their constitutions, and the station allotted them in civil society. Over each of these tribes or colonies he appointed a chief or curaca, who governed the people as the inca's lieutenants, being responsible to him for their conduct. These persons were chosen for their merit solely, without regard to any other distinction; for when any of the people were observed to be more religiously scrupulous in their devotion to the gods, more regardful of justice, more obliging to their equals, more obedient to their superiors, and affable to all, they were promoted to governments, to instruct the more ignorant *Indians*. Until the fruits of their industry could be reaped, the people were supplied with provision out of large magazines, formed by the prudence of *Manco Capac*, who omitted nothing that became a great legislator.

SENSIBLE that just notions of religion contributed powerfully to refine the manners, he bestowed great pains on this article, and diligently prescribed the rites and ceremonies of the *Peruvian* idolatry. A stately temple to the sun was erected, and beautified with all the ornaments that could excite awe and veneration in the human soul towards the object of worship. *Manco Capac* taught his subjects to behold this luminary as the fountain of light, the cause of vegetation, and the author of all those blessings reaped by the husbandman; and natural reasons demonstrated, that it was incumbent on them to acknowledge these benefits by a due portion of gratitude. A cloister for a certain number of select virgins was also built and dedicated to the sun, into which none were to be admitted but young ladies of the royal family.

the regal dignity. Crowds of people flocked from all quarters to behold this spectacle, bringing presents of gold to immense value, out of which was formed the great chain of *Cuzco*, weighing, according to report, above four hundred thousand weight. The natives, says *Herrera*, added, that after this ceremony *Ayara-che* and *Aranca* were converted into stones, resembling the human figure, and that *Airamanca*, with the women, went to lay the foundation of *Cuzco*, taking the name of *Manco Capac*, signifying rich lord, or king. (1)

(1) *Decad. iii. l. 9, c. 1.*

a NOTWITHSTANDING these ordonnances were received with gratitude by the people, and obeyed with reverence, ye *Manco Capac* thought it necessary to impress the minds of his subjects with the most profound respect for the regal dignity, by annexing certain titles and ornaments denied to other degrees. For this purpose, he ordered that, after his example, all the males of his family should have their heads shaved, wearing only one lock of hair; to which they submitted, although the operation was performed with great pain and difficulty, the *Indians* having no better instruments than sharp flints to cut the hair. Upon this, *de la Vega* observes, "That had the *Spaniards* introduced no other arts among the natives than the use of scissars, looking-glasses, and combs, they had deserved all the gold and silver their country produced." Another mark of distinction peculiar to the royal family, was to have b their ears pierced, which operation was performed with a thorn, the orifice being afterwards stretched to such a degree, as to admit the frame of a small pulley, to which the large pendants were suspended. In process of time the inca, willing to enlarge the privileges of the people, suffered them to enjoy this extraordinary instance of his favour in common with the royal family. The last distinction by which *Manco Capac* proposed to secure a degree of veneration to the royal blood, and particularly to the inca, consisted in his wearing a wreath of various colours, wrapped four or five times round his head in the manner of a turban. This royal fillet was called *Llauta*, and for some times the three distinctions were rigidly observed, although they afterwards were allowed to the people with a few discriminating circumstances. For instance, they were permitted to wear the *Llauta*; but it was always to be c black: their ears were pierced, but neither the orifice nor the pendants were so large as those of the blood royal. At last the people came to be indulged so far, that they shaved their crowns, but wore a larger lock of hair than their princes. One would imagine the people would have no great solicitude about privileges so painful and troublesome; yet certain it is, the multitude will submit, and even court the most absurd and irksome marks of honour, or whatever tends to raise them upon a level with their superiors, or elevate them above their equals.

To discriminate the different tribes and nations, and keep up the necessary subordination and regulation of society, the inca appropriated certain marks to each, by which they were immediately known from any other. The nation called *Mayca* were ordered to wear a straw d wreath of the thickness of the finger. The tribe called *Roques* was distinguished by a lock of white wool suspended: other tribes had ear-rings of the common reed; some wore pendants of a different work and structure; a few had pendants of reed twisted round the ear; and all had their particular marks, by which the tribe to which they belonged was immediately known. Nor were these distinctions founded upon whim and caprice, but upon reason and a strict regard to the order of society, as it enabled the magistrates to trace the author of any crime more easily, and oblige the tribe, to which the culprit belonged, to punish the breach of law, and redress the injured.

SUCH were the institutions established by *Manco Capac*, the legislator and civilizer of those rude savages, and received with thankfulness and applause by the grateful *Peruvians*. Trans- e ported with the plenty they enjoyed, they ascribed every thing to the bounty of the inca, who had transformed them from beasts to men; instructed them in the arts conducive to the happiness of human life: taught them their natural laws, which promoted morality, and proved the cement of society, and infused into their minds that knowledge and veneration for the sun, the fountain of light and heat, and the dispenser of every good, by his instrument the inca, whom they considered as a second cause, acting immediately under the direction of the first great author. After a long and happy reign of between thirty and forty years, *Manco Capac*, finding nature declining, and the torch of life almost extinguished, assembled his family, which was very numerous, and his chief subjects at the city of *Cuzco*, and in a long and studied harangue, which he called his last will and testament, recommended to his f son and heir, a true love and affection to his subjects; and to the people, loyalty, zeal, and obedience to their sovereign and the laws. This was one of the precepts which he alledged was particularly enjoined him by his father the *Sun*, whenever he was removed from his subjects. In private, he admonished his children to remember, in all their actions, that they were descended from the sun, and to do nothing unworthy of their divine origin, to adore this glorious luminary with the veneration becoming children, who owe every blessing to the author of their being, to obey his laws and precepts, that so their subjects, in imitation of their conduct, might the more readily be induced to worship the deity. He advised them to allure the *Indians* with acts of piety, lenity, and clemency, as the surest bond of their g subjects, were neither happy nor really respectable. He finally told them, that as he was now about to take his flight to heaven, to repose himself in the arms of his father the *Sun*, he hoped they would live in peace and unity together; and that he beholding their conduct from the mansions above, would succour and comfort them in all extremities, if their be-

haviour merited his favour. With these words his spirit separated from his body : his afflicted subjects lamented his death, as if they beheld the end of all their enjoyment; they piously celebrated his funeral rites for several months, and took care that his body should be embalmed, that they might not lose sight of so dear and precious an object. Upon the whole, *Manco Capac* appears to have been a prince of so elevated a genius, that we are not surprized at the divine origin assigned to him by the *Indians*, nor astonished with the superstitious veneration paid to the memory and posterity of a monarch, who had loaded them with the most substantial favours, and reduced them from a state of wild and barbarous anarchy to a regular government, and knowledge of the duties of humanity.

Sinchi Roca,
second inca.

THE inca was succeeded in all his power and authority by the prince *Sinchi Roca* the eldest born by his queen and sister *Coya Mama*, agreeable to the rule of succession established by *Manco Capac*, and approved by his people. *Sinchi Roca* was no sooner possessed of the imperial wreath, than, in imitation of his father, he married his sister, the princess *Mama Oello*, or *Mama Cora*, in order to preserve the inheritance in the pure channel of royal blood, both on the paternal and maternal side. In all other degrees of the people, such a connection was prohibited, it being made penal by the laws to marry a relation within a certain degree of consanguinity; but the prince had an exclusive privilege from his great parent the *Sun*, as was wonderfully beloved by the *Peruvians*. Society being now firmly established, it was no difficult matter to improve upon the institutions which *Manco Capac* was obliged to adapt to those untutored barbarians, for whom he laid his plan of legislation. It was in his reign, if we may judge by the order observed in his history by *de la Vaga*, that the *Peruvian* empire was divided into four quarters, called *Tavantinsuya*, representing the four quarters of the heavens, east, west, north, and south, of which the city *Cuzco* was made the centre. It was also ordained that these greater divisions should be parcelled out into lesser districts, the inhabitants of which should be registered and classed in decurions or tithings; over each of which a superior or decurion was to preside. Thus ten families constituted the minutest division of the people; five of these, or fifty families, composed a higher class, over which was a proper magistrate, and two of the last class formed a third order, called an hundred. In this manner the number increased to the division of a thousand families, which was the greatest class; every decurion of the smallest division being obliged to provide that no family within his jurisdiction wanted the necessaries of life, or the means of industry. He was to distribute corn for sowing, wool for manufacturing, and materials for binding. The care of the sick and infirm was intrusted to him: he was to be the censor of their moral conduct, and to report to his superiors any crimes or misdemeanors of which they were guilty, leaving to them the punishment of greater offences, and claiming to themselves the power of reforming and correcting those of a more trivial nature. This inferior decurion had likewise the power of deciding all petty differences, so as to prevent litigation and troublesome processes. He was, in short, a kind of subordinate magistrate of the peace and order of society, who, in all cases of any moment, had recourse to the judgment of his superiors. The people too under his authority were allowed to appeal to a superior tribunal, where they suspected themselves aggrieved by his decision; or, in case the decurion was found culpable, he was either turned out, or otherways punished, according to the nature of the crime. Where differences arose between two provinces, these were decided by commissioners appointed by the inca himself, the matter being judged of too great moment to be referred to the decision of an individual, who would besides necessarily incur the displeasure of the nonsuited party (C).

OFFICERS of superior rank were subject to punishment, if they perverted the laws in the same manner as the private decurions. There was a censor-general to inspect the conduct of all public officers and ministers of state, who made his report to the inca himself; and condemned, without the hopes of obtaining a reprieve, all those who were guilty of oppression and rapine, to the most ignominious death. The conduct of parents and masters of families was strictly observed: it was deemed a point of the last importance to the state that children should be kept to modest and decent behaviour. Not only the parents, but the decurions, were made responsible for their miscarriages; and perhaps no modern nation, the *Chinese* excepted, ever took more pains to lay the necessary restraint on the passions of youth, to inculcate submission and obedience to parents and the laws, and humility and respect to their superiors. Hence it was that the *Peruvians*, even in the infancy of their government, were of a gentle and tractable temper, great preservers of order, and particularly averse to every kind of indecorum.

EVERY family being thus exactly registered in the first class, each lower class minutely

(C) It serves to illustrate the intention of the political division of the state, and the office of the decurion, that the *Peruvian* word *chunca cunayci* corresponds exactly with the *Latin* meaning of *decurion*, viz. *decan* and *cura*, or an officer, who extends his care to ten families. (1)

(1) *La Vega*, l. ii. c. 5.

- a ascertained in the second order, and that again exactly corresponding with the third division, it was easy for the decurions and publick officers to intimate to the ministry such alterations as arose in their jurisdictions by deaths, births, marriages, or removals; so that the incas were always perfectly acquainted with the state of their provinces, the numbers of their subjects, and the forces and revenues proper to be required of them upon all occasions. They were punctually informed of all calamities that befel them, whether from floods, fires, unkind seasons or pestilence, and the revenues were immediatly supplied by the government in proportion to their losses, either by a remission of taxes, or an actual loan. The *Spanish* writers themselves acknowledge, that the incas might be justly stiled, "Fathers and guardians of their people, and lovers of the poor;" favours which were so gratefully returned by the
- b *Peruvians*, that they obeyed the laws and their incas with such reverence, as rendered it common to see no more than a single execution in the space of a year within the limits of this vast empire, which extended above a thousand leagues, if we may credit the royal historian, *La Vega*.

In war the generals and captains assumed the same power over the soldiers allowed to the decurions in peace. Exact registers were kept of the births and burials in every corps, and the utmost care was taken to prevent the soldiers from despoiling or plundering those towns or provinces they conquered, which were immediately admitted to a participation of all the blessings of the *Peruvian* government, if the incas could place any dependence in their fidelity. Of these matters the inferior officers gave an account every month to their

c superiors, who transmitted their report to the court in knots of different colours, the knots being a kind of arithmetic used by the *Peruvians*, which we shall have occasion to describe more particularly, mentioning it in this place only to shew that it was introduced as early as the reign of *Sinchi Roca*. To these regulations and ordonnances we must add, that this inca passed a law forbidding crimes to be atoned by pecuniary mulcts; nothing was deemed a satisfactory expiation besides the extirpation of the evil; every other remedy affording the opulent a liberty to transgress. If a curaca, great lord, or governor, rebelled, and thereby forfeited his life, his estate nevertheless descended to his children; but with due admonition, that he should beware to avoid that rock upon which his father was shipwrecked; it being deemed highly iniquitous to punish the innocent children for the crimes of the

d guilty parent. In the same manner, if a governor or officer was deposed from an employment hereditary in his family, the next heir succeeded; a rule which was likewise adopted in the army, with some restrictions, which left the inca sufficient room to distinguish and reward merit. Judges had no power to relax in the severity of the law any more than to encrease its rigour: and though it may appear barbarous, that in the class of trespasses against society, which come under the denomination of crimes, there should be no distinction, and all were deemed equally capital; yet, considering the benefit deduced to the public, the rule can neither be regarded as unjust nor irrational.

THE *Spanish* writers affirm, that the inca was superior to the laws, because there could be no scrutiny into his conduct; a mistake which *Garcilasso* corrects, by demonstrating,

e that the sovereign, as well as the subject, was bound down to observe certain fundamental maxims of the constitution; and that, in case of failure, he could be deposed and degraded, and even punished as an *auca*, or traitor. He ascribes their seldom incurring the penalty of the laws to the veneration in which they were held by the people, who looked upon them as the children of a god, and therefore incapable of doing wrong; and likewise to the want of those temptations which private persons had to offend. Their ambition and appetites were gratified to the utmost stretch of imagination; neither lust nor avarice could well seduce them into actions deemed criminal in subjects, because both passions were fully satiated. Crimes against the state were the only ones punishable in the incas, as they were supposed to have no opportunity of committing those of a private nature; and we shall see in

f the course of the history, that a monarch was deposed for cowardice or negligence.

THE royal historian, having specified the constitutional alterations made in the reign of *Sinchi Roca*, proceeds then to give us a view of the other transactions of a prince, who derived his name from his extraordinary wisdom and valour, *Sinchi*, signifying *wise*, and *Roca*, *valiant*. No sooner were the funeral obsequies of the late inca solemnized with becoming magnificence, than the young prince had the regal fillet of various colours bound round his temples, which answered all the purposes of a coronation, and was performed with great pomp and solemnity. When he found himself established on the throne, he assembled the principal curacas and officers assigned him by his father, and declared his intention of enlarging the boundaries of the empire, and shewing himself worthy of the supreme dignity; to

g make an expedition in person, summon the several nations to the southward to acknowledge his sovereignty, adore the sun, and receive the laws and constitutions of his father *Manco Capac*. *Sinchi Roca* pretended, that his main design was to bring those people to a knowledge of the deity, and reduce them from their brutish lives, to a more civilized form and regular

regular society ; but the real intention was the great desire he had to signalize his valour. a
 It was no difficult matter to gain the consent of his council : the curacas unanimously declared
 their approbation of the inca's proposal, and readiness to attend him wherever he thought
 proper. Accordingly he began his march at the head of a numerous army, employing
 heralds to proclaim before him the design of the expedition. There was little occasion for
 force ; the savage *Indians* observing the order, cloathing, and happiness of the inca's soldiers,
 easily believed what they were told, that he was a descendant from the sun, and of conse-
 quence made no resistance. In this manner he subdued, by dint of persuasion and example,
 a great variety of nations beyond *Chanarra*, and then returned to *Cuzco* to spend the re-
 mainder of his days in peace and tranquility. Every year added new provinces to his do-
 minions, but without bloodshed. *Sinchi Roca* preferred a conquest over the mind to one over b
 the body, and he succeeded to admiration. It is probable, however, that the inca's formi-
 dable army added weight to his arguments, and induced the *Indians* to resign their liberties ;
 for it is seldom that we see men so little prejudiced to ancient customs, however absurd, as im-
 mediately to relinquish them on conviction, or to change their manner of living and religion
 for a better, without some degree of violence. After a long and happy reign, in which no-
 thing memorable occurred, besides the laws he passed, and the provinces he reduced, *Sinchi*
Roca, in imitation of his father, declared his intention to repose himself with his great parent
 the *Sun* ; and dying soon after, was succeeded by his legitimate son *Lloque Yupanqui*, then
 a prince of a promising genius. This monarch left a very numerous issue besides, by his
 wives and concubines, all of whom were deemed capable of succeeding to the throne, because c
 they were descended from the blood of the incas by the mothers, especially the children of
Caziques, and royal princes ; but the greatest regard was shown to the right of primogeni-
 ture, and the issue of the favourite women, who were usually called queens, or empresses, by
 way of pre-eminence.

Lloque Yu-
 panqui 3d
 inca.

THE inca *Lloque Yupanqui*, so called from his being left-handed, and the sovereign of *Peru*,
 was less pacific than his predecessor (C). After taking an exact survey of his dominions,
 and examining minutely into his finances, he resolved to extend his frontier, agreeable to the
 established practice on the accession of a new sovereign. Instead of arguments and gentle
 treatment, by which means his father made such large acquisitions, *Lloque* had recourse to d
 arms, commencing immediate hostilities with all those nations who hesitated about submit-
 ting to his authority. They were first summoned, and treated with all the rigour of war,
 unless they yielded instant obedience ; whence it happened that *Lloque* was less beloved, but
 more dreaded, than his father, in all the provinces. At the head of a considerable army,
 he entered the country called *Cana*, and dispatched messengers to the natives, requiring them
 to quit their savage lives, form regular societies, and submit to the government established by
 the children of the *Sun*, and accept of this luminary for their deity. The affrighted people
 promised all that was demanded, but desired a little time to inform themselves of the parti-
 culars required ; and after they were instructed in the policy of the *Peruvians*, and the laws
 of the incas, they readily confessed the superiority of government over a savage life, and
 were accordingly received as partners in all the blessings of a civilized, regular community. e
 Leaving proper persons at *Cana*, to instruct the inhabitants in agriculture, and other arts,
 the inca proceeded to the conquest of another province, called *Ayvirí*, the inhabitants of
 which were fierce, warlike, and obstinate, insensible to precept and example, and therefore
 to be reduced to obedience only by dint of arms. They persisted in the resolution of perish-
 ing in defence of their liberty, and occasioned more trouble to the inca, than ever his prede-
 cessors had experienced in all their conquests. A battle was fought, with such fury and per-
 severance, that notwithstanding the field was covered with the slain, neither side would yield
 the victory, both retreating to places of security, where they fortified themselves against any
 sudden attack, and prepared to resume hostilities. From the account *Garcilasso* gives of this
 people, they appear to have had some idea of the art of war, although he describes them f
 as utter strangers to political subordination. They sallied out of their fortresses upon the
 enemy, and drew the inca's forces, against their inclination, into a variety of sharp skir-
 mishes. Perceiving the reluctance the *Peruvians* expressed to quit their intrenchments, the
 barbarians ascribed their caution to pusillanimity, became bolder, fell upon the inca with all
 their forces, penetrated quite to the royal camp, and were repulsed with so much difficulty,
 that *Lloque*, seeing no chance of subduing them without a powerful army, sent immediately
 back for a strong reinforcement. Dreading the shame, as well as the consequences, of
 being baffled in his attempt, which might encourage other nations to throw off their al-

(C) We are informed by *la Vega*, that *Yupanqui* is that it was deemed sacrilege in any other to assume
 a *Peruvian* word, expressive of the union of virtues, this title. (1)
 which were supposed to reside in the monarch ; and

a legiance, he assembled all his forces, gave battle to the enemy, and after a very obstinate contest, in which great numbers were killed on both sides, obtained so complete a victory, that the barbarians never afterwards presumed to appear in a body, although they still endeavoured to avoid subjection by skulking in woods, caverns, and mountains. The inca, unwilling to extirpate them by the sword, endeavoured to subdue their obstinacy by famine. He cooped them up with his army in the deserts so closely for several months, that after they were quite exhausted and emaciated, the barbarians at length confessed his power, acknowledged his sovereignty, and promised fealty and obedience; by which means they appeased his wrath, and broke that storm of vengeance which threatened their contumacy. This conquest was followed by the reduction of *Pucara*, in which *Lloque* built several fortresses, and then returned b in triumph to *Cuzco*, leaving garrisons, governors, and instructors, in the conquered provinces.

On his return to his capital, the inca devoted his time to the pacific arts, and the good government of his empire. He framed laws, and made new regulations suitable to the occasions, introduced by the growth of luxury and refinement in living; but as his genius was turned to war and the field, he could not long remain inactive; and accordingly *Lloque* returned again to the frontiers of his conquests, to make farther progress in reducing the *Indians*, and extending his dominions. The barbarians of *Ayvirí* had alone presumed to dispute his commands; all the other nations paying the most profound obedience to whatever was required by the sacred offspring of the *Sun*. However, to give still more weight to his c authority, *Lloque* gave orders to have nine thousand men immediately raised, with which body he marched into the districts of *Poneac Colla* and *Hatun Colla*. Ambassadors were sent before him to require the voluntary submission of the people, and remind them of the misfortunes consequent on the contumacy of the *Ayvirí*. The inhabitants of *Colla* gave ear to the remonstrances of the ambassadors, assembled their chiefs, and concluded in a general assembly, that the plagues and mischiefs which had befallen other provinces, were punishments sent by heaven for the sin of resisting the children of the Almighty; therefore they unanimously declared themselves the subjects and vassals of the inca, worshippers of the *Sun*, and implicit observers of whatever laws he should think fit to prescribe. After this resolution they went out to meet the inca, and received him with songs, musick, and acclamations, which secured the royal favour, obtained a number of valuable grants, and d induced the inca to build a great number of temples in their country. This was a powerful accession to the *Peruvian* monarchy. The *Collas* consisted of various nations, who derived their origin from the great lake *Titicaca*, which they called their mother, and honoured with yearly sacrifices. Some deduced their pedigrees from a great fountain, and others from certain wild men who issued from caves, to which they likewise offered sacrifices. There were some who affirmed, that they originally sprung from a certain river, the fish of which they deemed sacred; but the general deity acknowledged by all was a white ram, which they worshipped with offerings of tallow, and sacrifices of lambs. In the room of these deities, the inca established the sun as the supreme god, in whose presence e all others vanished, and were annihilated. He also established several civil regulations, and particularly reformed the licentiousness of unmarried females, who acquired reputation by living in a continual state of prostitution before marriage, though they were obliged to strict fidelity to the nuptial bed.

HAVING laid these principles of government and religion, the inca returned, loaded with glory, to *Cuzco*, checking for the present his lust of conquest, and indulging a more rational policy, that of giving his new subjects leisure to taste the sweets and blessings of his government, and report their felicity to the neighbouring nations, the more easily to induce them to embrace the same advantages. He was received at *Cuzco* with all possible demonstrations of triumph and rejoicing, where having resided for some years in promoting the common good and benefit of his people, he once more suffered his warlike humour to recur upon him, and resolved to visit the confines of his empire, not only with a view to fresh conquests, but to afford his new subjects the satisfaction of beholding their monarch, and rectify the corruption and negligence of his ministers by his own presence. For this expedition, an army of ten thousand men was raised, at the head of which *Lloque* entered the province of *Chucuytu*, first summoning the people to submission by ambassadors. There was no occasion for violence; the people were sensible and moderate; they perceived the advantages that would result from their obedience, and willingly resigned themselves to the disposal of the monarch, under whose shadow and protection they flattered themselves with all possible happiness and security. They were so graciously received, and loaded g with so many favours, that the report of their felicity induced all the nations, as far as where the lake *Titicaca* discharges itself, to follow their example. All were graciously received, and taught the arts necessary to the convenience of life; after which the inca disbanded his army, except a few companies for the safety of his person, and the preservation

of his royal dignity. He directed in person the establishment of laws, and administration of justice; which being regarded as the highest favour to the chief provinces, proved afterwards of the greatest benefit to the royal authority. He now learned by experience that persuasion, and the exercise of the beneficent virtues, was a more ready method to conquest, than the force of arms; and he accordingly strove to allure strangers to place themselves under his protection, by works of piety and humanity. His excellencies were proclaimed over the land; he was every where celebrated as the father of his people, and received as the true offspring of that benevolent luminary the *Sun*, which shines, without discrimination, upon all degrees of mankind, cherishes, animates, and invigorates, every part of nature. His fame extended quite to the *Andes*, and soon after all the nations, dispersed over that vast tract of country, acknowledged his authority without resistance; although, for the greater certainty, an army of ten thousand men was detached to those mountains, under the conduct of the inca's five brothers, who were strictly enjoined not to use violence, but in cases of extreme necessity. The report of the miracles wrought by the descendant of the *Sun*, in changing the very nature of men, gained implicit credit with this credulous simple people, and easily engaged them to own submission to so extraordinary a monarch. Three years were consumed in civilizing this people; for they were of so dull and stupid a nature, says *Garcilasso*^b, that they could not comprehend those easy rudiments of the arts laid before them, without great pains and labour. When they had made a competent progress, governors were appointed to administer justice in the inca's name, and soldiers left to protect and defend them against the insults of barbarous neighbours.

MEAN time *Lloque* was employed in visiting other provinces, where he encouraged the industry of the people, improved the arts, cultivated the lands, raised public edifices, made aqueducts, roads, and bridges, to facilitate the communication between the different provinces. Judging now that his dominions were sufficiently extensive to be governed with justice under the eye of the sovereign, he returned to *Cuzco* to pass the remainder of his life in peace and tranquility. Here he employed himself wholly in acts of justice and beneficence towards his subjects; and that the remoter provinces might not suffer by his residence at the capital, he sent *Mayta Capac*, his eldest son and heir, upon a progress over all his dominions, attended by wise and experienced men, not only to see justice duly administered, but to attach the affections of the people to the successor, and accustom him to public business and the government of a kingdom. Perceiving at last that old-age and disease impaired his faculties, that he was no longer qualified to reign and govern with his usual vigour, and that death was approaching with hasty strides, he assembled his children, brothers, relations, and chief dependants; and, by way of testamentary donation, recommended to them the strictest regard to those laws and ordinances which his ancestors had prescribed, the tenderest affection for his subjects, the most scrupulous observance of justice and equity, the encouragement of industry and the arts, and an especial care of the morals of the people, upon which depended the security of the monarch, and the happiness of the subjects. Lastly, he charged the *Curacas*, lieutenants, and governors of provinces, to patronize and relieve the poor, to be obedient and faithful to their sovereign, and to live in unity with each other, while he was gone to repose himself in the celestial mansions, and receive from his great Parent the rewards of his labour, to promote the good of his people, and execute his commission. Not long after *Lloque Yupanqui* died with the reputation of the greatest captain and statesman who had yet filled the *Peruvian* throne, admired equally for the qualities of his head and heart.

Mayta Capac, fourth inca.

MAYTA CAPAC, the successor to his father's crown and dominions, having religiously performed the obsequies of the deceased monarch, set out upon a progress through his several provinces, in order to examine into the conduct of his ministers, correct all abuses of authority, and supersede those magistrates who, under the shade of royal favour, presumed to oppress the people. He had made this circuit in his father's life-time; but being then in his minority, and under the tuition of his parents and counsellors, he had no opportunity of displaying his natural virtues in so conspicuous a light as now when he possessed absolute power. He, besides, resolved to pursue all the maxims of the wisest of his forefathers; and as this custom of making an expedition in every new reign had always been attended with happy effects, the young inca determined to maintain a practice founded upon the soundest policy. In the course of his progress he exhibited such manifest testimonies of liberality, courage, and a generous disposition, to his *Curacas* and subjects of an inferior degree, that all were astonished at the maturity of his genius, his early proofs of wisdom and ability, and that extraordinary assemblage of virtues which shone with uncommon lustre in the youthful monarch. Having fully accomplished the design of this visitation, he entered upon an expedition calculated purely to enlarge his dominions, covering his ambition under the pretext of

^b GARCILASSO, lib. ii. c. 10.

- a reforming and civilizing barbarous nations. With this view he raised an army of 12,000 men, under the command of four experienced generals; and, putting himself at the head of this body, marched into the province of *Callac*, where the great lake *Titicaca* discharges itself. The inhabitants of this country were docile, simple, and ingenuous; the conquest was therefore the more desirable, and the inca set about it with the greater earnestness. Coming to the stream that issues from the extremity of the lake, he passed over his army on floats contrived with great dexterity, and then summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and yield obedience to his government. The terror inspired by his army and his own reputation easily induced the people to submit to orders which they were in no condition to dispute, and the inca eternized this event as the first conquest of his reign, by raising a kind of artificial mount, b so high, that were it not founded upon stones regularly laid, it might pass for a natural mountain covered with wood (E). After this the inca proceeded to the reduction of the province of *Hatunpacassa*, a district on the opposite side of the river, using no other means to bring the inhabitants into subjection than those of persuasion, doctrine, and instruction in the cultivation of the soil, and the arts of living in political society. Hence the inca marched to the country called *Cacyaviri*, in which the inhabitants lived in large, separate, independent villages, without any other government than the paternal right which every man claimed over his own family. Upon advice of his approach, the people assembled upon the top of a sacred hill, which they worshipped as a god, intending to dispute his entrance into the country. Here they fortified themselves with a turf wall, and laid in a great stock of provisions, men, women, and children, working with all possible diligence at a fortification c upon which they rested the security of their liberty. When the inca sent them a summons, declaring it was not his design to take away their lives or liberty, but to make them acquainted with arts useful to their convenience and happiness, they rejected his proposals with disdain; upon which *Mayta Capac* formed his army in four divisions, and laid siege to the hill, trying to subdue the barbarians by famine. The *Callaons* defended themselves vigorously, made frequent sallies, and observing that the inca declined engaging, they ascribed his conduct to fear, rushed without discretion or order upon his sword, and after perishing in great numbers, gave away that victory with rashness, which the inca could not obtain by valour. According to the tradition of the country, the gods fought visibly against the barbarians, d all the stones and weapons they threw recoiling upon themselves with double strength, which so terrified and astonished them that they immediately submitted to the pleasure of the conqueror, marching out in more order than they had fought, to implore his mercy and forgiveness. This procession was extremely solemn. First the children marched out of the intrenchments, next followed the mothers, then the old men, while the captains and soldiers led up the rear, having their hands bound, and halters round their necks, intimating how much they deserved death for having disputed the will of the offspring of the *Sun*. When they came into the inca's presence, all prostrated themselves at his feet, and licked the ground with the deepest humiliation and contrition, saluting him with the title of *Son of Phoebus and Representative of the great God*. The *Curacas* then approached the monarch, and, after a short apologetical speech, besought him, with great earnestness, if it was his pleasure death e should be the punishment of their crimes, he would accept of their lives as an atonement for the transgressions of the multitude; a circumstance which, although confirmed by *Garcilasso* appears inconsistent with the barbarity of the people, who lived free and independent, without any kind of civil polity, or notion of subordination. The generous inca was affected with their supplications: he ordered them to be instantly unbound, granted them not only their lives, but also what they prized much higher, their freedom; and assured them, in the most soothing expressions, that the sole object of his expedition was to teach and instruct them in divers arts conducive to their happiness. He then entered upon a kind of treaty with the *Curacas*, obliging them, in the name of the people, to pay him homage on the left f knee, by which they for ever acknowledged their subjection. To engage their affections the more strongly, they were suffered to touch his sacred person, an honour never before granted to any under the degree of royal blood. Having thus established certain laws and regulations suitable to the disposition of the people, and appointed officers and magistrates to administer justice and govern the province, he made his triumphal entry into *Cuzco* amidst the loud acclamations of his joyful people.

(E) There are, besides, in this province a variety of other stupendous monuments of labour and ingenuity, which we think it probable owe their origin to the inca *Mayta Capac* I. conqueror of the country, although the natives alledge they existed many ages before his birth. Among other works, is to be seen a wall built with stones laid upon each other,

of such prodigious size as astonish all beholders, and convey a favourable opinion of the invention, industry, and contrivance of those barbarians. There are, besides, divers stupendous buildings, with porches of great magnificence hewn out of single stones. Some of these doors measured thirty-feet in height and fifteen in breadth. (1).

(1) *Garcilasso*, l. iii. c. 2.

AFTER

AFTER reposing himself for some time, the inca resumed his warlike schemes, and sent an army under four celebrated commanders, towards the western parts, with injunctions to proceed towards the coast of the sea of *Zur*, and try, by all possible means of persuasion, to bring the inhabitants to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Peru*; and if they found them obstinate and refractory, to exert force, and subdue them by open war. With these instructions, and great supplies of provision, the generals passed the snowy mountains; and travelling, for the space of thirty leagues, over a desert country, arrived at length in the territories of the province of *Chacuna*, which they found well inhabited. Alarmed at the approach of an army, the natives built a fort, and retired into it with all their wives and children. The inca's generals summoned them to surrender, and on their refusal formed a regular blockade, with design to compel them by famine, and without the effusion of human blood, which produced the effect. Hunger obliged the fathers to detach their children in quest of provision; and they no sooner sallied out of the fort, than they were made prisoners, and so kindly treated, that now, conceiving a better opinion of the enemy, all the besieged submitted themselves to the inca, and willingly received the religion and laws which his generals thought fit to prescribe. When the inca was informed of the conquest and the fidelity of the country, he settled two colonies in it; erected a fortress, which he garrisoned strongly, for the defence of the conquest; abolished, by severe laws, the abominable practice of poisoning, in which the natives of the country were extremely expert. The punishment was, that the criminals should be burned alive, with all their effects; and so eagerly was this law received by the natives themselves, who severely felt the inconveniences of a dreadful custom, which they could not prevent, that they gave immediate information to the inca of those who were guilty; and, by three or four examples, put an entire stop to an evil of the most dreadful consequences. The qualities of the subtle poisons which they used, are reported to be very extraordinary, and so well known to the adepts in this way, that they could produce what degree of effect they pleased, either in the mind or body. Some they covered over with leprosy, others with boils, phlegmons, and ulcers, while others were made stupid, foolish, or frantic, just as the malice of the prescriber dictated. Such, at least, is the account of the royal historian, the credibility of which we shall submit to the judgment of our readers.

SEVERAL years, subsequent to this expedition, were spent in peace and profound tranquillity at home and abroad, the inca bending all his thoughts to civil policy, and the good, rather than the grandeur of his people: however, the spark of ambition, which had been smothered by prudence, again broke out without any visible cause, and *Mayta Capac* set on foot another expedition with a view to encrease his dominions. Possibly he might have found, upon trial, that his abilities were equal to the government of a larger empire, or he thought it necessary to keep up a military spirit by exercising his troops in arms. With a body of forces he directed his march to the country of *Llaracassa*, the inhabitants of which submitted the moment he appeared, and acknowledged the inca for their lord and sovereign. The reputation of his arms being now spread to every quarter of the southern continent of *America*, other nations followed the example of the *Llaracassians*, and particularly the inhabitants of the province called *Sancovan*, who acknowledged their subjection without attempting any resistance. After regulating the religion and government of these conquests, *Mayta Capac* passed into *Pacassa*, where he encountered no more opposition than in the other parts through which he had marched. "Every thing, says *Garcilasso*, fell down before him with such obedience and veneration, as was agreeable to one who derived his birth and descent from the *Sun*." But the scene was soon changed. On his way to *Huyachu*, the inca's passage over a little river was disputed by 14,000 barbarians of different nations, who joined by common consent to defend their privileges and natural liberty. *Mayta Capac*, unwilling to come to extremities, sent frequent messages to the enemy, offering them terms of peace and friendship, all which they haughtily rejected, because they were persuaded that fear had dictated this moderation. Still, however, the inca continued to make overtures, which so animated the courage of the barbarians, that they attacked his camp with great impetuosity, and penetrated almost to the royal standard before they could be repulsed. From the confusion with which this assault was made, *Mayta Capac* easily discovered his own superiority, and the facility with which he might overcome the enemy in battle; but he industriously declined bloodshed so long, that his soldiers began to murmur and entertain doubts of his courage. All cried out, that the insolence of the enemy was no longer tolerable, unless the inca intended to forfeit that reputation for valour which he had formerly acquired. The inca endeavoured to moderate the passions of his soldiers, by reminding them it had been the practice of his ancestors, and the command of his great parent the *Sun*, to save the lives and promote the happiness of the most savage nations; to have recourse to arms only in cases of extreme necessity; and to try the effects of patience and gentle usage, even though he should be insulted; neither to extirpate the

igno-

a ignorant inhabitants, under the pretext of rendering them happy. With these soothing speeches he for some time restrained the ardour of his troops, until the enemy one day pressed so hard, that he was persuaded by his captains of the necessity of giving battle. The army was accordingly drawn out; and both sides being eager to engage, the fight immediately raged with great impetuosity and fury. The enemy had liberty at stake, and the royal army the honour of their prince; both pressed on with the utmost intrepidity; the field flowed with blood; but the barbarians were at last defeated by their own courage, which was too fiery to obey the dictates of prudence, and the order required by discipline. They fell on in crowds with loud shouts, and rushed upon the enemies weapons without dread or reflection, thereby making the victory easy, when otherwise it would have been exceeding difficult and doubtful. Six thousand of the barbarians were slain, an equal number was wounded, and yet they quitted the field with a stern countenance, which threatened the inca with another assault, as soon as they had recovered the fatigue of this day's engagement; nor is it improbable they would have perished to a man before they would consent to yield the victory, had not the darkness of the night obliged them to retire. In the morning their ardour was abated; when they beheld the heaps of slain upon the field, and their own diminished numbers, their spirits began to droop, and they soon lost their former courage. The smart of the cold wounds, and the stiffness and rigidity consequent on the fatigue undergone the preceding day, disabled them from renewing the engagement, and they at last condescended to implore mercy, and throw themselves on the clemency of the inca. A few of the young men, indeed, proposed fighting their way through the *Peruvian* army, which had in the night taken possession of all the outlets from the field; but they were over-ruled by the more experienced generals, who concluded, that it would be rash and vain to try their strength, in their present situation, with an enemy to whom they were unequal when in full vigour and spirits. No sooner the resolution to submit was taken, than the vanquished barbarians marched in slow and solemn procession to the inca's camp, unarmed, unshod, and naked, the leaders having their hands bound, and the women attending with dreadful howlings, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair. They fell upon their knees before the inca, telling him, in the most piteous manner, that as their crime was past forgiveness, the only favour they expected was to suffer death from the swords of his soldiers, rather than to be exposed to ignominious punishments. Nothing could equal the joy they expressed on the inca's acquainting them, that he came not to destroy, but to relieve, comfort, and instruct the distressed and ignorant, to civilize their manners, and teach them the worship of the true God, and the arts of living with ease, convenience, and happiness: for which purpose he travelled from country to country, by order of the *Sun* his great parent; and took infinite labour and pains, without any other view than that of establishing a rational government among nations who now differed only from brutes in their erect form. He added, that notwithstanding their contumacy merited the severest chastisement, yet that he was willing to extend his clemency even to the most criminal among them, provided that henceforward they should reform their manners, and worship and obey the *Sun*, under whose laws and protection they might expect all the blessings of repose and prosperity. With this answer he directed that their leaders should be unbound, their wounded dressed, and all feasted with the best provision which the camp afforded; and then he dismissed them in the highest admiration of his generosity, justice, and mercy, fully determined to live in the utmost obedience and submission.

The news of the bloody defeat of the people of *Colla* (for so those barbarians were called) diffused itself among all the neighbouring nations, and was every-where interpreted as a just judgment inflicted by the *Sun* on the refractory *Indians*, who had refused the beneficial conditions offered, and despised the proposals of the inca. This apprehension became so strong and general, that divers nations, who had taken up arms to oppose the progress of *Mayta Capac*, and even formed their camp, now laid aside all thoughts of war, and resolved to put themselves under the protection of a prince equally renowned for his martial abilities and his piety and justice. They were accordingly received into favour, and vested with very considerable privileges; upon which they proclaimed, wherever they went, that the inca was the legitimate and undoubted offspring of the *Sun*. All the nations from *Huachu* to *Col-lamac* for the space of thirty leagues, and afterwards to the eastward quite to the snowy mountains of the *Andes*, submitted themselves, received colonies among them, and became faithful servants to the inca; who after having consumed three years in these expeditions, and greatly enlarged his frontier, returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, where he was joyfully received by his grateful and happy people.

g *MAYTA CAPAC*'s genius was active and lively: he looked upon the time passed in his capital as consumed in indolence; the reforming savage nations, and encreasing the power and grandeur of his subjects, he regarded as the employment alone worthy of a monarch. Full of these notions, a year had scarcely elapsed since his return, when he made preparations

tions for a fresh expedition, the difficulty of which he hoped would eternize his fame, and equal his reputation with that of the most illustrious of his predecessors. He now projected the reduction of those vast tracts of country to the west-ward of his capital, which were filled with warlike savage nations; and as he expected considerable resistance, he set on foot a numerous army, with which he resolved to cross the river *Apurimac*, the most arduous enterprize which had yet been attempted. How to form a bridge over this rapid and broad stream sufficiently strong to support the weight of numerous forces, puzzled the wits of the most ingenious *Indians* who were consulted upon the occasion; but the inca found resources in his own genius. He ordered large ropes to be made of slender tough osiers; and fixing one end, ordered the other to be carried to the opposite side by *Indians* expert in swimming. To this he fixed large fagots of twisted osiers, and brush-wood to serve as a foundation to the bridge, upon which he laid beams, railed in at each side for the security of the passengers. In this manner it answered the intention of the inca; but as it came to be considered as a very extraordinary invention, it received improvements every year, and was regarded, in the days of *Garcilasso*, as one of the most ingenious monuments of antiquity, and of the untutored invention; of the old *Peruvians*. Over this bridge detachments were immediately sent to frustrate any designs the enemy might have to destroy it; but so far was this precaution from being necessary, that the *Indians* stood astonished at the stupendous fabric, which they did not hesitate to ascribe to some powerful deity. No other argument was necessary to secure their obedience: it would have been the height of impiety to oppose those whom the gods favoured in so distinguished a manner. Only the people called *Villili* ventured to make any defence, and they too were soon conquered; for shutting themselves up, without the necessary provisions, in a fortress, they were surrounded, and in a few day reduced to such extremities, that they surrendered at discretion. It was in the province of *Contisuyu* that the inca built a causeway over some marshy lands, to render the march of his troops more convenient, and assist the industry and commerce of the natives with each other. So eagerly bent was he upon this work, that, to encourage his soldiers, he laboured with his own hands, helping to raise and lay the great stones which formed the foundation. *Garcilasso* alledges, that in his day the *Indians* held this causeway in the greatest veneration, not only upon account of its antiquity and convenience, but because it was considered as built in part by the sacred hands of the inca himself. For this reason, it was for ages kept in the best repair, not a stone decaying or sinking from it, but was replaced by the care and industry of the surveyors appointed on purpose.

It was over this new dyke that the inca marched to the country of *Ailca*, where he encountered the natives in a difficult craggy pass: they imagined they should be able to defend themselves against all his forces; but the inca made his approaches so cautiously, that the enemy were dislodged, and forced to submit, without scarce any bloodshed. Hence he proceeded to the lake *Paribwana Cocha*, or the *Sea of Penguins*, the *Indians* giving the appellation of *Sea* to all great bodies of water; and from thence he went to the province of *Arani* as far as the valley of *Araqueba*, bringing all the different nations on the way under the dominion of the incas, and thereby greatly extending the boundaries of his empire; which particulars we mention to shew the gradual progress of this originally small state, to the pitch of grandeur and power in which the *Spaniards* beheld it on their first entering the country. He met with little obstruction in this rapid conquest, most of the barbarous nation delivering themselves up to his pleasure on the report of the miracles he had wrought and dangers he surmounted, and the divinity of his birth. He settled several colonies in the fruitful vale of *Araqueba*, before entirely unpeopled, established a regular form of government in all the different provinces, and taught the people by experience to consider the loss of liberty as the most happy incident that could befall them, since they only exchanged a barbarous freedom for a regular, well-conducted, and civilized state of society. Having appointed magistrates to preside over the execution of the laws, and enforce obedience to his orders, he returned to *Cuzco* amidst all the festivity and joy which a people, enamoured of their sovereign, could express. Immediately he rewarded all who had distinguished themselves, disbanded his army; and resigning all farther thoughts of military achievements, delivered himself up entirely to repose, and the peaceable enjoyment of the honour he had acquired by his activity and valour. Among the excellent civil institutions which he set on foot during this interval, were hospitals established for the support of the aged and infirm, which were afterwards enlarged by his successors, and endowed with many valuable privileges. This was the last act that is recorded of the inca *Mayta Capac*, who died in the thirtieth year of his reign full of honour and glory, acquired both in peace and war.

Capac Yu-
panqui, 5th
inca.

It was a custom religiously observed by the incas not to assume the reins of authority before all due honours had been paid to the memory of the deceased sovereign, and his body was interred with the utmost solemnity. *Capac Gupanqui*, the eldest son of *Mayta Capac*, by his queen *Mama Caca*, shewed the usual regard to this practice, and deferred binding his temples with

a with the imperial wreath, until the last obsequies were paid to his father. Then he took upon him all the rights of sovereign authority, and entered upon his government, by making a progress round his dominions, inquiring into the conduct of the magistrates, and the administration of justice among his subjects. In this circuit he spent two years, ordering, on his return to *Cuzco*, that troops should be levied for the succeeding year, the new inca proposing, agreeable to that ancient maxim of state observed by his ancestors, to give proofs of his valour in the beginning of his reign, and to enlarge his hereditary dominions by the reduction of those countries in *Centifuya*, lying eastward from *Cuzco*. To facilitate his design, he ordered another bridge to be laid over the river *Apurimac*, upon the model of that made by his father, but more difficult in the execution, because the stream was broader. However, this bridge, though incomparably more
b magnificent, was never held in the same estimation with the former; for this reason chiefly, that it wanted the novelty. Early in the season the inca passed this river at the head of 20,000 men, directing his march through the pleasant territory of *Yanatucaca*, which contained upwards of thirty different nations, all of whom came out to meet *Capac Yupanqui*, men and women, old and young, singing, dancing, and every other demonstrations of rejoicing. The principal people among them were called *Piti*, whose chiefs were so delighted with the favour shewn them by the inca, and certain presents they had given them, that they echoed his fame over all the neighbouring countries, and easily prevailed on the inhabitants to follow their example, and submit to the government of the divine offspring of the *Sun*. From this province he passed into *Amayra*, where no less than eighty nations were assembled
c to oppose his design of establishing the dominion of the incas. They had fortified themselves in a kind of turf enclosure, in which they were blocked up so closely for a month by the royal army, that they surrendered at discretion, and received the inca for their sovereign. Some authors alledge, they stipulated with the inca as a condition of their obedience, his promising, on the word and faith of his divine origin, that he would conquer and subdue the neighbouring province of *Uncafuyu*, inhabited by a warlike people that lived by rapine and robbery, their implacable enemies.

CAPAC YUPANQUI, agreeable to the promise made to the conquered nations of *Amayra*, summoned the lords of *Uncafuyu* to appear before him; for that, being appointed sovereign over all those countries by his great ancestor the *Sun*, he claimed it as his prerogative to
d judge and decide all differences among nations, bring them to the knowledge of the true god, and establish such modes of religious worship and government as he thought would prove most conducive to their happiness. To this message a haughty answer was returned; the barbarians assembled to deliberate upon the necessary measures, and unanimously agreed to acquaint the inca, that it was not their practice to pay the submissions he required, nor to receive laws from a prince of whom they knew nothing; that if he had business with them, he should find them in their own territories ready to receive him with arms in their hands. As to his boasting that he was descended from the *Sun*, it was a matter of no consequence at all to them, who did not hold the *Sun* in any particular reverence, having
e gods of their own, whose protection and goodness they had too often experienced to exchange them for any other. This they declared to be their final answer; and, if it proved displeasing, they desired the inca would resent it in the open field, like a brave and courageous soldier. When this answer was brought back, the inca held a council of his officers, in which the resolution was taken to surprise the enemy, and march into the heart of their country before they could have time to assemble, by which means they might be terrified into submission without bloodshed. Every thing succeeded to expectation; a detachment was made of eight thousand men, who marched with such celerity as entirely disconcerted the barbarians, astonished at finding an army in the midst of their country, when they doubted not but a month would elapse before the enemy could appear on the frontier. Incapable of resisting, they began to repent of the haughty answer made to the inca, and, after some formal deliberation, resolved to yield the same obedience as the neighbouring nations, and obtain an equal degree of royal clemency and favour, by the most inviolable fidelity and attachment. The *Curacas* prostrated themselves before the inca, expecting with dread the effects of his resentment; but he received them so graciously, that they soon laid aside their fears, and beheld him as their guardian angel. He told them, that, when he considered their barbarity and ignorance, he was not surprised at their refusal of a regular scheme of morals, religion, and politics; being well assured, that when they had once experienced the sweets of those arts which conduce to human happiness, they would bless the hour in which they were persuaded to embrace the *Peruvian* laws, manners, and form of social institution. To put an end to all disputes between them and their neighbours
g about the boundaries of their several jurisdictions, the inca ordered the frontier to be marked out by large stones, which he erected at certain distances; and so impartially did he pass judgment, that all parties rested perfectly satisfied with his decision. The *Curacas*, with profound humility, kissed his hands, and requested him to settle the government at his
plea-

pleasure; and when he gave notice of his design to take up his residence for some weeks at *Chiriqui*, the nobility carried him in a chair of gold upon their shoulders in token of their servitude.

THIS was one of the most advantageous conquests hitherto made by the incas, as the country was not only rich in pasture and cattle, but in mines of the precious metal; yet, instead of satiating his ambition, it served only to stimulate him to farther enterprizes. Some little time being employed in the administration of government, he judged it impolitic to suffer his soldiers to relax in military discipline by too long repose, and therefore ordered preparations to be made for another expedition early in the season of the ensuing year. The inca did not lead this enterprize, intended against the *Quechoas*, in person; but appointed his brother captain-general, and four princes of the blood, well experienced in the art of war, to assist his councils. An army of 25,000 men immediately took the field, entered the province of *Catapompa*, and struck such terror, that the inhabitants resolved, with one voice, to receive the inca for their sovereign. Assembling in great numbers, they presented themselves before the general, and one of the orators addressed him to the following purpose: "General, we heartily welcome thee, because thou art to give us a new being, and the honour of being servants to that great prince who derives his pedigree from the *Sun*. We adore thee as his brother and the commander of his armies, giving thee to understand, that your arrival only hath prevented us from throwing ourselves at the feet of our sovereign lord at *Cuzco*, to beseech him to receive us under his mighty protection. The fame of the marvellous actions he hath performed in peace and war, hath affected us with such wonder and love towards him, that every day appears an age to us, until we enjoy the privilege of becoming his subjects. Hereby we promise ourselves the happiness of being delivered from the tyranny and cruelty of our neighbours of *Chanca* and *Hancobualla*, who have grievously oppressed us since the days of our forefathers; so if you will receive us under the shadow of the inca's authority, our happiness will be complete, and our everlasting prayers shall attend all your desires, that they may be accomplished by thy great parent the *Sun*, whom henceforward we worship with the most profound devotion." To enforce their request, they made a valuable present in gold, to be offered to their sovereign the inca, as the voluntary tribute of dutiful subjects; were received into favour, and afterwards governed by laws similar to those established in the other provinces.

THE affairs of this country being properly settled, the general, *Aqui Titu*, led his army across the vast deserts of *Huallaripa*, famed for the great quantity of gold it produces; and having made the necessary observations, proceeded on his march along the plains bordering on the ocean to the fertile valley of *Hacari*, reducing all the inhabitants, without fighting a single stroke, to the obedience of the inca. He found the natives immersed in barbarity, and greatly addicted to the most libidinous gratification of unnatural lust; an abominable practice, which he abolished by the most rigorous laws and exemplary punishments. It was ordained, that whoever should be convicted of sodomy should be burnt alive, with all his effects, and those who were even suspected of the crime, were subjected to very severe usage, whipped with thongs, and sometimes put to death, if the suspicion appeared well founded, although not proved.

THE general having thus executed his commission, returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, and was received by the inca with the favour which his eminent services deserved. He was now appointed regent of the empire, the inca having resolved to make another expedition in person, and his four generals were given him as counsellors. All things being now in readiness, *Capac Yupanqui* departed from *Cuzco*, and marched as far as the lake *Puria*, which was the utmost boundary of his father's conquests. His army consisted of twenty thousand chosen troops, besides recruits picked up in his march, which greatly augmented the number. So formidable a power could not fail to inspire respect, and accordingly all the nations around, for the space of twenty leagues, sent their deputies to do homage to the inca, and acknowledge his sovereignty. Among others came messengers from two powerful lords of *Collafuya*, who had waged perpetual war against each other for many years. They contended for power and authority with the most implacable resentment; but the country being reduced to the most wretched condition by their animosity, it was mutually resolved to submit their differences to the inca, each of the parties beseeching to be admitted to his presence, and the honour of giving a minute relation of the injuries sustained from his adversary. Both protested, with the utmost solemnity, that they would strictly adhere to his determination, which they knew to be infallible, because he was the genuine offspring of that fountain of light, which pierces with so keen a ray into the darkest secrets of the human breast. Their request was admitted, and the curacas desired to attend the inca whenever it suited their convenience. They came accordingly at the same time, both throwing themselves upon their knees, and at once kissing his hands, that neither might seem to have the preference. *Cari*, whose territories bordered the nearest upon the inca's, had the fortune to speak first; he gave a tedious

a tedious account of the differences that subsisted, and the source from whence they arose, confessing honestly, that the quarrel was inflamed by envy, emulation, and ambition; however, as there was some real cause for dispute about certain lands, he humbly hoped the inca would interpose, and by his just arbitration cut off all future occasion for wars, which had desolated the country, and reduced the people to wretchedness. When he had finished his discourse, the other curaca entered upon his address to the inca, and ingenuously acknowledged the truth of all that had been recited by his adversary; submitting with him the decision of their quarrel to the pleasure of his *Peruvian* majesty, who was highly delighted with these proofs of simplicity and frankness. The affair was submitted to his council, the lands in question were equally divided, the parties sworn to pay implicit obedience to this decision, b and for ever to lay aside their animosities, and become faithful affectionate subjects to the inca. This last article was inserted in the treaty in consequence of a conference between the two chiefs; who agreed, that the *Peruvian* government was preferable to their own; and that acknowledging a sovereign superior to both, would be the most effectual method of restraining them within the boundaries assigned by their oath, suppressing any future cause of animosity, and cementing them in the strongest and most durable friendship.

THE affairs of these two chief being adjusted in this manner, the inca commanded two of his principal officers to make a survey of the country, and to appoint such magistrates as they believed best qualified to govern his new subjects with moderation and equity, to instruct them in the laws and religion of *Peru*, teach them the mechanical arts, and promote a spirit c of industry and loyalty that might conduce equally to the glory of the monarch, and happiness of the people; after which he returned to *Cuzco*, and made his triumphal entry with unusual splendour and magnificence, justly esteeming that a more glorious acquisition to his people which was made by the reputation of his justice and humanity, than by the force and terror of his arms.

CAPAC YUPANQUI had not resided long at his capital when he perceived that his conquests were not yet complete, something, he imagined, being still wanting to the glory of his name, and the grandeur, convenience, and security of his empire. Experience had demonstrated the conveniency of the bridges thrown over the *Apurimac*, and now determined him to render a passage less difficult to the country of *Collasuya*, where he proposed to complete the conquests begun on his accession, by laying another bridge over the river near the place where the lake *Titicaca* discharges itself. Directions were issued accordingly, and a bridge more beautiful than any of the former was constructed in the short space of a few weeks. Over this he marched with a powerful army, attended by the prince his son, who was now initiated in the art of war, and taught the practical conduct of a general in the field, all his knowledge hitherto arising from precepts and private instruction. Upon entering the province of *Chaycuta*, the inca ordered the prince his son, with a detachment, to summon the inhabitants to submission. They were greatly divided in their sentiments concerning the answer which should be returned; some dreaded the power of the inca, and therefore thought they ought to comply with the purport of the summons. Some were of the same opinion, because they preferred the *Peruvian* government to their own, and wished to partake of the blessings which they saw enjoyed by other savage nations received into the protection of the inca. A third party, more bold and confident than any of the former, insisted upon their ability to defend themselves, and the shame of surrendering the slaves of a tyrant without shedding one drop of their blood in defence of those privileges transmitted to them by their ancestors, and the natural rights of mankind. In consequence of these divisions, a kind of ambiguous answer was returned, which partook of the several opinions of the parties; but upon the inca's denouncing vengeance unless they explicitly declared their obedience, they soon yielded to their fears, and unanimously agreed to grant him a free ingress into their country; upon condition, that, if his terms were not approved, they might be rejected, and the natives left to their freedom. Although the inca was in a capacity to give rule, yet to spare the effusion of blood, and impress a favourable opinion of his justice and moderation, he accepted the proposal, entered the province, and soon gave the inhabitants such convincing proofs of the excellency of his institutions and government, that without hesitation they swore fealty, and put themselves under his protection; celebrating this happy event with songs, music, and dancing, in honour of the inca.

AFTER settling the administration of the country, and instructing the ignorant barbarians in the rudiments of the several arts conducive to the happiness of their lives, the inca proceeded to *Charcas*, where fame already resounded. The different nations inhabiting this country sent their ambassadors to him, requesting they might be admitted to the privilege g of subjects of the imperial wreath, and instructed in those arts which procured such happiness to the *Peruvians*, and rendered them so much superior to the rest of mankind: however, as all were not unanimous in acknowledging the sovereignty of the inca, those who put themselves under his protection, and embraced his religion, implored him that he would not suffer them

them to be exposed to the resentment of the rest, who would probably treat them as apostates from the manners of their ancestors. The inca granted all their demands without scruple; and, after spending two years in settling the country, returned to the imperial city of *Cuzco*, carrying in his retinue some of the principal inhabitants of *Charcas*, that were desirous of visiting their celebrated capital, of which such wonders were reported. Here he dismissed his troops, suffering them to return to their several homes, to enjoy, in peace and tranquility, the fruits of their labour.

CAPAC YUPANQUI now devoted himself entirely to the government of his people, leaving to the prince, *Inca Roca*, the care of extending the limits of the empire, and annexing new conquests. It was proposed to stretch the boundaries of the empire further on the side of *Chincafuya*, which, being a barren desolate country, was neglected by all the incas since *Manca Capac*; and for this purpose a formidable army was raised, with which the prince crossed the *Apurimac* on floats made of osiers. This expedition was attended with no remarkable incident; all the people submitted on sight of the army, and an addition of twenty thousand souls was made to the *Peruvian* subjects, without the loss of a single drop of blood. Scarce had the prince returned to *Cuzco*, when his venerable father sunk under old age, and yielded up the imperial sceptre, which he had wielded for many years with the reputation of a prudent, politic, and brave monarch.

Inca Roca,
sixth monarch.

WHEN the young prince *Roca* ascended the throne, he determined upon imitating the conduct of his sagacious sire, and acquiring a perfect knowledge of the extent and power of his dominions, the characters of the public officers, and of the administration of justice in all the provinces; with which view he made a progress over the whole empire, which took up the space of three years. During this circuit he made such prudent regulations, formed such salutary laws, and shewed such a discerning spirit, as impressed the people with the most sanguine expectations, that he would equal the greatest of his ancestors in wisdom, policy, and all the virtues of a sovereign. He penetrated quite to the mountains of *Cordillera*, in an expedition he made, at the head of a great army, in the third year of his reign, and reduced many powerful nations to his obedience. Among the most distinguished of these, were the people called *Chomcas*, who made some appearance of resistance, and deliberated, with great solemnity, whether they should accept the inca's proposals, or dispute his entrance into their province at the hazard of a battle. The inca, observing their hesitation, resolved to cut off all room for debate, marched into the midst of their country, entered upon hostilities, and struck such terror into the people, that they yielded immediately to all that was required, and used all their influence with several other adjacent nations to follow their example, as the only means of avoiding the inca's resentment, and partaking of the felicity which all his subjects enjoyed under his wise administration. These conquests were followed by the reduction of the provinces of *Uramarca*, *Sulla*, *Utumfulla*, and divers others, in which were contained above forty thousand families; whence we may judge of the importance to the state of this expedition.

AFTER the inca's return to *Cuzco*, he spent some years in the quiet possession and government of his kingdoms, employing his son, the prince *Tabuarhuacac*, in all foreign affairs, particularly in the conquest of *Antisuya*, a province to the eastward of *Cuzco*, beyond which none of his predecessors had attempted to penetrate. This prince derived his name from a superstitious prophecy uttered at his birth, that his life would be unfortunate, and disgraceful to the empire; to falsify which, his royal father bestowed the utmost pains on his education, and now sent him early into the field to be instructed in the art of war, before he should come to the government of a great kingdom. He ordered an army of fifteen thousand men to be raised, with which he detached this young prince over the high mountain of *Canastucaya*, the most difficult enterprize ever yet attempted by the *Peruvians*. By this he intended to inure him to fatigue, and render him accustomed to danger; and his orders were executed with so much punctuality, as left him no room for suspecting either the prince's judgment or courage, notwithstanding he was afterwards justly taxed with pusillanimity. By means of this last conquest, the empire was extended from north to south above two hundred leagues, and from east to west considerably above half that space; all which tract of country the politic inca laboured assiduously to cultivate, and adorn with palaces, gardens, baths, and other public structures, which not only kept his people in constant employment, and improved them in the arts, but added greatly to the pleasure, convenience, and grandeur of the state; and for the better accommodation of the people, he erected public granaries, storehouses, and magazines, on all the great roads, which he filled with provision, cloathing, utensils of labour, ammunition, and every necessary either for the merchant, the husbandman, the mechanic, or the soldier.

IN this manner he passed several years; and having compleated his projects concerning the domestic policy of his kingdom, he once more turned his views towards the enlargement of his dominions. The reduction of the provinces called *Charcas* was begun in the

- a lite reign, but never completed; a work reserved for the great inca *Roca*, which was to immortalize his fame. As the enterprize was deemed arduous, an army of thirty thousand select men was levied, and the emperor resolved to command in person, the government being left in the hands of the prince, assisted by several counsellors, that he might gain some acquaintance with the affairs of the cabinet, as well as of the field. Arriving, after a tedious march, on the frontiers of the province of *Chuncari*, he sent heralds to the different nations, requiring them to live under those laws which his father the *Sun* had ordained for their benefit; to worship him as the only God, to forsake their corrupt customs and manners, and to follow the light of nature, and the instructions which he should lay down to direct them in ways more agreeable to humanity, than their present manner of living. All the young men took fire at the boldness of this demand, and confident of their own strength and courage, were for giving battle to the enemy. “Who is this tyrant (said they) who would oblige us to renounce our natural gods and adore a stranger, a god unknown to us, and recommended only as he happens to be the parent of the usurper? What right has he to require that we should depart from our manners rendered venerable by their antiquity, and abolish the sacred customs handed down from our ancestors, only to receive new laws from him, which would pave the way to taxes, tributes, impositions, and services, with all the other train of vexations and grievances which afflict his oppressed vassals? These are conditions not to be endured by a free people, while they are able to defend their liberties, and, at the worst, are not unwilling to perish with their freedom.”
- c All the old men were, nevertheless, of a contrary opinion; they judged with more caution, and dreaded the power of the inca which they were sensible they could not withstand. It was their opinion, the proposals ought to be debated with impartiality. They had conversed for many years with the subjects of the inca, and could never learn that he had ever given cause for the severe reflections thrown out against his government, by the fiery and over-weening young persons who spoke before. They had always been told, that his yoke was easy, his administration equitable, and his laws salutary; that he conducted the state as the father of a family, and regarded his subjects as his children; that the lands upon which he seized, were not the possessions of the *Indians*, but waste fields, and desert countries, which he rendered flourishing and fertile by the force of culture; and that he required no other tribute than the fruits of those lands, manured, tilled, and sowed, at his own expence. As a proof that he did not subsist by oppression and robbery, they desired the young men to inform themselves how much the estates of the *Indians* had of late years been improved, and then to judge of the wisdom of the inca’s government, by the degree of wealth and felicity which his subjects enjoyed. Such indeed was his reputation for justice, that many neighbouring provinces, allured by the gentleness of his servitude, voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the inca. It was therefore more adviseable, that they should yield without force or constraint, before matters came to such an issue, that they would neither be able to defend their liberty, nor procure such terms of submission, as might now be readily granted. As the religion of the inca appeared to be one of their great objections, it ought to be well considered, they said, that the *Sun* more visibly deserved worship, on account of the light and heat it afforded, than any of those dumb and insensible idols which they formed with their own hands.
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f WITH these, and some other arguments, the sages at length so far prevailed, that a resolution was taken to wait upon the inca, with presents of the fruits and best produce of the country, the young men carrying their arms in their hands, in token of their willingness to serve him in quality of soldiers, to assist in his conquests. They were most courteously received by inca *Roca*, presented with cloaths, and other valuable gifts, admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured of his subjects; five hundred of the young men were chosen by lot into his service, and the rest sent home for the defence of their country against the attacks of their savage neighbours. In a word, his behaviour was so gracious, affable, and engaging, that all cried out with joy and exultation, “How like art thou to a child of the sun! how worthy art thou of the title of king! how well thou meritest the appellation of protector of the poor, and redresser of the injured! We no sooner became thy subjects, than thou didst load us with thy favours and benefits. May the blessings of thy father the *Sun* shower down upon thee; and all the nations of the world obey, and fall down before thee; for thou art truly the *Capac* inca, who deserves riches, absolute power, and universal dominion.” Having annexed a space of a hundred leagues to his empire, the inca returned to *Cuzco*, and spent the rest of his life in peace, dying at a very advanced age, in the fiftieth year of his reign, after having established the reputation of the wisest, the most benevolent, and virtuous monarch, who had ever been honoured with the imperial wreath. His memory is held to this day in veneration, upon account of the many excellent laws he established, of which the following are the most remarkable. That the children of the common people should not be taught the liberal arts and sciences, which served only

only to render them haughty, proud, and above labouring at the mechanic arts, so essential to the good of society : that the nobility should be diligently instructed in every branch of learning, in order to qualify them to discharge those functions and duties, which belonged to their rank and dignity; that thieves, murderers, adulterers, and incendiaries, should be hanged without mercy, immediately upon conviction : that sons should obey their fathers, and be considered as minors to the age of twenty-five years; after which time they should be employed in matters tending to the good of the state. Inca *Roca* was the first institutor of schools at *Cuzco*, in which the *Amantas* were appointed to instruct the princes of the blood and young nobility in the arts and science by daily discourses; for as yet the *Peruvians* were wholly unacquainted with the use of letters. They besides taught the worship of the true god, and explained the spirit of the laws, by demonstrating the reasons and principles on which they were founded; by this means accustoming their minds early to politics, and the art of government, which ought to constitute the principal knowledge of persons of their birth and quality. The *Amantas* also taught history, poetry, philosophy, astrology, and music, in all which they pretended to some skill, though it was of a very limited nature, as the *Spaniards* found on their arrival in the country, at a period when the sciences had made but a slender progress in *Europe*, and more especially in the dominions of his Catholick majesty. By oral instructions the youth were taught the military art, and the sciences, while they read in their knots the history and actions of past ages. Under the *Amantas* likewise, they improved themselves in eloquence, oeconomies, and the government of their own private, as well as of the publick affairs. This mode of education was not only authorized, but strictly enjoined by a law passed in this reign; and for the encouragement of the natives and professors, handsome salaries were established for their genteel maintenance, in order to give their instructions more weight with the pupils. The seminaries of literature were further endowed, and strongly patronized, by a succeeding inca, grand nephew to inca *Roca*.

WE shall close this reign, with repeating some celebrated sayings, ascribed to the inca *Roca* by the *Spanish* writers *Blas Valera* and *Garcilasso*. When he reflected on the immensity, beauty, and splendor, of the heavens, he would say, "If the heavens be so glorious, glittering, and resplendent, which is the throne of the *Rachacamac*, how much more glorious and resplendent must his person be, who is the creator of all things in heaven, on earth, and in the waters?" Another saying of his was; "If I were to adore any terrestrial thing, it should be a wise and good man, whose excellency transcends all other creatures." He would likewise say, "When an infant is born he grows up, and then he dies. He that yesterday had a beginning, to-day arrives at his end. He that cannot make himself immortal, nor recover life after death is not worthy of adoration." Numberless other adages and remarks are attributed to him, which, if genuine, evince his deep reflection and solid understanding.

Yahuarhuacas
seventh inca.

WHEN the last duties were paid to the memory of the excellent inca *Roca*, his eldest son, *Yahuarhuacas*, ascended the throne, and assumed the reins of government; to qualify him for which his father spared no labour. No prince had ever received a better education, or been earlier tinctured with the principles of virtue; and indeed he exhibited, in the beginning of his reign, the most flattering prospects of peace and happiness to his people. Being of a moderate, gentle disposition, he sought no addition to his empire. Fully satisfied with his hereditary dominions, his whole study was to govern with equity, without encroaching upon the rights of his neighbours, under a pretence of reclaiming them from their barbarity. It is reported, that certain inauspicious predictions, published at his birth determined him to pursue this pacific conduct, as the most certain means of escaping the danger with which he was threatened. However, that his time might not be consumed in inactivity, and in a manner unserviceable to his people, he made divers progresses over the kingdom, improved and adorned several parts of the country with stately buildings; and gained the esteem and love of his subjects, by divers acts of benevolence, munificence, and liberality. His neglect of that maxim of state, whereby the sovereign was required to give some proof of his warlike genius, and to add to the dominions of his ancestors, drew so many reflections on the inca's courage, that, after he had reigned for many years with the utmost tranquillity, he was at length forced into hostile measures, diametrically opposite to his own judgment and natural disposition. His caution was construed into timidity, and his ardent love of peace into pusillanimity. He resolved, therefore, to send twenty thousand men upon an expedition to the frontiers of *Arequaba*, to reduce a large peninsula, which had been overlooked by his ancestors in the course of their conquests. An army was assembled, and his brother appointed to conduct this enterprize, the inca not chusing to go in person, so strong an impression had his mind received from the predictions we have mentioned. Every thing succeeded to the utmost wishes of the prince; a large tract of country was subdued, and the army returned triumphant to *Cuzco*, which so animated *Yahuarhuacas*, that he began to aspire at the fame of a conqueror, and now entered

a tained thoughts of reducing certain warlike savage nations, that had struck with dread the boldest of his ancestors. Yet his ambition was frequently checked by sudden emotions of fear, which obliged him to stop short in the middle of his preparations, and declared to all the world the motives of his irresolution. In consequence his character began to suffer, and he found himself sinking daily in the esteem of his subjects, who considered valour as the first and most essential quality of a monarch. While he was thus tossed between contending passions, the untoward disposition of his eldest son and heir to his dominions, opened a new source of affliction. The prince had resigned himself to every kind of debauchery and extravagance, disdaining all the admonitions of his father, and even treating his person with disrespect, until at length he fixed upon the resolution of disgracing and disinheriting b him, as unworthy and incapable of wielding the imperial sceptre. At the age of nineteen, the prince was banished the court, to the mean employment of feeding the cattle of the *Sun*, on certain pleasant pastures, at the distance of a league from *Cuzco*. As he had not power to resist the imperial command, he submitted with seeming cheerfulness, and diligently executed the servile business assigned to him, for the space of three years.

THESE domestic troubles afforded the inca a fair opportunity of laying aside all thoughts of war without reproach. For three years he attended only to the good government of his people, and the means of reclaiming his sons, for whom he still entertained a paternal affection, notwithstanding all his vices. One day about noon the disgraced prince entered the palace without companions or attendants, and with marks of deep contrition and sorrow, requested c to speak with his father, upon business of the highest importance. Upon hearing the message, the inca, persuaded it was only a stratagem to work upon his passions, refused in a rage to admit the prince to his presence, and ordered him immediately to retire to the place appointed for his residence, unless he wanted to compel him to execute the laws against disobedience. To this answer the prince replied, "that he came not in contempt of the royal mandate, for which he had the most profound respect, but in obedience to the injunction of another inca, as great as himself, who commissioned him to impart a secret of the last consequence to the empire of *Peru*; and if it pleased his imperial majesty to hear the message, he desired to be admitted to an audience; if not, he had fulfilled his orders, and should return with an account of his unsuccessful attempt." There appeared something so extraordinary d in this reply, that the inca resolved once more to see his son. Curiosity to know who this inca as great as himself could be, was an irresistible motive for complying with the prince's strange request. Accordingly he was introduced, and standing before his father, he told him, "that he was come to acquaint him, that while he was sitting under one of those great rocks in the fields of *Chita*, where he was employed by the imperial orders in feeding the flocks of the *Sun*, there appeared to him a man in a strange habit, and different in figure from any he had ever beheld, his beard being above a span in length, his garments long and flowing, and about his neck he carried a kind of living creature, unlike any animal he had ever seen. This figure spoke to me, said the prince, and cried, "Come in; I am a child of the *Sun*, and brother to the inca *Manco Capac*, who was the first of your family, and e by him I am allied in blood to your father and you, my name being inca *Virachoca*. I am sent by our father the *Sun*, to order you immediately to acquaint my brother the inca, that the greatest part of the *Peruvians* of *Chincasuya*, are in rebellion, and united in a confederacy to assault his dominions, and with a strong and numerous army to depose him, overturn the empire of the incas, and introduce the primitive barbarity. This intelligence I order you immediately to carry to my brother the inca, that he may provide against the danger, and take such vigorous resolutions as the importance of the occasion requires. As to yourself, I will declare to you, that in whatsoever misfortune thou art, you lose not courage nor spirit, for I shall ever be ready to succour thee as my own flesh and blood; and therefore I exhort thee not to attempt any thing unworthy thy family, thy f ancient descent, and the honour of the empire, for I will be assisting to thee in the greatest exigencies."

THE inca could scarce forbear laughing at the plausibility of this tale, which he was persuaded his profligate son had framed to answer his own purposes; and indeed it is probable that the young man had fallen upon this stratagem, to recover his father's favour, or had actually fomented the rebellions which he now predicted: however, many of the sagest persons of the council judged otherwise, and seriously admonished the inca to make all possible inquiry into the truth of the report, and provide diligently for the worst. They superstitiously alledged, that all due reverence ought to be shewn to those intimations of divine favour, since it was highly improbable the prince would presume to pass for truth a forgery g which might so easily be detected. Nevertheless, the inca obstinately resolved to give no credit to his son; and accordingly ordered him immediately back to the place of his banishment.

ABOUT three months after this vision of *Virachoca*, (for so the prince was afterwards called) a rumour was spread, that an insurrection appeared in the provinces of *Chincafuya*, to which the inca refused giving any belief, imagining it must have arisen from the foolish vision related by his son. In a few days it gained ground; and though no particulars were known, the enemy having blocked up all the passes, yet it now occasioned universal dread and consternation. At length an exact account was brought, that the rebels, after having put all the inca's governors to death, were marching with an army of forty thousand men to plunder, burn, and destroy *Cuzco*. These nations, having submitted out of fear, suppressed their resentment, until a fair occasion offered to throw off the yoke, in the present weak and pacific reign, and amidst the differences between the inca and his son, whose hard usage they determined to make the pretext for their rebellion. The authors and contrivers of this insurrection, were the chief curacas of the provinces of *Charcas*. *Haucstucalla* was the leader, a young man of twenty-six years of age, full of fire, mettle, and ambition; uneasy under the gentle yoke of the inca, and aspiring at liberty and dominion. He despised the character of the reigning monarch, thought it unreasonable that thousands of brave men should be subjected to the will of a coward, and entertained hopes of one day ascending the throne of *Peru*; to which, however, he could have no title, except by conquest.

WHEN the inca received the certain intelligence of these particulars, he was terrified and dismayed. His fears prevented his following the advice of his council, to make vigorous preparations for opposing the enemy; and he suggested to himself so many objections against every thing that was proposed, that in the end he involved himself in inextricable perplexity, leaving neither time to levy a sufficient number of forces, nor a garrison strong enough in the city to resist the rebels, until further succours could arrive. Distracted with his circumstances, he privately resolved to yield to the torrent of calamity that threatened the empire, and retire to *Coilafuya*, where he flattered himself with security, which was the utmost to which he now raised his hopes, leaving the city in confusion, exposed to violence from abroad, and the effects of dissension and discord at home. In this situation every one shifted for himself, some taking refuge in the mountains, some going over to the prince *Virachoca*, and all abandoning the city to its destiny. *Virachoca* was deeply affected with the fate which threatened *Cuzco*, but still more grieved at the misconduct of his father. Immediately he gave orders to all his attendants to repair instantly to the city, and stop the flight of the inhabitants, with assurances, that he would soon repair with an army to their relief. Then he diligently set about collecting the fugitives, and after he had assembled a considerable number, marched with incredible rapidity in search of the inca his father, whom he found on the top of a mountain that overlooked the enemy's camp. Falling upon his knees he addressed the inca; "How is it, sire, that upon a report, the truth of which hath not been examined, that some of your subjects have risen in rebellion, you should abandon your city and court, and fly disgracefully before an enemy you have not yet looked in the face? How can you desert the sacred temple of the *Sun* your father, to be polluted by the unhallowed feet of your perfidious subjects, giving them leave to return to their abominable worship, and the sacrifices of men, women, and children, with other barbarous and inhuman practices, from which they were reformed by your glorious ancestors? What account shall we give to our great parent, if we abandon the sacred virgins of the *Sun* committed to our care, to the brutality and lust of our savage enemies? What benefit shall we get by saving our lives at the expence of our honour, property, liberty, religion, and whatever ought to be dear to us? For my part I shall never consent that the barbarians should possess *Cuzco* unopposed; I shall rather endeavour to stem the torrent with my single person, and appear alone before my enemies, to shed the last drop of my blood, than live to see the dissolution of that imperial seat, reared to its present grandeur by the military toils and trophies of our glorious ancestors; or those horrible sacrifices performed in the sacred temple, founded by the offspring of the *Sun* in honour of their parent. Wherefore let such as have courage follow me, and I will teach them to exchange an infamous and loathsome life, for an honourable death, or by a glorious victory lead them to the paths of happiness and security." Having spoken this, he perceived a spirit of enterprize and emulation rise in the breasts of the curacas and soldiers, who to the number of four thousand men had followed the fugitive monarch in his shameful retreat. They blushed to see themselves outdone in courage by a debauched stripling; and repenting of their mean complaisance to the apprehensions of a timid monarch, resolved to wipe off their disgrace, and assist the bold resolution of the heir apparent, whose virtues now blazed forth with greater lustre, than if never they had been obscured. Accordingly they all joined *Virachoca*, a few old men only being left with the inca, and begun their march towards *Cuzco*, with such expedition, that the prince had not leisure to refresh himself, after a fatiguing journey. In their way a great number of troops were picked up, and the news spreading with inconceivable

a able rapidity, that prince *Virachoca* was coming to the relief of the city, with a resolution to perish in its defence, every heart was cheered, every bosom glowed with renovated vigour, and spirits were infused into every subject of the empire. When he entered *Cuzco*, he was received with loud acclamations as the guardian angel of the state, sent by his great parent the *Sun* for its protection. The vision he had related was now universally believed, and it inspired the people with a kind of sacred awe and reverence for his person. Every man capable of bearing arms hurried to his standard, and he was enabled in a few days to seek the enemy, instead of suffering himself to be besieged in a city that was scarce defensible on account of its extent.

This train of good fortune was greatly encreased by a very unexpected accident. The b *Quechuas*, the hereditary and implacable enemies of the *Charcas*, were the first who had discovered the conspiracy; and perceiving the urgency of the affair admitted of no delay, or of time to receive the inca's orders, they complied with the necessity; and, putting themselves in arms, marched directly for the defence of *Cuzco*, resolving to give proof of their loyalty by spilling the last drop of their blood to relieve the capital. The arrival of so powerful a succour infused universal spirit into the troops: they ascribed this unforeseen and providential circumstance to the promise made to *Virachoca* in the vision; and now, believing the gods fought for them, they eagerly sought to be led to battle. The prince cherished the impression, and indulged the wishes of his soldiers, by entering immediately on his march towards the river *Apurimac*, on the banks of which he proposed exhibiting c the first proofs of his valour, and making trial of his fortune. Having chosen his ground with great judgment, he gave orders for the arrangement of the troops with so much composure, presence of mind, and ability, as astonished all the old officers, who believed him capable of displaying nothing more than a juvenile ardor. Every thing being disposed in order of battle, he sent proposals of pardon, peace, and friendship, to the enemy; promising to pass a general act of oblivion, if they would throw down their arms, and retire home; but the *Charcas* being informed that the inca had deserted his people, and persuading themselves that this circumstance would so dispirit the troops as to render them an easy conquest, they rejected the terms with insolence, and advanced within half a league of the imperial camp; sending word, that to-morrow's sun should discover in whose power d it was to offer conditions of peace and pardon. Both armies remaining all night in arms, the signal for engaging was given by day-light, and the battle joined with astonishing fury. *Virachoca* threw the first dart at the enemy, fell into the midst of their squadrons, and was received with equal courage and conduct. Here the engagement raged with doubtful success for several hours, when 5000 men the prince had placed in ambush sallied out on the rear of the enemy at the most critical juncture, and turned the scale of fortune. The *Charcas* began at length to remit in their vigour, and sink under the impetuosity of the imperial forces, who, seeing them give way, poured in on all sides, and pressed the advantage. Great numbers flocked from the country on the report that prince *Virachoca* was giving battle to the rebels; and the prince, to render these succours of double service, cried e out, that the gods had converted the rocks and stones of the country into men, to defeat the perfidious designs of the barbarians, and fight in defence of the offspring of the *Sun*. In proportion as this notion animated the *Peruvians*, it dispirited the *Charcas*, who were no less superstitious. After great slaughter, they retreated, and left the prince master of the field, though not of a complete victory. They faced about when they were pursued, and the imperialists were too much fatigued to enter upon a fresh dispute merely for the honour of a victory, all the advantages of which they already enjoyed. *Honchocullo*, the principal officer among the rebels, was taken prisoner; together with great numbers of other officers and private men. Several thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, and the prince thought it equivalent to a decisive victory that he was not defeated in this f first trial of his prowess, and in such dangerous circumstances. *Virachoca's* moderation, after the battle, was still more glorious than the valour he had displayed in the action. He ordered the wounded to be dressed and treated with the utmost humanity. The noble prisoners he won by his affability and heroic qualities; and such was the impression he made upon all men, that so extraordinary a change in his manners was ascribed to the immediate influence of the *Sun*, who had destined him to be the saviour of his country.

As soon as the troops had refreshed themselves, the prince dispatched three different expresses with the happy tidings; one to the temple of the *Sun*, to acquaint that presiding lumina- g the inca. Though the *Peruvians* believed the *Sun* omniscient and omnipotent, yet this divinity was always treated as a human creature, whose faculties were limited, and who required information of the event of things below. Having made these dispatches, and given the troops some rest and refreshment, he selected six thousand of the most bold and hardy of his soldiers to accompany him in the pursuit of the enemy; the rest of his army he disbanded,

disbanded, thinking this number sufficient against a broken, harraffed, and fatigued, remnant of barbarians. Many stragglers were picked up in the march, treated kindly, and then dismissed to acquaint their countrymen what they might expect from the clemency of the conqueror. The effects of this wise policy soon became visible; all the provinces of *Charcas* through which he passed submitted, the women and children coming forth to meet the prince with green branches in their hands, crying, "O thou undoubted child of the *Sun*, who art the succour and protector of the poor, have compassion upon us, and pardon our transgressions!" Moved with the gentle usage and clemency extended towards them, the men next sent their submission, and yielded themselves implicitly to the will of a prince who revived all the heroic qualities of his glorious ancestors. Ambition and the thirst of honour operated in the most extraordinary manner upon the mind of *Virachoca*, to whom all the qualities he possessed were natural, although for some time they lay buried in dissipation, riot, and youthful extravagance. The disgrace of banishment, the danger of his country, his father's shameful flight, and the circumstances of the times, had just opened his eyes to his own conduct, and called forth the exertion of all those talents which were natural to his family, although but faintly possessed by his royal parent. By this means he wholly subdued the rebels; and, after having fully established the usual government in the provinces, he made his public entry into *Cuzco*, on foot, that he might assume nothing belonging to royalty; at which, however, it appears, he aspired. Never was conqueror received with greater honours, all the aged incas, whose infirmities rendered them incapable of attending him in the field, now came forth to mingle in his triumph; telling him they earnestly wished again for youth for no other reason than to serve under his fortunate and auspicious conduct. His mother also, with all her women, and the ladies of the court, went forth with songs and dances, to receive the victorious prince. Some embraced him, others wiped off the dust from his brows; multitudes might be seen sweeping the dust from his feet, and strewing the road with flowers; in which joyful and solemn manner he visited the temple of the *Sun* where he devoutly returned thanks to that luminary for having enabled him to overcome his enemies, and rescue the empire from disgrace and destruction. Then he visited the convent of select virgins, to whose prayers and intercession with the *Sun* he piously ascribed great part of his success, and at length quitted the city to wait upon the inca his father with an account of his conduct.

THE inca *Tahuarhuacac* had concealed himself all this while in the *Straits of Mayra*, and now received his son as the glory of his family, the saviour of the state, and the tutelary being who had preserved himself and people from imminent and unavoidable destruction; yet he appeared melancholy, confused, covered with shame, and distracted with the reproaches of his own conscience. *Garcilasso* ascribes the uneasiness, which was visible amidst all his expressions of joy, to envy, thereby intimating an apology for the prince's conduct in having supplanted his father in the imperial dignity. He alleges, that at the public interview few words passed between the princes; but that it was universally believed among the *Indians*, that all the discourse they had in private turned upon the establishment of the government, and which of the two should reign; the inca, who had shamefully abandoned his capital, or the prince who had valiantly defended the kingdom, and subdued the enemies of his country. It was determined in favour of the latter; or rather, in all probability, the prince, knowing his own popularity, chose to gratify his ambition at the expence of filial duty, which is the deepest stain upon his character, notwithstanding all the follies of his youth. To whatever cause we ascribe it, whether to the old inca's voluntary resignation, to the prince's ambition, or to the will of the people, certain it is, that *Virachoca* was raised to the throne in the room of his father, for whom there was a palace prepared in a pleasant valley between the *Straits of Mayra* and *Quespichanca*, where he might use the diversions of hunting and fishing without restraint, or care about public business. The old king was permitted to continue the use of the purple imperial wreath as a badge of his royalty, and to appear in all respects a monarch, except in the exercise of power, which devolved wholly upon the prince; empty honours with which his pride was gratified at the same time that the natural indolence of his disposition was fully indulged. Here he passed the remaining days of his life in ease and tranquility, and died in advanced age, after he had been long dead in the memory of his subjects.

THE prince no sooner ascended the imperial throne, than his new dignity gave additional splendor to all those heroic qualities which had lately blazed forth to the astonishment of his subjects. It was doubtful whether he was more revered on account of his vision, or admired for the valour and activity displayed in the field against the enemies of his country. No one presumed to question his being under the immediate protection of heaven, and the peculiar favourite of his parent the *Sun*, which had already obtained to him the appellation of *Virachoca*. To perpetuate the memory of this vision, and keep up the superstitious esteem of the people, the inca gave orders that the foundation of a temple should be laid on the

Virachoca
eighth inca.

- a the very spot where his uncle appeared to him, and that it should in all respects represent the circumstances of the vision, the temple being open at the roof to imitate the open field where the god stood, a little chapel rooled with stone being added in imitation of the holy rock under which the prince reposed himself, and a stone image of a human figure, adorned with a long beard, a flowing gown, and an animal with the claws of a lion chained round his neck, representing the apparition. This circumstance encreased the veneration of the *Indians* for his person, and produced the usual effect of prosperity in the mind of the inca, who now issued directions to have a picture made, which reflected upon the character of his father, and blazoned his own superiority with all the arts of adulation. The piece represented the shameful flight of the old inca, the distressed situation of *Cuzco*, and his own victory over
- b the rebels; and it remained for many years a disgraceful monument of filial irreverence and natural pride inflamed by success. However, *Virachoca*, notwithstanding these spots in his character, shone with unrivalled lustre at the head of the empire, in which he established peace and tranquillity, industry, arts, and whatever tended to the benefit of his subjects. He began his administration with bestowing rewards on all those soldiers who had joined his standard in his desperate situation, and taken arms against the rebels. In this distribution of the royal favour the faithful *Quechoas* were not forgot; on them he bestowed various immunities, and, among others, the privilege of wearing their hair shorn, their heads bound with the wreath, and of having their ears pierced in the manner of the incas; a favour of seemingly trivial importance, but to them of the last consequence.
- c Next he visited the provinces, and made such regulations as were best adapted to the peculiar genius of the different climates, countries, and inhabitants, with so much judgment and discretion as greatly augmented his reputation.

AFTER some years spent in establishing the domestic policy of his empire, *Virachoca* issued orders for levying an army of 30,000 men, and determined to make certain conquests towards his remotest frontiers, thinking that the recovery of the empire alone was not sufficient to establish his reputation for enterprize and valour; yet, on more mature deliberation, he relinquished the thoughts of conducting the expedition in person, and appointed his brother *Pabuac Mayta* to the command of the army; a prince who derived the surname of *Pabuac* from his extraordinary swiftness, agility, and vigour. The design was to conquer

d the large provinces of *Coranca*, *Ullaria*, *Llipi*, and *Chicu*, the reduction of which was omitted by his predecessors, and particularly his father, who, after making all the necessary preparations, had relinquished the expedition. After a long march, *Pabuac* arrived on the frontiers of the provinces *Chica* and *Ampura*, the inhabitants of which worshipped two lofty mountains from a principle of gratitude, because from them descend those wholesome streams which give fertility to their lands. They maintained some slight skirmishes with the imperial army, rather with a view of demonstrating their own courage, than from any hope conceived that they should be able to resist the power of the *Incas*, whose fame was exalted so high by the late defeat of the *Charcas*, and the valour of *Virachoca*. Having given sufficient specimens of courage, they then made their voluntary submission, and their example

e was followed by other nations; so that in the space of three years the expedition was ended, and all the nations towards that quarter were brought under the obedience of the inca, and subjected to the laws which governed the *Peruvian* empire.

VIRACHOCA now seemed to have extended the frontiers of his dominions as far as nature would permit, being hemmed in to the eastward by the snowy mountain, and bound in to the westward by the ocean; to the southward he was acknowledged sovereign to the very extremity of the *Charcas*, and the vast deserts which separate *Peru* from *Chili*, then deemed impassable. Yet still ambition found an outlet to the northward, and spurred on the inca to attempt fresh conquests towards this quarter. An army was accordingly raised for this expedition, which *Virachoca* determined to command in person, leaving his brother

f regent of the empire in his absence. Advancing towards *Antabuylla*, a province under the jurisdiction of the *Charcas*, this people testified their repentance of the late rebellion by every possible act of deep contrition, which so thoroughly pacified the inca, that instead of continuing his resentment, he conferred upon them several favours and immunities, as the surest method of confirming their obedience. The inhabitants of the rich and populous province of *Huyatora* proved equally submissive, notwithstanding they were celebrated for their warlike turbulent spirit. No sooner the inca's army approached, than they dispatched ambassadors to assure *Virachoca* of their obedience and profound submission to his will and pleasure. *Pocra* and divers other provinces yielded with as little resistance; upon which the inca disbanded the bulk of his army to avoid oppressing his new subjects, and applied himself

g diligently to settle the civil government of his conquests; establishing such laws and ordonnances as he believed would prove most conducive to the good of the people. It was here he cut a fine canal, flowing for the space of 120 leagues, and 12 feet in depth, for the conveniency of trade and navigation; a work which to this day remains as a monument

ment of his magnificence, power, and attention to the interest of his subjects. It had its course through all the country of the *Rucanas*, and by means of numberless rivulets issuing from it on both sides, watered the finest pasturages in the whole empire of *Peru*. Another aqueduct of the same nature, but still more magnificent, he made in the provinces of *Contisuyu*, which though it was productive of the greatest blessings to the people, the lazy *Spaniards* have suffered to go to ruin.

THESE stupendous works and useful conquests were succeeded by another progress, which the inca made through all his dominions, to inspect how well his orders, with respect to domestic policy, had been executed. He pried, with the most curious eye, into the conduct of his officers and magistrates; punishing every neglect of duty, every act of oppression and injustice, with the utmost rigour. Passing from one province to another, and distinguishing merit by his peculiar favour, he at last arrived on the sea coast at *Toracopa*, where he received ambassadors from the kingdom of *Tucman*, which the *Spaniards* call *Tucuman*, distant about 200 leagues from the southwest of *Charcas*. When the ambassadors were admitted to an audience, they told the inca, that, excited by the report of his famous achievements, the equity of his proceedings, the excellency of his laws, instituted solely for the benefit of his subjects; the purity of his religion, the clemency of his disposition, and the miracles wrought by his father the *Sun*, they were come to learn the certainty of what fame had spread abroad on her wings, and diffused far and wide, with such circumstances as almost exceeded belief. Their *Curacas* had commissioned them, in case they found things any way agreeable to flattering report, to implore the protection of the great inca, to put themselves under his dominion, and request that he would condescend to govern them by a prince of the royal stem, who would instruct the people in the *Peruvian* laws, customs, and religion. "Perceiving, said they, that all things greatly exceed the wishes of the most sanguine imagination, we humbly entreat your divine majesty that you will be pleased to take us under the shadow of your wings, in hopes and expectation of which we do here prostrate ourselves before you as the undoubted offspring and legitimate issue of the *Sun*, acknowledging you for our sovereign king and lord; in testimony whereof we do offer our persons, with the fruit of our lands, to be disposed of as you in your justice shall think proper." Having said this, they offered their presents, consisting of fine honey, cotton, pieces of cloth, corn, pulse, gold and silver; and which metals, they told the inca, were not the produce of the country, nor, in their opinion, at all necessary to the happiness and convenience of life. The inca received them in the most gracious manner; they were entertained with the utmost splendor and hospitality, and then dismissed with presents and the highest sentiments of *Virachoca's* goodness and virtue. They confessed that the laws and constitutions of *Peru* were worthy of their divine origin, and gave the first intimation of *Chili*, in the conquests of which they promised to assist the inca with all their forces, "that every part of the world might taste the blessings consequent on so rational, humane, and excellent a government."

WHILE the inca was thus employed, advice was received of the flight of the brave *Honcobuallo*, chief of the *Charcas*; a step which greatly astonished *Virachoca*, as he had, for the space of ten years, been endeavouring to conciliate the affections of this prince by the utmost generosity, munificence, and favour. The great spirit of *Honcobuallo* could, nevertheless, brook no subordination; he regarded the royal bounty as an indirect reflection upon his own inferiority, and he particularly resented the degree of esteem shewn for the *Quechoas*, his declared enemies. Fired with these imaginary injuries, he determined, against the general sense of the people, to purchase his liberty at the expence of his fortune and his life. After a pathetic speech to his subjects, in which he blazoned out, in the strongest colours, the blessings consequent on liberty to a generous mind, even in a state of poverty, he took his leave, with a resolution to try his fortune, and endeavour to establish a sovereignty in some remote country. Those who were so strongly attached to his fortune as to connect themselves with him in all situations, were recommended to remove out of the country with all possible silence, to avoid exciting the jealousy of the inca, and incurring his vengeance. Great numbers accordingly quitted the province, and assembled at an appointed place out of the dominions of the inca, where *Honcobuallo* was chosen king and leader of this band of adventurers; which appeared to them the most probable means of regaining their liberty, as it would be in vain to attempt throwing off their subjection to so powerful a monarch as *Virachoca*. To the number of 8000 fighting men, with their wives and children, abandoned their country, out of attachment to their chief, and love of freedom. They directed their course towards the *Cordellara* mountains, and are said to have traversed above 200 leagues of a barren country; but where they settled is not determined. As to the inca, he no sooner received the news than he took all possible measures to prevent the escape of the fugitives; but they had conducted themselves with such prudence as secured success. When he found matters could not be remedied, he entered upon measures to remove every cause of discontent

a tent among the *Charcas*, and sent his brother to enquire into their grievances, and conciliate their minds by the utmost lenity and liberality. By these means the *Charcas* were soon brought not only to forget their beloved chief, but even to rejoice at the flight of a prince whose turbulent humour proved an insurmountable obstacle to their peace, while his courage and munificence gained their affections.

At length the inca *Virachoca*, after governing for many years with the greatest reputation, was forced to submit in the zenith of glory and prosperity, to the common fate of mankind, and yield to mortality, while he was revered as a deity. He is the reputed author of a prophecy, universally believed in *Peru* at that time, and preserved among the royal archives; "that, after a certain period of years, and the succession of a certain number of incas, there should come a people from remote countries, never seen or known before in *Peru*, who should abolish the religion, trample upon the laws, and subvert the empire of the incas." He is reported likewise to have been held as an oracle by the people, from the time that *Virachoca* appeared to him in a vision. The *Amantas*, who were the philosophers of *Peru*, and the magicians, consulted him upon all extraordinary appearances in the heavens, flight of birds, and other superstitious prognostications, and yielded intire faith to his interpretations; for, as he was supposed to hold an immediate intercourse with the *Sun*, there was none so hardy as to question his infallibility. One observation of his is memorable, as it distinguishes his good sense and knowledge of the human heart: he was often heard to say, "That parents occasion the ruin of their children by shewing them too much indulgence, yielding to their froward humours, and suffering their passions to take the lead without controul; whereby they become so corrupt in their manners during infancy, as to be ripened in vice before the age of manhood. Others, on the contrary, break the spirit of youth by too much rigour. The true method of education is to steer between both extremes, to encourage vivacity and spirit, to check only what is vicious; by which youth become valiant in war, and wise in peace (F)."

After the usual marks of respect were paid to the memory of the deceased inca, the throne was immediately filled by his eldest legitimate son, the prince *Pachacatec*; a name importing *the subverter of the world*. He began his reign with the established custom of making a progress through his dominions, in the course of which he found reason to be satisfied with the choice made by his royal father of magistrates: Not a single province in the whole empire preferred an accusation against the governor, or desired any change in the magistracy; from whence we may infer with what lenity, prudence, and justice, the incas executed the laws. Never, indeed, was there a people governed by the mere light of nature and reason with more prudence, equity, and moderation; insomuch, that the *Spanish* writers themselves bestow the greatest praises on the *Peruvian* institutions, both political and civil, notwithstanding the necessity they are under of vindicating the conduct of their countrymen, who, under the pretence of propagating the gospel, committed the grossest violations on the rights of humanity, by establishing an arbitrary and despotic dominion over a people always accustomed to freedom, and the most gentle administration. At the expiration of three years, *Pachacatec* returned to *Cuzco*, and, lest he should appear to dedicate his whole time to repose, set on foot an expedition, in order to establish the reputation of a soldier, as well as that of a statesman. Thirty thousand men were raised for this service, with which army the inca, attended by his brother *Capac Yupanqui*, marched to *Vilca*, the extreme frontier of his dominions, on the side of *Cbincafuya*. Here he remained with a body of forces, while his brother advanced to the province of *Sanja*, called *Xanxa* corruptly by the *Spaniards*. This country contained above thirty thousand inhabitants, all of the same lineage and name, *Huanca*. They boastingly derived their origin from one man, and one woman, both descended from the same fountain. They were barbarous, fierce, and warlike; they flead their prisoners, filled their skins with ashes, and hung them up in their temples, as trophies of victory, and proofs of savage valour. The perfect union that subsisted among them rendered the *Huancas* formidable to all their neighbours, and enabled them to extend their dominions greatly beyond their original dimensions. All their acqui-

Pachacatec, ninth inca.

^c LA VEG. l. 5. ACCOSTA, c. 5, 6. l. 5. BLAS VALER. PASSIM.

(F) Before we close this reign, it may be proper to observe, that *La Vega* thinks it probable that *Virachoca* reigned fifty years. He saw his body, which was preserved entire in his days, with the hair as white as snow. He was also shewn the bodies of several other incas from whom he was descended by the mother, which he observes were more entire than the mummies of *Egypt*, as they retained the hair of the head, the eye-brows, and even the eye-lashes, in full perfection.

He adds, that the flesh of these bodies was so plump and full, and the eyes so well counterfeited by a mixture of gold, that they seemed almost alive and natural; which circumstance, however, he borrows from *Acosta*. It appears, indeed, from the testimony of all the *Spanish* writers, that the *Peruvians* were extremely expert in the art of embalming; and one author asserts, the bodies were so light, than an *Indian* could easily carry one of them in his arms. (1)

(1) Vid. l. 5. c. 29.

sitions

sitions they fortified in such a manner, that, notwithstanding the perpetual wars in which a they were engaged, they never lost any of their territories, even when they happened to be defeated in the field. They entertained a particular affection for dogs, and some writers intimate that they worshipped them. This considerable nation, the inca subdued by his moderation and arguments. He convinced them of the superiority of the *Peruvian* laws and constitution; he demonstrated to them the excellency of his own administration, and gained so far upon these savages, that they earnestly requested to be admitted into the rights and privileges of his subjects: by the same policy, he allured several other surrounding nations to put themselves under his protection and government; among the principal of which were the inhabitants of *Tarma* and *Pampu*, which the *Spaniards* call *Bombu*. These, b although warlike and ferocious, yielded to the inca's arguments, and admitted his sovereignty without resistance. There was something peculiar in the customs of these new subjects. They sealed matrimony with a kiss, all the previous ceremony consisting in the declaration of the parties, that they were mutually agreeable to each other. Widows cut off their hair in testimony of their grief for the decease of their husbands, and were not allowed to marry within the year. On festivals all abstained from animal food, and the priests were never supposed to eat any thing that ever enjoyed life; notwithstanding which, we are told by *la Vega*, that the people lived without order, government, or religion; perhaps he means that they were unacquainted with monarchy, and the worship of the sun.

EVERY thing being adjusted to the inca's satisfaction in these countries, his brother c marched with the main body of the army to the territory of *Chicarpac*, possessed by a warlike nation, exceedingly barbarous in their nature and manners. They rejected all his proposals, and bid defiance to his menaces. Finding moderation answered no purpose, the prince entered upon hostilities; and, in a few skirmishes, no less than four thousand *Indians* perished, which struck such a dread into the enemy, that they submitted, without further efforts to defend their liberties. Nor did they admire the clemency of the victor less than his valour; they were astonished to find him admit them into the same degree of favour as other nations, who had made no resistance, and asked, that if such was the virtue of the general, what might they not expect from the inca himself? After giving them instructors, rulers, and garrisons to keep them in obedience, the prince directed his march to d a large and populous province, called *Ancara*; which immediately acknowledged the sovereignty of the inca, and was imitated by another powerful neighbouring province, to which the *Spanish* writers give the name of *Huyallas*. Here he abolished the abominable practice of sodomy, so frequent in this country, that *Huyallas* became an opprobrious name among all the *Indians* of the adjacent provinces.

WITH this conquest ended the expedition of *Yupanqui*, after which he returned to *Cuzco*, and was received with triumphal honours by the inca, the people being ordered to devote a whole moon to rejoicing, and to celebrate their festival with such games and sports as reflected honour upon the victorious prince. These holidays ended, the inca enquired into the degree of merit displayed by each of the officers, and soldiers in the expedition, and rewarded them proportionably, with such admirable policy and discernment as to inflame e them to emulation. His next measure was to make a second progress through his dominions, in which course he beautified and adorned the provinces with a variety of temples and stately publick edifices. Among these were several fortresses on the frontiers, which he garrisoned strongly, and beautiful palaces seated in the pleasantest vallies, which were intended for the royal residence. Nor were these works wholly confined to ornament; storehouses were erected, and granaries built in all the great roads, to supply the people with provision in years of scarcity. Divers laws and ordinances were promulgated in the different provinces, in all which the inca studied the peculiar temper and disposition of the people, indulging each nation in their own customs, in all matters which did not interfere f with the general plan of legislation. Having spent three years in this expedition, he returned to the capital, and consulted with his brother and ministers about the intire reduction of the extreme province of *Chinchafuya*. When the resolution was taken of completing the conquests on that side, the command was given to the prince *Yupanqui*, whose admirable services in the last expedition proved him deserving of this confidence, and the inca's eldest son, then sixteen years of age, being sent under him to receive the first instruction in the rudiments of the art of war. The greatest army ever beheld in *Peru* was levied on this occasion; no less than fifty thousand fighting men took the field, the uncle and nephew leading the van directly to the province of *Chincarpa*. On their arrival the usual summons was sent to the inhabitants of the province of *Pinan*, which submitted without delay, from g a sense of the inability to resist so vast a power, and conviction of the superior excellence of the *Peruvian* constitution. Similar messages were sent to the provinces of *Huaras*, *Canchuca*, and *Nisossampu*, but they were received by the spirited inhabitants in a very different manner. Far from copying the tame submission of *Pinan*, they confederated together for their

a their mutual defence, returning this answer, " That they had rather perish than renounce the laws, customs, and religion, handed down to them by their venerable ancestors." They added, that, perfectly satisfied with those gods, who had shed the blessings of freedom and independence on their forefathers, they had no occasion to change them for that specious phantom of religion, with which the inca allured their simple neighbours, and usurped a tyrannical dominion. Upon this they retired to their strong holds, knowing how unable they were to face the imperial army in the open field. They seized upon all the passes, and fortified themselves in a situation almost inaccessible; laying in such store of provision, as evinced their resolution of standing an obstinate siege. *Tupanqui* received without surprise the rude and haughty answer of this savage people, with whose bravery and love of liberty he seemed even delighted. b He divided his army into four battalions, and resolved to block up the enemy so straightly that they should be compelled without bloodshed into obedience: however, this humane design was frustrated by their ferocity. They disputed all the passes with the utmost obstinacy, and made the most desperate sallies out of their strong intrenchments. Each of the provinces strove who should exceed the other in feats of arms, and martial achievements: the consequence was dreadful; thousands perished on the points of the swords of the imperialists, who very prudently kept on the defensive, until the first effort of the enemy's fury was over, and their rage subsided. When famine began to prevail in the camp of the besieged, they dispatched their wives and children in quest of provision, who, being taken prisoners, were treated with such kindness by the inca, c that they returned with the loudest encomiums on his valour, generosity, and clemency. This politic tenderness was well received by the enemy, though, for some time, it seemed rather to inflame and animate them to a higher pitch of fury. At last, grown feeble with disease and hunger, affected with repeated instances of the inca's generosity, their hearts softened, they melted into complacency, and, by the joint consent of their leaders, dispatched ambassadors to the prince to implore his pardon and clemency. The reception the ambassadors met with was so gracious, that they stood amazed at the unparalleled goodness of the person, whom they had lately considered as the most oppressive tyrant. All were dismissed to their houses and dwellings without so much as a reproof; the prince even extolled their bravery, telling them, that their valour, as enemies, was the surest pledge of d their fidelity and obedience, as subjects; he ordered their lands to be sowed, placed magistrates over them, and established such institutions and regulations as were the most suitable to the spirit of a free, valiant, and barbarous people.

ADVANCING farther into the country, the prince arrived on the confines of the province of *Huamuchacu*, governed by a lord of the same name, a person of profound judgment and prudence, who had long been striving in vain to civilize his rude and barbarous subjects. This nation worshipped trees and pebbles, of which the most shining were held in the greatest devotion, and deposited with the utmost care in their houses. They lived like wild beasts in hollow trees, caves, and rocks, and offered sacrifices of human blood. Their lord had conceived a plan of government more suitable to moral and rational e life; but the ferocity of his subjects prevented his putting it in execution. Now he joyfully entertained the messengers sent by the prince with proposals to embrace the laws and religion of the *Peruvians*, of which he conceived an extraordinary favourable opinion from report. It was sufficient proof of his moderation and patriotism, that he preferred vassalage, and such laws and ordinances as might contribute to the good of his people, to sovereignty and independence in the present savage situation of the nation. He hoped, that he now should be able, under the protection of the inca, to oblige his subjects to listen to reason, and yield to the repeated trials he was determined to make of civilizing them. To the prince he sent the strongest assurances of his respect and submission, acquainting him with his present circumstances, and requesting he would advise him in the means of f accomplishing his purposes without violence or bloodshed. Encouraged by these demonstrations of duty, the inca marched into the province, and was met by the *Curaca* with such presents as his dominions afforded. He worshipped the prince with devotion, and immediately entered upon the subject of the interview, and the necessary measures for bringing his subjects to receive the laws and religion of the *Peruvians*. But there was little need of arguments, the formidable appearance of the imperial army, the cloathing, arms, manners, and apparent happiness of the soldiers effected every thing. Those, who had resisted all the reasonings of their excellent prince, gave way to their fears, and yielded immediate submission to the inca, as soon as they were informed that they should receive the same encouragement and protection as the soldiers, whom they so greatly envied; accordingly, g the people were collected from the woods and mountains, houses were built for them, lands cultivated, themselves instructed in the arts, and the same plan of legislation was established here, as in the other provinces.

EVERY particular being settled, agreeable to the most sanguine expectation of the *Curaca* ^a *Huamachacu*, the prince proceeded on his conquests to the province of *Cassamarca*, inhabited by a bold and warlike nation, and since become famous on account of the imprisonment of the unfortunate inca *Atahualpa*, perfidiously put to death by the *Spaniards*. The inhabitants of this country having long observed the growing power of the incas, and the rapidity with which they subdued all their neighbours, were for several years preparing for war, in expectation of a visit. They fortified all the passes, and seized upon the strong situations in the country, where they raised works, and laid up great store of provisions. When they were summoned by the prince to surrender, they returned an answer filled with disdain; and expressed in such contemptuous terms, as almost forced him upon punishing them with the utmost severity. These were the first sentiments which arose in his mind on the return of his ^b heralds; but he soon gave way to others more gentle and moderate, ascribing the insolence of the enemy to their barbarity. He blocked them up closely; studiously avoided coming to action, though he was frequently drawn into bloody skirmishes; and in the space of four months, intirely subdued the fierce and haughty spirit of this free people, who consented to receive the inca's yoke upon the same terms as the other conquered nations. The soil being fruitful, and the situation pleasant, the prince determined to build a city here, and to collect into one regular society all the inhabitants, dispersed in huts over the face of the country. Here he erected a temple for the *Sun*, and a convent of select virgins, with other publick and religious buildings, giving the city the name of the province. Before he returned to *Cuzco*, ^c to render his conquests more complete, he marched to *Yanyu*, a rocky mountainous country, inhabited by a warlike people. Twelve thousand men being thought sufficient to execute all the purposes of this expedition, the rest of the army was disbanded, that they might not be harrassed and unnecessarily exposed to hardships. When the *Yanyus* received the usual summons, they entered into consultation, whether the proposals ought to be accepted, and, after warm debates, at last concluded, that the most adviseable measure would be to engage the friendship of so great a potentate as the inca, by immediate submission; notice of which resolution they sent to the prince. Their submission was graciously received by *Yupanqui*, who gave their curacas present of garments made of the finest cloth, and then entered the province to settle the government. Having thus fully executed his commission, he returned with ^d his nephew, the inca's son, and made a splendid triumphal entry into *Cuzco*, amidst the acclamations of the assembled citizens, who joyfully expressed their sense of the promising qualities of the heir apparent to the imperial wreath, and of the virtues of his uncle and instructor.

FOR the space of three years the inca, assisted by his son and brother, whom he regarded as his colleagues in the sovereignty, devoted his whole time to the strict administration of justice, the execution of the laws, the reformation of abuses, and in adorning his empire, which he beautified by a great variety of stately edifices, aqueducts, canals, and bridges, erected in the different provinces. But something still being thought wanting to the grandeur and security of his dominions, a fresh army of 30,000 men was raised to make new conquests on the side of *Hunafca*. The two princes were again ordered to take the field, and direct their ^e march to the valley of *Chinca*. On their way they received the submissions of the inhabitants of *Yca* and *Pisco*; but the *Chinchese*, relying upon their own valour and numbers, sent a defiance, and told the prince they would neither acknowledge the *Sun* for their god, nor the inca for their king; that the sea was the only deity they had reason to adore, as it supplied them with fish for their nourishment; whereas they could wish they lived more remote from the *Sun*, whose rays served only to scorch and torment their bodies. The prince took fire at the impiety and insolence of this answer, entered the country, and directly commenced hostilities. A sharp skirmish began in the valley; but the heat and dust were so great, that the combatants were obliged to separate. The enemy retreated to take possession of a pass, which, however, they defended with so little address, that the prince dislodged them, and ^f established his quarters in the heart of their country. This stroke of ill fortune did not disconcert or dispirit the *Chinchese*; they forced the imperial army again with great resolution, and used every expedient to recover their losses. Several bloody undecisive engagements were fought; and, tho' the barbarians perceived their own inferiority, yet they expected they should be able to hold out until the intense heat of the climate would force the prince to relinquish his design. Their hope was extinguished on seeing a fresh army enter the country to relieve the other, fatigued with long duty; but even this untoward circumstance could not intimidate them. The war rekindled with more than usual vigour, and the *Chinchese* used their utmost endeavours to strike their new enemies with a formidable notion of their valour. All their efforts were fruitless; the prince hemmed them in so closely, and took ^g such precautions, that there was no room for sallies, which, whenever they were attempted, were repelled with great slaughter. The barbarians at last found their condition was desperate. The streams of water, and all access to provision, were cut off. They could refresh them-

a themselves with neither fruits nor vegetables of any kind, while they were pent up within
foultry sands exposed to the scorching beams of almost a vertical sun. What increased their
misery, was to behold their enemies supplied abundantly with every necessary, and sheltered
by tents from the melting heat. In this situation they lost courage, their obstinacy yielded
to necessity, their pride and confidence were entirely broken, and they readily submitted with-
out trying the utmost extremity; but not before the prince sent them a message, that, unless
they surrendered within the space of eight days, he would destroy the whole nation, without
distinction of age, sex, or condition.

WHEN the capitulation was settled, the prince admitted the curaca to his presence, and
received the submissions of that brave general with equal dignity and grace. He encouraged
b him, with many kind expressions, to hope for the favour of the inca, without endeavouring
to palliate the crime of which he had been guilty in opposing the will of so mighty a poten-
tate. He made him presents of the finest cloaths, received his homage, placed magistrates
in the different departments of the government, and acquitted himself equally to the satisfac-
tion of the inca who had sent him, and of the people whom he had subdued (G). Solemn
festivals were ordered upon his return, and the most splendid processions made to the temple
of the *Sun* that ever were beheld at *Cuzco*.

AFTER being honoured with these marks of the royal approbation, and of the people's
esteem, the prince once more took the field with a fresh army; and entering the territory of
Huarca, began a bloody war with *Chuquimanca*, a lord of four valleys, who had rejected his
c proposals, and refused submission to the inca. This general was at the head of an army of
20,000 men, his reputation was great in war, and he hoped by the valour of his forces, the
situation of his country, and his own ability, to foil all the endeavours of the imperialists. On
the other hand, the prince, tired with the effusion of blood, used every expedient to effect his
purposes by reason and argument. Yet it was impossible to avoid skirmishes, into which
his out-parties were drawn by the impetuosity of the enemy, who attacked them whenever
they appeared. Eight months were consumed in this war, during which time the imperial
army was three times exchanged for fresh forces; a practice first introduced in this reign, and
essential to the supply of the troops, who suffered greatly by the variety of climates in which
they were obliged to serve. *Pedro de Cieça*, a *Spanish* writer of some reputation, affirms,
d that the reduction of this province was not effected in less than four years. Be that as it may,
it is agreed on all hands, that *Chuquimanca* made a valiant defence, and the prince a masterly
attack; cooping up the enemy gradually into a smaller compass, until at length he forced
them to surrender for want of water, provision, and even of room to fight; and all this
with very little bloodshed. These were the motives of this obstinate barbarian's submission,
to which we may add his apprehensions of being deserted by his people; for they had already,
without his consent, dispatched proposals to the imperial general, which were accordingly
accepted, and *Chuquimanca* constrained to accede to them; upon which he obtained pardon;
notwithstanding his refractoriness.

THE government of this country being established, the prince, without loss of time, pro-
ceeded to the conquest of the vallies of *Pachamac*, *Rimac*, *Chancoy* and *Huamac*, all under
e obedience of a powerful prince, called *Cusmanco*, who assumed the title of king. The im-
perialists no sooner arrived on the frontiers of these vallies, than the prince sent the customary
summons, exhorting *Cusmanco* to submit to the inca without resistance, and thereby to avoid the
unnecessary effusion of human blood. He desired no more than his acknowledging himself
subordinate to the inca, renouncing his gods, his worshipping the *Sun*, and admitting the laws
and custom of *Peru* into his dominions. He promised to confirm him in all his rights and
privileges as a sovereign, and assured him that the homage required was rather titular than a
real subjection. However moderate and reasonable these proposals might seem to the prince,
they appeared in a quite different light to the *Curaca*, who, alarmed at the rapid conquests of
f the incas, had provided for his defence. Confident that he should be able to resist all the
power brought against him, he assembled his army, and, in the hearing of his soldiers, desired

(G) It is worthy remark, that the *Chinche* were the
most valiant people who had yet acknowledged the
yoke of the incas. They boasted that they had twice
defeated the imperial armies, though we find no ac-
count of this in the *Spanish* writers. They reported
also, that after resisting the whole power of the *Peru-
vian* empire for a series of years, the war was at length
ended upon certain conditions mutually beneficial.
They also alledged, that before their subjection, or
rather their union with the inca, they were dreaded
by all their neighbours for their power and valour;
that they laid all the surrounding countries under con-
tribution; and that they extended their fame as far as
the province of *Colla*; or the space of 200 leagues.

Whatever truth there may be in these assertions, cer-
tain it is, that their defence was brave and obstinate,
beyond what is generally found among nations enfee-
bled and enervated by the excessive heat of climates;
and, indeed, it is extremely remarkable, that the peo-
ple living within the tropic to the south of the equi-
noctial, were found, even in the days of the *Spaniards*,
more warlike than those in the same degree to the
north; a circumstance which may naturally be ascribed
to some difference in the climate, since in every thing
besides there appeared a perfect equality. The fact,
if true, is curious, and deserves the consideration of
the philosopher.

the imperial herald to acquaint his master, "That his people wanted no other ruler besides a himself; that the laws and customs, which they observed, had regulated the conduct of their forefathers; and that they found their religion so excellent, as to leave them no room for desiring an alteration; that among other gods, they adored the *Pachacamac*, who was the creator and governor of the universe, even of the *Sun* himself; that they had built a temple to this great and invisible deity, where they offered sacrifices, and the blood of their men, women, and children; that he was so awful as prevented their approaching his image to the face; they therefore paid their adorations to the hinder parts, their very priests not being able to support the splendor of those emanations which issued from his countenance. He therefore demanded, as an essential preliminary, that no change should be required in the mode of religion; and promised, if this should be granted, to relax in other b particulars." The answer was no way disagreeable to the imperialists, who, says *La Vega*, worshipped in their hearts the great *Pachacamac*; the prince, therefore, resolved to subdue this people without war, and to gain over their sovereign by gentle usage and arguments. With this view he entered the valley of *Pachacamac*, where he saw the enemy drawn up with a resolution to oppose his progress. Upon this he sent a message to them, desiring that before they engaged in battle, and shed the blood of their countrymen, they would confer together touching the subject of religion, in order to settle those points which occasioned difficulty in relation to the honour and worship of the gods. The prince acquainted them, that besides the *Sun*, whom the *Peruvians* adored, they also held *Pachacamac* in profound veneration, although they erected no temples, nor offered sa- c crifices, to a deity invisible, and above their comprehensions. Wherefore, since they worshipped the same god, and were in fact of the same sentiments, which they only expressed in a different manner, there appeared to him to be no foundation for a quarrel; on the contrary, reason dictated that they should live in the strictest bonds of friendship and amity. He therefore proposed by way of accommodation, that they should acknowledge his brother the inca for their lord and sovereign; that they would believe him a true descendant from the *Sun* and a real divinity, as his acts of justice and mercy daily evinced; and that they would accept of laws and regulations, the principal intention of which was to promote their own felicity. He entreated *Cusmanco* and his people to reflect dispassionately on his offers, and not constrain the inca to impose by force and violence what he wished d might be instilled by reason and persuasion. After some debates in the enemies councils, at last a conference was agreed to, and this produced the desired effect, through the prudence, the moderation, and the affability of the prince *Yupanqui*. The inhabitants of the vallies contented to abolish human sacrifices, on condition they might preserve the other rites of religion intire, and that the incas should pay all due reverence to the oracle of *Rimac*, and consult it occasionally. With respect to the *Peruvian* civil institutions, they admitted of little debate; their own excellency appeared so notoriously to the enemy, that they were no sooner explained than they were accepted. To shew *Cusmanco* that he was treated rather on the footing of an ally than of a vassal, he had an invitation to *Cuzco*, e where his curiosity was gratified with a sight of that celebrated city, and he was indulged with the honour of kissing the inca's hand. In the triumphal entry of the prince, the inca ordered that *Cusmanco* should take rank with the princes of the blood; a mark of respect with which he appeared to be as much delighted, as if he had obtained a victory over the imperial forces. Loaded with honours, favours, and presents, he returned to his own country, and there proclaimed that the inca was the genuine offspring of the *Sun*, and a real divinity, who ought to be obeyed and worshipped.

INCA PACHACUTEC, having thus extended his dominions, established his security, and spread his fame, resolved to desist from military exploits, in order to recover breath, reap the fruits of his victories, and attend to the full establishment of the civil government of f his new acquisitions. As some reformations in religion were also intended in consequence of the late agreement with the sovereign of *Pachacamac*, it was necessary to devote his whole attention to that important object; and indeed, so admirably did he acquit himself of this difficult undertaking, that his reputation is celebrated in *Peru*, not only as the greatest monarch, the wisest legislator who had ever wore the imperial wreath, but as the most devout and sanctified high-priest who had presided over their religion. Six years were employed in framing new laws respecting the civil and religious government of the empire, in building public edifices, and promoting the felicity of the people and grandeur of the state; towards the expiration of which, the inca resumed thoughts of extending his power still farther on the side of *Cassamarca*, by the reduction of the powerful kingdom of *China*. This expedition was entrusted to the young prince his son, tutored in the art of war for several years by his uncle *Yupanqui*, the greatest general in the empire, who now desired leave to spend the remainder of his days in tranquility, "and suffer his nephew to enjoy the honour, as he really had a great share in the conquests too partially ascribed to himself." With an g army

- a army of 30,000 men the young prince reached the frontiers of *Chima*, by way of the mountains; and summoning the king and people to surrender, was answered with contempt. The king sent him word, that his weapons were as keen as those of the *Peruvians*, his heart as bold, and his religion and laws as respectable; and that he would therefore defend them to the last drop of his blood. Irritated with this answer, the young prince, full of vigour and fire, marched directly to the valley of *Pacmanca* to give the enemy battle, and found them ready to engage. He attacked them in a narrow pass with the greatest impetuosity, but the resistance he met with was altogether unexpected. The enemy fought with a composed and cool valour, which he had never before seen in barbarians; insomuch that several thousands of his people were slain before he could dislodge them, although he was supported by all his forces. Sufficiently apprized of the difficulty of the attempt by this first encounter, he sent to his father for a reinforcement, and was soon joined by 20,000 chosen men, who revived the war, and enabled the prince to make a fresh attack; but just as he was preparing to fall upon the enemy, a dispute among his allies engrossed his whole attention. The *Curacas* of *Pachacamac* and *Rhanabuanac* had long been the inveterate enemies of the king of *Chima*, and now their ancient animosity was inflamed by the opposition which he made to the proposals of the inca, who had honoured them with such extraordinary marks of his regard. The princes served with their forces as auxiliaries under the young prince; and the two former imagining, that, swayed by his father's example, he shewed too much lenity to their rival, determined upon taking their revenge, and persecuting *Chima* with the most unrelenting fury; but they differed about the means, and vented the indignation intended against the enemy upon each other. The prince interposed; and by demonstrating to them the fair opportunity which their absurd conduct gave their enemy of destroying them both, at last reconciled them to direct their vengeance against the head of the king of *Chima*. They attacked him in a kind of phrenzy, fought several desperate battles, and proved greatly assisting to the inca in driving the enemy out of the valley of *Pacmanca*. The confederates pursued the *Chimians* to the valley of *Huallmi*, from whence likewise they were forced to retire after an obstinate dispute, in which some thousands were killed and wounded on both sides. Hence the enemy took shelter in the valley of *Sancta*, where it was resolved to make a stand, in confidence of the valour of the inhabitants of this district, who had always been celebrated for their martial disposition. Here such a variety of battles were fought with equality of fortune, that it became doubtful whether the prince would be able to reduce the province by force of arms. This raised the hopes of *Chima*, and flattered him, that a prince educated in the effeminacy and luxury of a court would not long be able to support the fatigue of so bloody a war, and that the ardor of the soldiers would give way to their tenderness and strong desire of visiting their wives and children. Full of these ideas, he refused all the offers made to him by the prince; and instead of ascribing them to his moderation, and wishes to stop the effusion of blood, accused him of cowardice. Collecting all his strength, he fell upon the imperialists suddenly with so much impetuosity as they were hardly able to repulse: notwithstanding which, his captains, who perceived things with less prejudice, became sensible that ruin was approaching with hasty strides, and therefore exhorted *Chima* to make his peace with the inca, which he persevered in refusing. However, when he perceived the prince was reinforced by fresh succours, that his own people were ready to desert him, and that every thing turned out contrary to expectation, he sunk into despondency, sent the most abject submissions to the prince, and promised to receive with gratitude whatever conditions he should chuse to impose. To put the best countenance upon his affairs to his people, he pretended that he was determined to continue the war, and still entertained hopes that their valour and perseverance would be attended with success; but when the inca's answer returned to his proposals, granting him peace, pardon, and friendship, on condition that he would own the sovereignty of the imperial wreath, he seemed to regard it with indifference, and would persuade his subjects that the proposals were made by the enemy, and not by him: however, he said that he would be directed by them in the answer. The captains, overjoyed to find their sovereign compliant to their wishes, and receding from those principles which must have been productive of their destruction, recommended to him, in the most earnest terms, to accept the offer of peace and friendship, as he had now already sufficiently evinced his courage, and might safely rely upon the promises of so just and generous a monarch as the inca. Accordingly the haughty *Chima* yielded to their entreaties, went to the imperial camp, prostrated himself before the prince, and having done homage to the inca, consented to the promulgation of the *Peruvian* religion and laws in his country.
- g BEFORE this war was brought to an issue, the inca *Pachacutec* began to sink under the weight of years; and having now made vast acquisitions to his empire, resolved to dedicate the remainder of his days to tranquility and repose. He honoured his son's glorious conduct with the most solemn and magnificent processions; and told him, that, as he now perceived

his ability to support the load of government, he should die satisfied, and retire in comfort to the bosom of the *Sun* his parent. He lived, however, for some time longer, cultivating every virtue which could endear him to his subjects, and give beauty, grandeur, or happiness, to his empire. He planted many colonies in dry and barren countries, which he rendered fruitful by introducing streams of wholesome waters. He erected temples to the *Sun*, and monasteries for the select virgins, after the model of that at *Cuzco*. He built granaries, storehouses, and magazines, for the convenience of the people, to supply them in times of scarcity, in the most convenient situations. He reformed every abuse in the execution of the laws, and the conduct of the magistrates, which could possibly affect the liberty of his subjects, and introduced many laudable customs respecting the better regulation of moral life. He established a kind of militia in every province, in order to provide for the security of his dominions without the expence of a standing army. He founded military honours and rewards for the encouragement of merit. He enlarged and beautified the city of *Cuzco*, encreased the number of its inhabitants, and built a magnificent palace for the residence of the incas. In a word, after a prosperous reign of near seventy years, he yielded to the fate of mortality, and died as much honoured and esteemed as the most glorious of his predecessors, for which reason he was enrolled by the *Indians* among their gods (H).

Inca Yupanqui, tenth king.

No prince ever ascended the imperial throne with greater expectations than the inca *Yupanqui*, who, immediately after the funeral rites were performed, bound his temples with the coloured wreath. He possessed the intire confidence of the people, who esteemed him not only upon account of his excellent sire, but for his own virtues, so fully displayed in the late expedition. To render himself still more popular, he resolved exactly to tread in the footsteps of the late monarch, and began his reign, like him, with making a progress over all his dominions, and visiting the remotest provinces. The children, he used to say, should imitate the virtues of the father. He was descended from the *Sun*, and should, like that benevolent luminary, cherish with his beams every corner of his empire. After passing three years in this visitation, he turned his thoughts to a dangerous expedition towards the mountains of the *Andes*, being curious to learn something concerning the nations that inhabited the opposite side; of whom the *Peruvians* had as yet but a confused imperfect idea. Religion, the usual pretext for concealing the designs of ambition, was the colour also given to this project; though, in fact, the ultimate intention was to enlarge his empire, and exhibit further proofs of his valour. According to report, these countries were populous and fruitful, and this alone was sufficient inducement. It is supposed from a variety of circumstances, and particularly by the inca's crossing a great river, that this expedition was made against *Paraguay*, the country now possessed by the Jesuits, along the great river of *Plata*. Boats and floats were made for this purpose, and two years were consumed in great preparations. The inca commanded in person, and encountered such manifold difficulties, as were sufficient to overthrow the courage and constancy of a good soldier; but they made no impression on *Yupanqui*. At the head of a great army, he passed over deep morasses, crossed lofty mountains, and penetrated through forests almost impervious, without shrinking at the danger. While he was clambering up the steeps of the *Andes*, he was frequently attacked by crowds of bold savages; and forced to give battle in places where he could scarce get footing. When he fell down the river in floats and in boats, both banks were lined with troops of the natives, who discharged their weapons from either side, and kept the soldiers in a state of perpetual action, fatigue, and hazard. At last, after a variety of skirmishes, of which we have no particular account, all the nations on the banks of this great river submitted to the inca, and received the same laws as all the other conquered provinces. In token of their obedience, they sent presents of wax,

(H) There are a variety of adages ascribed to this prince, some of which we shall mention, to give the reader a more complete idea of his character.---“When the subjects cheerfully obey their prince, then is he truly honoured, and the nation happy.—It is better to be envied because one is virtuous, than to envy others who are good because you are vicious. The envious man treasures up misery to himself, just as the spider sucks poison from flowers. Drunkenness, anger, and folly, are equally pernicious, and differ only in the degree of their permanency. He who kills another without legal authority, passes sentence on himself. Adulterers are thieves, and despoilers of man's honour, the most precious of all their possessions, and therefore ought to be treated with the utmost rigour. A noble spirit is best tried in adversity. Impatience is

the character of a little soul, and narrow education. Obedient subjects ought to be treated with indulgence and clemency; factious, turbulent spirits, with severity and rigour. Corrupt judges are the worst vermin generated in the fores of society. Legislators and magistrates should be especially cautious not to transgress those laws which they form and direct. The man who is not master of himself, is but little qualified to govern a kingdom. He who presumes to number the stars is a fool; and the man who pretends to measure the power of the great *Pachacamac*, worthy of being derided. The physician or herbalist, who knows the name only of plants, and is ignorant of their virtues, is an empiric.” Let the sovereign and legislator remember this (I).

a honey, fruits, and parrots, to the inca, and suffered him to appoint magistrates and officers to preside over the execution of the new laws.

After reducing all the nations called by the general name of *Chuncu*, he proceeded to the province of *Musa*, called *Moxos* by the *Spaniards*, inhabited by a numerous, bold, and warlike tribe. When he arrived on the frontiers of this country, his army was reduced to a very inconsiderable number; the inca, therefore, had recourse to arguments and persuasions, acquainting the people, that he came to instruct them in points of religion and morality of the utmost importance to society. Observing that the *Musas* gave earnest attention to his religious doctrines, he ventured to promulgate the *Peruvian* laws, which proved so rational and agreeable to the barbarians, that they embraced them without scruple, and entered into a perpetual alliance with the inca. *La Vega* reports that some monuments of this expedition might be seen in his time; yet, after all, it is probable, that the inca never descended lower down the river than the province of *Guara*, from whence, again crossing the river, he proceeded to *Tucuman*, and then to *Chili* (I).

Previous to any new undertakings, he returned to *Cuzco*, and raised a fresh army, more numerous than the former, and filled with officers of the blood royal, who desired leave to attend their sovereign. The inca then advanced to the large province of *Chiribuna*, situated to the eastward of *Charcas*, the reduction of which he thought necessary to secure his retreat. As this country was intirely unknown, it was thought adviseable to dispatch emissaries to gain such information, as might facilitate the project, and direct the route of the army. Their report was unfavourable to the people, whom they stigmatized as the most bloody and cruel of all barbarians, perhaps with a design to cool the inca's ardor; but this served only to animate him to the enterprize. He turned round to his courtiers, and said, "Now it is a duty incumbent on me to reduce those horrible savages to the laws of reason and civility." However, as the object was not deemed worthy of his presence, he entrusted the army to certain princes of the blood, who began their march at the head of ten thousand men; and soon found that the report given of the difficulty of the roads, was not exaggerated. Having passed over mountains, bogs, and fens, the soldiers were reduced to such extremity, that all must have inevitably perished, but for the seasonable relief sent by the inca; after all, they were recalled without accomplishing the end of the expedition, the natives taking refuge in places altogether inaccessible.

The misfortunes consequent on this attempt did not prevail upon the inca to lay aside the design of reducing the kingdom of *Chili*. Increase of dominion was a fundamental maxim of the *Peruvian* government, one reason of which was that, without an army, half the tribute paid by the provinces, in cloths, and warlike stores, would be useless to the state, unless consumed in this manner. This was the most arduous enterprize, ever attempted by the incas, and therefore every possible precaution was taken. The inca laid the matter before his council, consulted them in the means of conducting the war, and, having concerted every particular, he set out with a numerous army to *Atacoma*, the remotest province on that side of his empire, which was separated by vast deserts from *Chili*. From this place he sent persons in whom he had confidence, to examine all the difficulties of the march; and indeed, the affair was deemed of such consequence, that it was committed solely to the princes royal. Magazines were likewise to be formed in the most convenient places, and nothing was neglected that could contribute to the security of the army, or the success of the expedition. These discoverers having penetrated as far as *Copayapac*, and made the most accurate observations in their power, returned with an account to the inca, who detached a select corps of ten thousand men to pursue the route they directed, and reinforced this body with an equal party sent a few weeks after. On the arrival of the troops on the frontiers of *Copayapac*, under the conduct of *Sinchirocha*, an officer descended from the blood of the incas, the accustomed summons was sent to the natives, together with such menaces, as threw them into universal consternation. But when it was perceived how small the army was, which the inca detached to enforce those threats, the enemy took courage, assembled, and began hostilities. However, before any decisive engagement was fought, the reinforcement arrived, which struck the enemy with dismay, and determined them to submit to whatever terms the *Peruvian* general thought fit to propose.

A path being now open to farther conquests, the inca prepared a more powerful force, and immediately augmented the army to the number of thirty thousand men. With this armament *Sinchiroca* advanced, and gained footing in the valley of *Chili*, as *la Vega* terms it, after an obstinate resistance, of which we have no account; whence we may infer that

(I) We must observe that the names of provinces have been so altered by the *Spaniards*, and the route of the inca's armies so imperfectly described by all the *Spanish* writers, that it is extremely difficult to fix the precise limits of the empire, and absolutely necessary to call in the assistance of conjecture occasionally.

the narrative would redound but little to the honour of the *Peruvians*, who never failed to transmit an accurate relation to posterity of all those expeditions, in which their valour appeared conspicuous and fortunate. We are only told of one battle, in which the *Chilians* are allowed to have behaved with equal courage and conduct. After the two armies had rested for some days within sight of each other, debating the conditions of a peace, they both suddenly broke off, and prepared for a decisive action. The *Chilian* army did not exceed eighteen or twenty thousand men, but they maintained the engagement for a whole day with such astonishing resolution, that when night separated the combatants, victory remained undecided. Next day the battle was renewed, and raged till night with the same fury and fortune. Unconquered and unspent, both sides returned to the horrid scene, the fourth, fifth, and sixth days, and, at last drew off the field of battle without yielding an inch to the opposite party. The carnage was dreadful, the fields were so covered with dead bodies, and the atmosphere so impregnated with putrid vapours, that the combatants were compelled to leave off fighting before they were tired with slaughter. Both proclaimed victory, but neither possessed the field, nor ventured to pursue the enemy; so that we may justly infer, that now for the first time, the power of the incas was fairly foiled in a pitched battle, by a people whom they reputed barbarous. How the war with the *Chilians* terminated is not known; *Yupanqui* is reported to have persevered obstinately in his purpose, and to have enlarged his empire to the extent of a thousand leagues from North to South. He might, indeed, possibly have subdued some of the provinces of *Chili*, and received the submission of certain nations of that great kingdom; but that he ever conquered the whole is extremely problematical.

WHILE his generals were carrying the reputation of his arms to the remotest countries, *Yupanqui* was beautifying his empire by a variety of stately edifices, especially temples and structures of piety and humanity. A large hospital was erected for the reception of the aged, blind, and lame, an institution scarce ever before seen in a barbarous country, immersed in the grossest ignorance, which conveys to us an amiable idea of the humanity and feeling of the people. In these employments, the inca spent his life in great tranquillity for several years, at the expiration of which he was seized with a malady that proved fatal. When he observed the hand of death upon him, he called his sons to his bed-side, and strictly recommended to them the observance of the laws and religion of their country. Above all he charged his eldest son, who was to succeed him in the throne, duly to administer justice to his subjects in the most equal scales, without which all his other virtues would serve only to gild oppression and give splendor to tyranny. Thus died *Yupanqui*, full of years, glory, and triumphs, having enlarged his empire beyond the conquests made by any of his predecessors, and obtained the well merited reputation of a magnanimous, just, and sage monarch. The fortress of *Cuzco* remained for many ages a monument of his power and magnificence.

Tupac Yupanqui, eleventh inca.

TUPAC YUPANQUI ascended his paternal throne as soon as the customary rites were performed to the last remains of the deceased inca, his father. It was probably some time after his accession that he received the sur-name of *Tupac*, a word signifying splendor or brightness, and importing the greatness of his exploits. It was an established custom for the new monarch to shew himself to all his people by visiting every part of the empire; and *Yupanqui* did not omit a practice founded upon true policy, and equally beneficial to the king and kingdom. Four years were spent in this progress, in the course of which he displayed so many virtues, as intirely recommended him to the affections and esteem of his people; though he now resolved to confirm their favourable sentiments by some farther proofs of his own merit. Under the specious pretext of civilizing savage nations, and promoting the interest of those unhappy *Indians*, immersed in the grossest idolatry, and ignorance, the inca planned an expedition on the side of *Cassamarca*, and raised an army of forty thousand men for this occasion, with which he immediately invaded the province of *Chucupuya*, or the country of warriors, as this word is translated by *Blas Valerius*. It lies eastward of *Cassamarca*, the roads to it were difficult, the situation mountainous and craggy, and the people above forty thousand in number, capable of bearing arms; whence we may judge of the hazard of the enterprize. This nation was distinguished from all the other barbarous tribes, by the peculiar custom of wearing a sling round their heads, as an emblem of their valour, and warlike disposition. The sling was their principal weapon in war, as it had been that of their ancestors, the *Mayarkins*. Before the inca entered upon the conquest of this people, he thought it necessary to subdue the *Huacrachucans*, part of whose country lay in his way. The *Huacrachucans*, were a fierce people, who, for distinction, bound their heads round with black wool, stitched with flies, and the point of a stag-horn before; whence they derived the name, which signifies horned-cap. The natives appeared in defence of their country, in full confidence that it was impregnable. They blocked up all the passes, and were dislodged with great difficulty and considerable slaughter. Having gained footing in their

a their territories, the inca thought proper to save the effusion of blood, if possible, and accordingly sent a summons to the natives, and the most soothing professions of friendship and regard. He gave them assurances, that the ultimate design of his expedition was to promote their happiness, and instruct them in arts essential to their well-being; at the same time, to prevent their ascribing his lenity to fear, he denounced the most signal vengeance, in case they rejected propolis so moderate, and so evidently calculated for their welfare: but while the enemy were deliberating upon the terms offered, he divided his army, and renewed the assault on different quarters, with so much vigour, that he gained several very important posts, and terrified the enemy into submission.

b The reduction of *Huacrachuc* took up the whole summer, and because the rainy season was now approaching, the inca resolved to quarter his troops on the frontiers, and re-inforce his army with twenty thousand men before the ensuing campaign. The cessation of hostilities proved very advantageous to his new subjects, who were all this time learning the art of agriculture, and informing themselves in the *Peruvian* laws and religious worship, from the officers and soldiers, nor did the inca himself refuse his assistance; the chiefs he taught in person, and after they were fully instructed, he appointed them to govern certain districts, and propagate their own knowledge among the inhabitants. The season for action being arrived, the inca *Tupac* drew out his army into the field, and marched directly for the province of *Cbuchupuy*, dispatching a herald before him, with offers of peace and friendship, which were rejected. Both sides prepared for war, soon began hostilities, and fought with such resolution and courage, as occasioned great slaughter. The *Cbuchupuyans*, aware of the ambition and growing power of the incas, expected this invasion, and had made preparations for two years past. Their country was of considerable extent; it was strong by nature, and they improved their situation with all the advantages which their skill in the art of war dictated. All the passes were strongly fortified, and several camps formed in inaccessible situations, surrounded with deep intrenchments, or strong walls, and well supplied with provision. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the inca pursued his design with so much perseverance, that the enemy were driven from many of their strong holds, though with great loss to the imperialists. The inca stormed one camp on the top of a high hill, skirted by craggy rocks twenty feet in height, and accessible only by steps of stairs, which the *Indians* had cut out for their own conveniency. Here great numbers of old men, women, and children, were taken prisoners, and treated with all possible humanity and kindness by the inca, in hopes by this usage to impress the enemy with a favourable opinion of his disposition and government. Advancing after this fortunate incident, to a breach on the snowy mountain, called the *dangerous Gap*, he detached three hundred men to examine the passage, which party was buried in a prodigious mass of snow that tumbled down from the mountain; not an individual having escaped to report the circumstances of the calamity. When a thaw came on, the bodies were discovered, and the inca then ventured to proceed on his march, after the enemy had flattered themselves there was a stop put to his career. Perceiving the very elements were favourable to him, as the barbarians judged by the thaws happening at an unusual season of the year; they gave up all for lost, and submitted without further resistance to the inca's pleasure.

c HAVING settled the necessary ministers and officers for the government of the country, inca *Tupac* proceeded to the reduction of another people, called *Cassa Marquilla*, who defended themselves within their rocks and fastnesses; and who followed the example of the *Cbuchupuyans*, after having tried their fortune in divers unsuccessful engagements. Thence he marched against the people called *Passamarcas*, from a large excrescence on their necks, like the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and from causes nearly similar. These, with several other nations, he subdued with little difficulty, as they lay contiguous to each other, and were terrified with the report of the misfortunes of their neighbours, and the irresistible power of the inca; upon which he returned to his own dominions to repose himself during the wet season, and make preparations for extending his conquests the ensuing campaign. An army of forty thousand men was raised, and ready to take the field early in the spring, with which the inca proposed marching into the large province of *Huancapampa*, possessed by different tribes and nations, who had no kind of intercourse, nor resemblance in manners, except that all were completely savage. All were in a state of hostility with each other, which rendered them an easy prey to the inca; but, though he found it easy to gain possession of the country, he encountered many difficulties in taming and civilizing the inhabitants.

d MATTERS being settled here to his satisfaction, he advanced to the reduction of the great provinces of *Cassa*, *Ayahuaca*, and *Callua*, all the inhabitants of which resolved to defend their liberties; they raised an army, and in a pitched battle, slew eight thousand of the imperialists, though they were forced to yield the field of action. The inca, enraged with his loss, pursued them in their retreat, and destroyed the country with all the horrors of war.

war, which they supported with great patience, and equality of mind, preferring the most a
cruel persecution and misery to the loss of freedom. They retired from post to post, dis-
puted each with unparalleled obstinacy, and would have persevered to the utter extirpa-
tion of the whole people, had not the inca's persuasion, rather than his power, at length,
prevailed, by convincing them, that all the nations, who now acknowledged his sovereignty,
enjoyed an equal degree of liberty with his subjects, and much more rational happiness.
With these arguments they were at length induced to submit, or rather to put an end to
the war; for, after all the bloodshed, it was rather a treaty of peace they made with the
inca, than an acknowledgement of subjection.

THE activity of these last campaigns now heartily disposed the inca to taste the sweets of b
tranquillity. He returned therefore eagerly to *Cuzco*, shut himself up for some time in his
palace to relax his mind and body, fatigued with the cares of war, and then applied his
whole attention to the pacific arts, and particularly to building, for which he had an ex-
cellent taste. Some of the best constructed aqueducts, granaries, fortresses, and temples,
which the *Spaniards* found in *Peru* were the works of this monarch, equally magnificent in
peace, and formidable in war. The fine arts, imperfectly as they were then understood,
he cherished and advanced; but he laboured particularly to bring to a conclusion that no-
ble monument of imperial grandeur, the citadel of *Cuzco*, the plan of which had been
projected, and the foundation laid, by his father. After he had thus indulged himself for
some years in the exercise of his taste and genius, he resumed the thoughts of further c
conquests to the Northward, and raised an army for the reduction of the vast province of
Huanuca, inhabited by a variety of nations, who lay scattered in the fields and mountains,
without intercourse with each other, or any regular plan of society among themselves.
They had some fortifications erected on the tops of the highest mountains, in which they
took refuge against the fury of their enemies, whenever they had the misfortune of being
defeated in the field; but now they neither hazarded fighting, nor chose to rely upon the
strength of their retreats. Hearing of the clemency of the inca, and the excellency of the
Peruvian constitution, they quietly submitted, and without a single blow, became peace-
able subjects to the empire.

THE next enterprize was against *Cannari*, a province so formidable that the inca thought d
it adviseable to augment his army to sixty thousand men. The people were fierce and war-
like; they distinguished themselves by an extraordinary custom of binding the heads of their
children with fillets, so as to mould them into particular forms, which gave a very strange
and peculiar appearance when they grew up. The forehead was generally of an uncommon
and hideous breadth, the nose extremely flat, and the neck distorted, so that the whole na-
tion might be deemed ugly and deformed to a high degree. The *Cannarians* adored the
Moon as the supreme deity; but they likewise worshipped a great variety of sublunary
deities, such as trees, pebbles, and especially jasper, because this kind of stone was rare in
their country. It was conceived these barbarians would have made great resistance to the
inca, but the event proved otherwise. The imperial army no sooner appeared on their
frontiers, than they sent their submissions, and voluntarily received the *Peruvian* laws and e
religion, of which they had heard the strongest commendations. This province was among
the most valuable conquests made by the incas, as it abounded with the richest metals, pre-
cious stones, and the most valuable commodities, and was, for that reason, cherished in a
particular manner by the sovereigns, who adorned it with publick edifices of the finest
structure, which their knowledge in architecture could achieve. *Pedro de Cieca's* words
are; "In short, whatever I can utter or express of the riches with which the incas adorned
these buildings (of *Canuari*) will fall short of the true value;" and a little farther he al-
leges, from the report of the *Indians*, "that the greater part of the stones used in those
those buildings was brought from the great city of *Cuzco*, by command of the inca *Hu-
ana Capac*, by force of men, who drew them with cords and cables, though of an immense f
weight and size." Hence we see, that it was in the succeeding reign particularly, that the
Cannarians began to experience the favours of the incas, and to be distinguished from the
natives of the other provinces.

SUCCESS served only to whet the inca *Tupac's* ambition; for he scarcely reposed himself
after this conquest, but he prepared to reduce all the nations who extend themselves quite to
the frontiers of *Quito*, and opened the way to the reduction of that important province to his
successor, though he was foiled in all the attempts he made to bring the haughty monarch of
Quito to terms of friendship. Forty thousand men were sent in this reign to reduce the pro-
vince; they encountered the enemy in divers bloody engagements, but could never establish
a footing in the country in the life-time of this inca. Whether *Tupac* commanded in per- g
son we know not; certain only it is, that the glory of this acquisition to the empire was left
for his successor; and that *Tupac* died with the mortification of seeing his designs frustrated
by

a by a barbarian, and that his power was not irresistible, as he had been taught to imagine from a flow of good fortune^a (K).

HUAYNA CAPAC, who succeeded to the imperial throne upon his father's demise, had been employed for the two last years in a military capacity, in which he exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and ability. Hence he received the name of *Huana Capac*, which implies a variety of heroic qualities. When he was sent to conduct the expedition against *Quito*, he was only in the twentieth year of his age, and knew nothing more of war than what he had been taught in the closet by his masters; yet did he appear in the field to all the advantage of an old experienced general. In the midst of the most furious hostilities, he never so far lost his temper as to omit any opportunity of effecting his purposes by treaty and negotiation. To his humanity, rather than to want of vigour, the tediousness of the war is ascribed. The people of *Quito* were fierce, obstinate, and warlike; they fought a great variety of bloody battles, but were always defeated, though the victory never proved decisive on account of the prince's moderation, who would not suffer the enemy to be pursued, imagining that so many unfortunate trials of their strength would certainly bring them to a sense of their own inferiority, and the necessity of yielding to a power they could not resist. *La Vega* speaks as if most of these battles had been fought in the life-time of *Tupac Yupanqui*; but there is reason to believe, that the war never went on with such alacrity as after the accession of *Huana Capac*, at least that the kingdom of *Quito* was not conquered before the present reign. The new inca no sooner perceived himself at the head of the empire, than he determined to shew himself worthy of sovereignty by enlarging his dominions. Accordingly he brought a prodigious army into the field, hemmed in the enemy on every side, gained possession of several of their provinces, and reduced them to such extremity, that the king of *Quito*, chagrined with disappointment, harrassed with fatigue and care, deprived of great part of his territories, and unable to defend the remainder, fell sick, and died, as is supposed, of a broken heart. This event was of the utmost consequence to the inca; the enemy's generals fell into confusion; having no head, they disputed about the command, and became successively a prey to the imperialists. Thus *Quito* was at last subdued, after a vigorous war that continued for the space of three years since the accession of this prince, and more than two during the reign of his father.

d Not long after his return to *Cuzco*, the inca began a progress through his dominions, in imitation of that laudable custom established by his predecessors; and he was every-where received with the greatest joy and satisfaction, the curacas coming forth to meet him, and the people strewing the roads with flowers, erecting triumphal arches adorned with roses and odoriferous herbs, and filling the air with their shouts and acclamations. *Acosta* alledges, "That he was adored by his people in his life-time as a god, and with that divine worship which was never before used towards his ancestors, his antient men, still living, do remember, and relate of their own knowledge." He was twice married before he came to the crown; and while he was visiting the provinces, the news arrived that his second queen was happily delivered of a son, which caused his return to *Cuzco* to celebrate the joyful occasion by festivals.

e It was now he commemorated this event by that extraordinary gold chain of which the *Indians* relate such miracles, and after which the *Spaniards* made such diligent but fruitless search. *Garcilasso* acquaints us, that the following circumstance gave rise to the chain: All festivals were celebrated by dances, which differed in the mode in different provinces. There was a royal dance in which the incas themselves condescended to take part, as it was grave

^a Acost. l. 6. c. 29.

(K) For the two last years of his reign, according to *Garcilasso*, the inca *Tupac Yupanqui* desisted wholly from wars, and employed himself in the civil government of his empire, visiting the provinces, and cherishing the arts, to the unspeakable joy of his subjects, who flourished and grew happy under the benign influence of his presence. Several sayings are reported of *Tupac Yupanqui*, some of which seem to prove that he entertained a faint idea of the true God from the light of reason. "Many think, says he, that the sun lives, and is the creator of all things: now it is necessary, that whatever creates all things, should be assisting in the operation of creating those things; but we know of many things created in the absence of the sun; therefore the sun is not the maker of all things." This syllogism favours too much of the scholastic pedantry of the *Spaniards* to be entirely credited of the illiterate inca, whom we must allow to be a tolerable

logician, if he argued in the manner alledged by *Blas Valera*. Another of his sayings was, "That avarice was a vice the least becoming a prince of all others, as it rendered him incapable of governing himself, who was born to rule over thousands, and diverted all his attention from the public welfare to his own private interest." "Avarice, said the inca, corrupts the mind, renders it incapable of counsel, and checks every great, manly, and generous sentiment." He used to repeat the saying of inca *Roca*, "That the sciences should be taught only to the nobility. Knowledge made the vulgar proud, insolent, conceited, lazy, and unfit for the professions suitable to their sphere of life, while they qualified the nobility for the government of the state. Politics, especially, would he say, is a science with which the vulgar should not be permitted to meddle." (1.)

(1.) *La Vega*, l. viii. c. 8.

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and solemn, consisting only in a sort of decent gesticulation, and taking hands in circles. From this manner of clasping and linking hands, the inca conceived the idea of the gold chain, thinking it more agreeable to the royal dignity to have these dancers joined together by a chain rather than by hands, especially as custom rendered it a kind of sacrilege to touch the skin of the monarch. As these dances were performed in the great square of *Cuzco*, the inca ordered the chain to be made of sufficient length to surround the square; so that, according to the computation of *Garcilasso*, it must have been 700 feet in length, and so heavy, if we may credit the accomptant-general, *Augustine Carate*, that being fastened to the ears of 200 *Indians*, they could scarcely raise it from the ground. After all the search made by the *Spaniards*, this chain could never be found, it having been buried with other treasures carefully in the bowels of the earth; insomuch that, if the *Indians* did not speak of it as a thing beyond all doubt, there might appear good reason to question its existence. Hence we may perceive why the inca's new-born son and unfortunate successor was surnamed, and generally known by the name of, *Huascar*, that word signifying a chain in the language of *Peru*. It was by a daughter of the deceased king of *Quito*, that *Huayna Capac* soon after had another son, called *Atahualpa*, who, as we have seen, disputed the imperial crown with the legitimate heir *Huascar*, at the time of *Pizarro's* arrival.

THE inca having sufficiently relaxed his mind with these diversions and amusements, raised a great army, and descended to the plains on the sea-coast to the valley of *Chima*, the utmost boundary of the conquests of his forefathers. From thence he sent heralds to the bordering nations, requiring their submission, and met with no resistance, because they had for some time carried on a regular intercourse with his subjects, and received from them a very favourable opinion of the *Peruvian* government. All the vallies acknowledged his sovereignty, and gladly received all such laws and ordonnances as he was pleased to establish; after which the inca went to the kingdom of *Quito* to adorn that country with stately buildings, and render it fertile and commodious by beautiful aqueducts and canals. Having finished these works, he again descended to the coast with an army of 50,000 men, and encamping in the valley of *Sullama*, sent a herald with offers of peace and friendship to the inhabitants of *Tumpez*, on condition they would acknowledge his sovereignty, embrace his religion and laws, and own themselves his subjects. They were a luxurious, effeminate, and cruel people who spent their whole time in feasting, diversions, and the society of buffoons and parasites. The terror of an hostile army soon destroyed their mirth; but, instead of standing on their defence, they yielded themselves up, with the most implicit and servile obedience, to the inca's pleasure, who immediately practised every possible method to reform their corrupt manners, and render them sober and industrious. To keep the rod over them, he built a fortress in the country, and garrisoned it strongly; a temple also was erected to the *Sun*, in order to draw them from their abominable human sacrifices, and the worship of tigers and lions, or rather fierce animals more resembling a wolf, which the *Americans* generally called a lion.

HE was now at leisure to punish the inhabitants of *Huancavillca*, and those nations situated about *Puerto Veijo*, as it afterwards called by the *Spaniards*, for having in the late reign massacred the governors set over them, and entered into a kind of rebellion. *Huayna Capac* gave orders that the perpetrators of the murder should immediately be sent to court to take their trials; and as he was then at the head of an army, the criminals were obliged to obey, although they knew they merited death, and did not doubt but they should feel the full weight of the inca's displeasure. When the criminals approached his person, they fell upon their faces with the utmost humility, in which posture they remained while one of the inca's officers represented to them the heinousness of their offence, the reverence due to the royal officers, and the obligation which they owed to the inca, for having brought them to a rational and social method of living. He set forth their ingratitude as a crime of too deep a stain to be washed away by the blood of their whole nation: however, he said, the inca was desirous, out of his great mercy and humanity, to pardon the common people, whose fault he ascribed to their ignorance, and to rest satisfied with decimating the authors and contrivers of the conspiracy. Yet there was one condition of his lenity upon which he must insist, that the memory of their offence might be transmitted to future ages, as a lesson of obedience; namely, that the curacas and principal personages of the nation should have two fore-teeth drawn from each of the jaws; and that the custom should remain to the latest posterity, as a reproach for their perfidy and breach of promise.

WHEN this act of justice was finished, the inca passed to the valley of *Rimac* to consult the famous oracle of that country, agreeable to the treaty formed with the *Incas*; and having received his answer, which was filled with ambiguities and the most fulsome adulation, he dispatched the usual alternative of peace or war to the inhabitants of the island of *Puna* in *Peru*. *Tumpalla*, a prince of a haughty spirit, was at this time curaca of the island. He was vicious

a vicious in his manners, and extremely oppressive and tyrannical in his conduct, by which means he raised up a great number of enemies among his subjects. When he received the inca's message, it was with such an air of disdain as plainly evinced his intention to stand on his defence; but this resolution he could not execute on account of the strong factions among his people, which now broke out with redoubled animosity. However, he assembled his principal subjects, and spoke to them in the following words, if we may credit the *Spanish* writers: "Here now appears at the gates of our houses a certain tyrant, who threatens to rob us of all our houses, estates, and property, and to extirpate our nation, if we refuse to receive him for our lord and master. In case we admit him, we must renounce our antient liberty, our command and authority over other nations, and those rites and institutions which have descended to us through many ages from our ancestors. Nor is this all; for this foreigner, not reposing any confidence in our promises, will compel us to labour in erecting fortresses to serve as scourges over us, and the sure means of never regaining our freedom. He will seize on the best of our possessions, and despoil us of our wives and children, and the most beautiful of our daughters. What is still more grievous, he will trample upon our laws and antient customs, impose new bonds upon us, make us worship strange gods, and abolish our own religion. In short, he will oblige us to live according to his will and pleasure, which, to a noble mind, is the most irksome of all servitudes. In these circumstances, I leave it to you to consider, whether we had not better heal up all our divisions, unite in one common cause, and die in the defence of liberty, c than tamely to deliver up ourselves as slaves to the capricious will of a tyrant."

This speech produced warm debates; a few were drawn over by the spirited manner of the inca; but the majority was of opinion, that it was better to resign themselves to the government of so great, prudent, and merciful, a prince as the inca, than to remain the enslaved vassals of a petty tyrant. At last, it was agreed on all hands, that the present situation of affairs required temporary compliance, until a proper opportunity should occur for recovering and establishing their freedom. Upon this resolution, *Tumpalla* returned a mild answer to the messenger, who had been detained to know the sentiments of the council. He also sent an embassy with presents, and an offer of all his dominions; beseeching the inca to favour the island with his presence, which all the inhabitants would d consider as the greatest honour and felicity. The inca accepted the invitation: having no suspicion of treachery, he passed over to the island with a part of his forces; and while he was engaged in settling the police, furnished the perfidious natives with an opportunity of massacring a great number of his people, the bodies of whom they threw into the sea. Several princes of the blood perished in this unfortunate affair, which so deeply affected the inca, that he expressed his sorrow externally, and clothed himself in a kind of grey wool-len cloth, which was never done except upon very signal calamities. But his grief soon gave way to indignation and sentiments of revenge. He assembled his army with the utmost expedition, and with great facility subjected the inhabitants, utterly devoid of counsel, policy, and military skill. Some writers speak of this event as if it happened on the main e land, the islanders having no share in the plot; but, from circumstances, it is probable that *Tumpalla* was the author of the conspiracy, and that he was assisted in this treacherous design by the bulk of his subjects both on the island and continent.

As soon as the reduction of the island was accomplished, the inca gave orders that all the captains, soldiers, and officers, engaged in the revolt, should be brought before his tribunal, which was placed in the midst of a circle of his armed soldiers. From these the authors of the conspiracy were selected, bound, and severely reprimanded by one of the imperial officers; after which they were ordered to prepare themselves for a punishment adequate to their offence. The sentence passed on them was, that they should suffer the same kind of death to which they had cruelly, wantonly, and perfidiously, exposed the soldiers of the inca. Accordingly, some of them were thrown into the sea, with great weights to sink them to the bottom; others were pierced through with lances, and fixed up in the most conspicuous places as an example; a few were quartered and exposed to public view in the same manner, and great numbers were hanged upon trees and gibbets. In this manner was justice executed upon no less than a thousand of the wretched inhabitants, which melancholy story afterwards became the subject of those songs which were repeated to the *Spaniards*. A fortress was erected at *Tumpez*, and the island put under the jurisdiction of the governor of the neighbouring provinces of the continent; after which he attempted to lay a magnificent bridge over the river *Guayquille*, that was never finished.

On his return to *Cuzco*, he was met by the *Curacas* of all the provinces in his way, and presented with the richest gifts which their country afforded, in token of their vassalage and esteem. When he entered his capital, his first care was to visit the citadel which was almost finished, to his great satisfaction; and then he sent proper persons to enquire into the

state of the more remote provinces, particularly *Charcas* and *Chili*, sending rich presents to a
 the governors, to be distributed among the chiefs and leading inhabitants. While he
 was thus employed, news was brought, that the inhabitants of the province of *Chu-*
chupuayas seeing him embarrassed with the conquest of *Tumbez*, and revolt of *Puna*,
 had rebelled and massacred all the imperial officers and magistrates within their jurisdiction.
 When this advice arrived, the inca was ordering his army to the sea-coasts; but he now
 altered the destination of his troops, appointing them to march directly to *Chuchupuyas*,
 and punish the rebels to the extremity of rigorous justice. Before the army entered their
 country, he sent notice to the inhabitants, that if they would now lay down their arms,
 and return to their obedience, they should still be entitled to pardon; but they rejected the
 proposal with the most brutal contempt, relying upon the natural strength and mountainous b
 situation of their country. This heightened the inca's indignation; he exerted his utmost
 diligence in assembling forces, and laying bridges over rivers, and, when he had prepared
 every thing necessary to the accomplishment of his designs, he set out in full march for the
 rebellious province, arrived on the banks of a broad river, that separated him from the
 enemy, linked all his boats together so as to form a flying bridge, marched down with the
 utmost regularity, and, by his formidable appearance, struck the enemy with dread and con-
 fusion at the consequences of their own rashness and cruelty. Sensible they could expect no
 mercy, after such acts of barbarity, which they aggravated by the insolence of the answer
 returned to his message, they demolished their huts, and retired with their families to the
 most inaccessible mountains, to avoid the resentment of a prince whom they could not with- c
 stand in the open field. However, great numbers of the old and infirm remained behind,
 either because they were unable to undergo the fatigue of scaling mountains, or that they
 had greater confidence in the generosity of the inca. To screen themselves from punishment
 they addressed a lady, who had formerly been concubine to the late inca, imploring her in-
 tercession with *Huayna Capac*, and beseeching with tears, that she would endeavour to appease
 the inca's just resentment. Wrought upon by their intreaties, she undertook the task, and
 set out to meet the army, accompanied by women of all degrees and ages, unattended by a
 single person of the other sex. The novelty of the appearance of such a croud of females
 struck the monarch, and he made little difficulty about admitting the petitioners into his pre-
 sence. *Chuchupuya*, for that was the name of the principal lady, immediately threw herself at d
 his feet, and spoke to the following effect: "Where is it, sire, you are going? Do you
 not reflect, that full of rage and indignation, you are about to destroy that very pro-
 vince, which your pious father was at the trouble of gaining and annexing to his em-
 pire? Consider, I beseech you, that you are proceeding directly against the nature of
 that clemency, upon which you have founded the most durable part of your reputation;
 that you are going to execute those desolations in your anger, which you will be sorry for
 in your cooler moments. Remember how many more nations have been rendered faithful
 and obedient to your crown by mercy, than by the sword. Exercise a virtue now, that
 never can be displayed more seasonably, and which will eternize your memory. There is no
 merit in pardoning slight faults, because they scarce deserve punishment; let it be your glory e
 to forgive the worst of all crimes, treason and murder, for the sake of a whole nation.
 Your father, great sire, reduced this people, which, though undeserving of such a pro-
 tector, are nevertheless your subjects; and therefore let not your fury so far transport
 you in the punishment and the effusion of human blood, as to forget that you are yourself
 a man, and consequently subject to frailty, although the offspring of the brightest of all
 the heavenly bodies. Eclipse not the splendor of a character, worthy of so divine an origin,
 by suffering yourself to be betrayed into the weaknesses of mortality. Let me repeat it,
 that the greater the crime is which you pardon, the higher must your piety be exalted,
 and the splendor of that virtue, derived from your ancestors, shine with the more distin- f
 guished lustre. My earnest prayer therefore is, that you would vouchsafe upon your
 own account, as well as theirs, to receive this people once more under your protection;
 that you would vent your anger first against me, and let my blood atone for the
 crimes of my deluded and infatuated countrymen." When she had finished her dis-
 course all the women in her train lifted up their voices, and cried out: "O! the child of the
Sun, thou refuge of the distressed, have pity on us, and pardon our parents, husbands, bro-
 thers, and children." The inca was moved with their piteous lamentations; for a while he
 was silent, but, recovering himself, he raised the matron from the ground, and exclaimed in
 a transport of tender passion, "Well dost thou deserve the name of *Mamencu*, or mother of
 the people, who art so provident, not only of their good, but of my honour. I heartily
 thank you for the salutary advice you have administered. If I have given way to my rage, g
 I might very possibly have repented to-morrow of the rashness of this day's conduct. Well
 hast thou preserved the duty of a mother towards thy people, in redeeming their lives from
 destruc-

- a destruction: for which, as you have pleaded so successfully, you shall be gratified with the accomplishment of any wish in my power. Return with the tidings of peace and happiness to the people, and consider if there be any thing else you would require of me. Pardon the criminals when you please, and offer them whatever grace or favour you think proper; nothing shall be denied that you promise; and, for the better assurance of this my sincerity, take with you these four incas, my brothers, who are your sons, without any other attendants than their own menial servants, to whom I shall give only this commission; namely, that they will settle the people under a good and wholesome government." Convinced by this act of lenity of their error, the *Chuchupuyas* ever afterwards became faithful and loyal subjects to the inca, of whose good understanding we may sufficiently judge from
- b the manner in which he received the admonitions of the matron *Chuchupuya*.

THE rebels being thus pardoned, *Huayna Capac* resumed his former intention of sending troops to the sea-coast, in the way to which lay the province of *Manta*, which had scarcely as yet acknowledged the dominion of the inca. In the metropolis of this province, the inhabitants worshipped an emerald of extraordinary size, which they kept in a place consecrated for the adoration of this unfeeling deity; and, in the surrounding country, the same degree of reverence was shewn for wild beasts and reptiles, from the largest snake to the most diminutive maggot (L). They were also strongly addicted to the abominably unnatural passion of sodomy. They slayed their prisoners; and marriages were contracted on condition that the parents and friends of the bridegroom should enjoy the bride before the husband for a trial of her virtues. The inca determining to abolish those horrible customs, sent them a severe summons immediately to surrender, and receive the *Peruvian* religion and laws, or prepare to expect the worst effects of his vengeance; and they, from conviction of their inability to resist, cheerfully submitted to whatever he thought fit to propose. To the conquest of the *Mantase* was added the reduction of several other adjacent nations, equally barbarous, with whose uncouth names we think it unnecessary to trouble the reader's memory; as they were distinguished only by different kinds of savage ferocity, and yielded without resistance to the menaces of *Huayna Capac*. It is reported of this prince, that when he observed the barrenness of the country, and the bestiality of the people, he cried out—"Come, let us be gone; neither this country nor its inhabitants deserve the honour of our dominion." However, he bestowed the utmost pains to bring them to a more regular and civilized way of life, and had the satisfaction to find that his labour was not altogether fruitless, although upon the arrival of the *Spaniards*, the province of *Manta* was far inferior to the other provinces, in the arts of life, and in civil polity. If we may credit the *Spanish* writers, *La Vega*, *Cieca*, *Carate*, and *Acosta*, this country was formerly inhabited by men of a gigantic stature; and *La Vega* expressly affirms, that he has seen human bones of prodigious and indeed incredible size, dug up in the neighbourhood of *Puerto Viejo*, where the giants were said to have put to shore in junks, and afterwards founded a colony. Many instances of this nature have been found in *Europe*; and we have heard of bones, that were presented to the several learned academies, which would seem to prove that the human species is greatly degenerated, unless the bones undergo some change in the bowels of the earth, which we think extremely probable; although it is the business of the philosopher, and not of the historian, to explain this phenomenon.

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AFTER an absence of some years, the inca returned to his capital, about the time that the principal feast of the *Sun* was to be celebrated. Upon this occasion, he is reported to have uttered some of those memorable sayings, which were thought by the *Spanish* writers to demonstrate the knowledge he had of the true God, the author and preserver of the universe. He was one day observed by the high-priest, his brother, with his eyes fixed upon the *Sun* in profound contemplation. As this was a liberty altogether unknown, and esteemed a shocking profanation, the high-priest spoke to the inca, asking whether he reflected on the impiety of which he was guilty, by lifting his eyes to the sacred luminary? To this the inca replied, that he would ask him two questions to convince him whether this action was really so prophane and impious as he imagined. "I am your king and sovereign; is there any of you, who dare presume to command me to rise from my seat for your pleasure, and take a journey to such remote countries, as you shall think fit to direct?"—"No, said the high priest, there is none who will be so daring and presumptuous."—"Is there among you any curaca, returned the king, who would venture to dispute my commands, if I should think proper to dispatch him to Chili, or any other remote country?"—"Certainly no, answered the high-priest, no one

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(L) The emerald was exposed to publick view upon solemn festivals, the *Indians* coming from all quarters to worship it and make offerings of smaller emeralds, which the priests persuaded them were the children and offspring of the great stone deity, and the most

acceptable present they could bring. Hence arose the vast collection of these precious stones found here by *Alvaredo*, on his arrival in *Peru*, to join the rest of the *Spanish* invaders (1).

would presume to dispute your commands even to death."—"Then, said the inca, if it be so, there must be some other Being, superior to our father, the Sun, by whose commands he every day visits the heavens without intermission or repose; for were the Sun absolute and supreme, he would undoubtedly allow himself some cessation from labour, and, at least, the liberty of changing his occupation." From this speech it was that the Spaniards conceived so high an opinion of the wit and subtilty of *Huayna Capac*, as persuaded them he would have embraced the doctrines of christianity, had they been preached in his time in *Peru*. It is somewhat remarkable that the superstitious *Indians* regard this unpractised liberty of the incas, of beholding the Sun, into a bad omen, as if that bright luminary would certainly forsake the interest of his ungrateful offspring.

ABOUT this time the inca resolved to make another visit to all the provinces, in order, as he was growing old, to leave his dominions in the most tranquil state to his posterity. While he was employed on this circuit, news was brought him, that the province of *Caranque* was in rebellion, and had formed a league with several neighbouring nations, who were to assist each other in breaking the yoke imposed on them by the *Peruvians*. With this view, they held secret meetings, and concerted the means of destroying all the inca's officers, soldiers, and garrisons, appointed to keep the province in obedience. To conceal their designs, they pretended the most submissive regard to the will of the magistrates; but carried their hypocrisy to such a length, as to give suspicion of some treachery, though too late for the magistrates to provide for their defence. In consequence they were all massacred, a few *Peruvians* only making their escape to report the calamity to the sovereign, and to rouse his vengeance. The heads, hearts, and blood of those unfortunate victims to popular fury were offered to the gods; and then the *Caranques* took every possible measure to guard against the consequences of so bloody and treacherous an action. Immediately the inca sent an army to punish the murderers, and bring all the rebels to justice; ordering his general however to send proposals of peace and pardon to the nation, upon their surrendering the ringleaders; terms which they refused with so much scorn, that they even maltreated the ambassadors, and with the utmost difficulty suffered them to escape the fate of their countrymen. Such gross violations of the laws, regarded among the barbarous nations, wound up the inca to the highest pitch of fury. He determined to attack the rebels in person, and accordingly advanced with the remainder of his forces, destroying all before him with fire and sword. He gave battle to the enemy with great resolution and courage; but they sustained all his efforts with so much constancy, that, after several thousand men were slain, both sides prepared again to dispute the victory. In this manner, several battles were fought, before the rebels would yield an inch, or at all abate of that fury, which had at first impelled them to such dreadful acts of inhumanity. At length, perceiving that the inca was re-inforced, that his resources were inexhaustible, and his power invincible, they began to relax from their usual vigour, suffering their rage to subside, and listen to the dictates of reason and self-preservation. They now quitted the open plain, and took refuge in the mountains; guarding the passes with all possible caution. After all, they were intirely defeated, and several thousands taken prisoners, the most active and culpable of whom, to the number of two thousand, were put to death, after having first undergone a variety of tortures. *Pedro de Cieca* computes the number of the sufferers at twenty thousand; but he probably, as *La Vega* remarks, includes those who were slain in battle.

It was immediately after crushing this rebellion, that the inca vested his natural son *Atahualpa*, with the sovereignty of *Quito*, a circumstance that we have already related as the ground of that civil war, which raged in *Peru* on the arrival of the Spaniards, laid the foundation of the ruin of the empire, and violent death, both of the inca *Huascar*, and his ambitious brother *Atahualpa*. Of these events the reader has already been so minutely informed, that it would be unnecessary to resume the subject (M).

WE shall close this reign, and the history of the incas, with observing, that all the Spanish writers take notice of a tradition, universally credited in this country, that the empire would be subverted by a strange people, cloathed in a very uncommon manner, and looking terrible with their long beards. Among a variety of other omens, reported to have been observed before the death of *Huayna Capac*, there is one which to this day is credited by the *Peruvians*. It is reported that, while the inca was celebrating the annual festival dedicated

* LA VEG. l. 9. c. 10.

† ACCOST. l. 5.

(M) *La Vega* repeats the opinion of some writers, that *Huayna Capac* was terrified with the intelligence he received of a strange fleet which sailed along his coast, which these writers call the squadron of *Francisco Pizarro*; whereas, in fact, the inca died eight years before the first expedition of this commander (1.)

The critic, however, falls himself into a mistake, by observing, that this might have been the fleet of *Buice Nunnex*; yet, it is certain that *Nunnex* never penetrated beyond the coasts of that division known by the name of *Terra Firma*.

(1) L. 9. c. 14.

- a to the *Sun*, a royal eagle, which they call *anca*, was seen hovering in the air, surrounded by a great number of hawks, which attacked him with so much fury, that he fell down among the princes, who stood round the inca, as he marched to the temple, and seemed to beg their protection. He had lost most of his feathers, and was so severely handled, that notwithstanding they nourished the eagle with the utmost care, he died in a few days. The inca, his priests and diviners, were all terrified at the spectacle, from whence they drew the most unfavourable presages; especially as it was succeeded by some dreadful earthquakes, which shook the neighbouring mountains off their foundations: and yet demonstrated nothing more than the superstition of the ignorant inhabitants, equalled only by the credulity of the *Spanish* writers, who relate these phænomena, not only as facts, but
- b as presages of the succeeding subversion of the empire. *La Vega* relates, that the moon, in the midst of a clear starry night, was observed to be encompassed with three halo's, or luminous circles, (no uncommon appearance, nor difficult to explain) the first of a bloody colour, the second black, and the third resembling a fog or smoak. This was no sooner beheld by one of the celebrated magicians of the court, than he came with tears in his eyes before the inca, and declared, "That his mother, the moon, like a tender parent, intimidated by this strange appearance, that *Pachacamac*, the creator and sustainer of all things, threatened his royal family and empire with grievous judgments. The first bloody circle, said this conjurer, denotes, that, after you are gone to repose in the bosom of your father, terrible wars shall arise in your own family; in which there shall be such effusion of blood,
- c that, in a few years, your whole race will be extinct. The second black circle prognosticates the total destruction of your subjects, and subversion of the religion and government established by your ancestors, a calamity that shall be brought on by the dissensions of your own children. And, as for the third circle, it plainly forebodes, that all your grandeur will vanish into smoke and vapour. If you have any doubts of the fact, come and observe it with your own eyes; if you hesitate about the interpretation, let the other magicians and diviners be consulted."

THE inca, though greatly terrified with these predictions, assumed an air of resolution, and sternly bid the magician be gone, telling him that these were the visions of a disturbed imagination; yet, after all, it must be confessed, that the magician might fairly,

d without any supernatural pretensions, have predicted the calamities that succeeded, from the character of *Atahualpa*, and the dismemberment of the empire. Notwithstanding the inca had banished the magician from his presence, he still entertained such doubts and fears as obliged him to assemble the whole college of interpreters, who all confirmed the prognostic of their colleague, and threw the inca into the greatest consternation; which he endeavoured to conceal from the people, by affirming, that unless the great *Pachacamac* himself would reveal a secret of such importance, he must refuse his assent. "Is it possible, said he, my father, the *Sun*, should abhor his own blood, and consign it over to perdition." Yet, reflecting upon what the magicians advanced, and considering how consonant it was to an ancient tradition of a celebrated oracle: he was in a manner confounded and perplexed with different

e opinions; but he did not despair, nor neglect the necessary measures for preserving the tranquility of his dominions. At this time, he kept his court at *Quito*, and finding the weather extremely hot, took it into his head to bathe in a neighbouring lake, the consequences of which were fatal. He was immediately seized with a fever, which carried him off in a few days, after he had for many years wielded the imperial sceptre with equal integrity, ability, and applause.

WHEN the necessary duties were paid to the memory of his royal father, *Huascar* ascended the throne, and governed for the space of five years without giving *Atahualpa* any molesta-
tion in his kingdom of *Quito*. Some writers ascribe the dissensions that followed to *Huascar's* reclaiming *Quito*, as part of the empire of the incas, incapable of being dismembered. Others impute it to the ambition of *Atahualpa*, who was desirous of extending the limits of his jurisdiction. All agree, that *Huascar* promised to confirm the cession made by his father, upon two conditions; namely, that *Atahualpa* should hold his dominions as a feudatory of his empire, and do homage for them; and that he should not endeavour to make any addition to his empire. To these conditions, *Atahualpa* gave his assent, promising in a short time to attend his brother at *Cuzco*, with all the curacas and lords of his kingdom; instead of which he raised an army, broke out into open war, defeated his brother, and took him prisoner in the manner we have already related, himself soon after becoming the prey of the *Spanish* invaders. Thus ended the empire of the incas, after it had continued for the space of thirteen generations, the most potent, civilized, and magnificent state in the southern continent of *America*. We have dwelt the longer upon the subject, because it hath not been explicitly related by any modern writer, and is explained without order, method, or elegance of style or composition, by the old *Spanish* writers.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing a general view of all the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the continent of America, and more particularly of California, New Mexico, Florida, and Mexico Proper, or New Spain.

General reflections on the state of the Spanish dominions in America.

WHEN we reflect upon the vast extent and immense wealth of the *Spanish* colonies, we cannot but ascribe it to some error in government that his Catholic majesty is not the most formidable potentate in *Europe*. On the continent only, besides the richest islands of the *West-Indies*, he possesses a territory stretching from thirty-four degrees of north-latitude to fifty-three degrees of south, filled with gold and silver mines, or with the most valuable commodities. From *Cape Sebastian*, the most northern point of *California*, to the straits of *Magellan*, contains a space of between six and seven thousand miles, the whole coast of which, on one side, is entirely *Spanish*, while, on the other side, the Catholic king's dominions comprehend all that tract of land lying between the above straits in latitude fifty-three south of the equinoctial, to our colony of *Georgia*, in about thirty-one degrees north the line, except the *Portuguese* colonies in *Brazil*, and a few inconsiderable *French* and *Dutch* settlements. Great part, indeed, of the interior part of this country is possessed by the natives; but *Spain* claims the dominion, and her right hath not hitherto been disputed.

WITH respect to the climate, in so wide an extent of country, it must differ according to the latitude and other circumstances; and thus the general opinion, that the *Spanish West Indies* and boundaries in *America* are unwholesome, is both true and false at the same time, like many other general propositions. Those colonies within or near the tropics, are undoubtedly in a climate exceedingly hot; yet, where they possess other natural advantages, they are both healthy and pleasant. Several of the provinces in *New Spain* and *Peru* are blessed almost with every advantage; and the habitable world cannot instance finer and more delightful scenes than are to be found in *New Mexico* in the north, and *Buenos Ayres* in the south, and several other countries on both sides the line in the temperate zones. Where the lands have not been cleared, where the soil is marshy and swampish, and were periodical deluges of rain pour down from the heavens, there we may easily believe the climate must be unhealthy; and this is certainly the case with some of the *Spanish* dominions in *America*: whence it is usual to pass an unfavourable judgment upon the whole.

NOR does the soil differ less than the climate; some countries within the *Spanish* jurisdiction consist of the most beautiful lawns, pastures, fields, and meadows, watered with fine streams, shaded with groves, and variegated with hills and vallies; while others present to the eye nothing besides dreary deserts, dreadful mountains, vast forests, and the most tremendous scene of wild and rough nature. Several of the *Spanish* plantations are wonderfully rich and fruitful, abounding in corn, the most beautiful pastures, trees for fruit, shade, ornament, or the purposes of mechanics, odoriferous shrubs, medicinal plants, flowers delightful to the senses, herbs, and roots; in short, whatever nature or art produces in any quarter of the globe may here be found spontaneous, or raised by labour, in its greatest perfection. In the bosom of the earth the greatest treasures of the precious metals are combined; and, for the conveniency of navigation, *America* is furnished with several of the noblest rivers in the world. Let us instance *La Plata*, the river of *Amazons*, the *Mississippi*, and the river *St. Laurence*; the two last of which, indeed, are without the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* jurisdiction. We may, indeed, affirm, that were the *Spanish* councils vigorous in the prosecution of commerce, these colonies open the noblest field for wealth and glory. They contain every valuable material of trade which the encrease and refinement of luxury hath rendered necessary to life; but it requires industry at home to set this complex machine in motion. Here the first principle resides; and, unless it be properly directed, all those vast resources serve only to impoverish, weaken, and enfeeble, the whole constitution. The gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, rich drugs, dying woods, tobacco, ginger, coffee, cotton, and sweetmeats of *America*, are properly the rewards of those nations, who, by dint of genius and industry, render themselves essentially necessary to the very existence of *Old Spain*.

IF we now take a view of the country with respect to its inhabitants, we shall find another reason why her colonies have proved less serviceable to *Spain* than might otherwise be imagined. The impolitic expulsion of the *Moors* proved an irreparable blow to this monarchy, and the colonization of *America* encreased the evil; for notwithstanding this discovery preceded the event we have just mentioned, yet, for many years after the conquest, the constant drain of people made from *Old Spain* was not felt or perceived; perhaps the consequences appear at this day more manifestly than at any preceding period. Yet, though *Old Spain* was almost depopulated by the constant migration of her people to the continent

- a continent of *America* and the *West-Indies*, still the number was very inadequate to the purpose of rendering the plantations populous and flourishing; especially as the cruelty of the first conquerors had almost extirpated the natural inhabitants. To this we may add, that the very nature of the constitution is the greatest obstruction to the encrease of inhabitants, and the propagation of the species. When *America* was first reduced, it was thought necessary to establish great numbers of ecclesiastics in the country for the instruction of the natives in the Christian religion; as the surest method of bringing them under obedience, and the rules of regular and civilized society. At first the clergy proved of the utmost utility, as they laboured with the utmost diligence in the vineyard of salvation; but they soon proved extremely troublesome to the civil power, and have since multiplied to such a degree, as hath evidently the most pernicious effect on population. Every province is filled with monasteries, nunneries, and persons condemned by superstition to celibacy, and doomed by the tyranny of the church from the gratification of the most natural passion. The corruption too, and spirit of avarice and oppression, which reigns among all the officers deriving their authority from the crown, who are generally chosen out of families of distinction of broken and shattered fortunes, sensibly affects the state, not only by ruining the revenue, but discouraging industry, and extinguishing public spirit. We may subjoin, that the unaccountable attention which the *Spaniards* have shewn for gold and silver, has been equally prejudicial to the mother-country and to the colonies. This has not only prevented the government from cherishing those commodities and manufactures which in themselves would prove more valuable than the mines of *Potosi*, but has diffused such narrow and sordid principles through all the subjects of *Spain*, as is visibly productive of the most fatal effects: but as it would be foreign to our subject to enter upon a political detail, we must content ourselves with this general view of the advantages and disadvantages of *Spanish America*, and now descend to particular descriptions of the several provinces that compose this vast empire. Already the reader has been informed of our reasons for treating this subject in strict geographical order; and it will only be necessary to observe in this place, that the history of the conquests of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Chili*, forms the military history of all *America*, no other nations having made any considerable resistance to their invaders.
- d *CALIFORNIA*, the most northern of all the *Spanish* dominions on the continent of *America*, towards the *Pacific Ocean*, is also distinguished in some writers by the names of *New Albion*, and the *Islas Carabiras*; but the most antient appellation is *California*; a word which, in the opinion of the ingenious Jesuit *Miguel Vinas*, owes its origin to some accident, and possibly to some words spoken by the *Indians* and misunderstood by the *Spaniards*. This province, which for a long time was supposed to be insular, is a peninsula in the *Pacific Ocean*, issuing from the north coasts of *America*, and extending to the south-east as far as *Cape St. Lucar*, another cape, called *St. Sebastian*, forming the northern extremity; not but that the land runs farther, but that it has not yet been sufficiently discovered. In general, it is agreed among geographers, navigators, and particular narratists, that *St. Lucar's* cape lies in twenty-two degrees thirty-two minutes north latitude, and *Cape St. Sebastian* in forty-three degrees thirty minutes of the same latitude. *California* is divided from *Mexico* by a gulph of the name of the province, the opposite coasts lying nearly parallel, and the intermediate body of water being filled with islands; upon some of which the Jesuits have established settlements. The breadth of the peninsula is very unequal. Towards the north, it is near 200 miles broad; but at the southern extremity it tapers away, and is scarcely fifty miles over. It is bounded on the north by a continent scarce at all known, on the east by the province of *New Mexico* and the *Gulph*, or, as some call it, the *Lake of California*, or the *Vermilion Sea*, and by the great *Pacific Ocean* on the south and west.
- e We may judge of the temperature of the climate by the parallels within which it is confined: lying altogether in the temperate zone, the natives are neither chilled with cold, nor scorched with intense heat; and indeed the improvements in agriculture, made by the indefatigable Jesuits, are the strongest proofs of the excellency of the soil and climate. In some places the air is extremely hot and dry, and the earth wild, rugged, and barren, overrun with rocks, sands, and mountains, without water in a sufficient quantity to render it fit either for pasture or tillage. In a country stretching about 800 miles, there must be variations of soil and climate; and thus, in effect, we find, from good authority, that *California* produces some of the most beautiful lawns, as well as many of the most inhospitable deserts, in the universe. The lands to the westward of the river *Colorado* are level and fruitful, interspersed with delightful woods, cool refreshing springs and rivulets, and the most enchanting pastures and meadows. Upon the whole, although *California* be rather rough, craggy, and unpromising, on a general view, we are assured by *Venegas* and other good writers, that it furnishes every necessary of life and felicity, with due culture; and that where the
- atmo-

atmosphere is hottest, vapours rising from the sea, and dispersed by pleasant breezes, renders it of a moderate temperature. a

Animals.

THE peninsula of *California* is now stocked with all sorts of domestic animals which are commonly used in *Spain* and *Mexico*. Horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, hogs, goats, and all other quadrupeds imported, thrive and encrease in this country. Among the native animals of *California* is a species of deer, which, in the language of *Mianqui*, is called *Taye*. It is of the size of a young heifer, greatly resembling it in shape, the head like that of a deer, and the horns thick and curved, resembling those of a ram. The hoof of this animal is large, round, and cloven, the skin spotted, but the hair thinner and the tail sharper than that of a deer. The flesh is greatly esteemed, and eat with the same relish as venison is by our epicures. There is another species of animal peculiar to this country, b larger and more bulky than a sheep, but greatly resembling it in figure, and covered like it with a fine black or white wool. The flesh of this animal is nourishing and delicious, and, happily for the natives, it is so abundant, that nothing more is required than the trouble of hunting, as these animals wander in droves about the mountains and forests. Here too is a peculiar species of wild dog, somewhat different from the *coyotes* of *New Spain*, and greatly resembling the *European* fox in disposition, cunning, arts, and stratagems. Some years since an *Indian* killed a wolf, the first of the kind ever seen in the country, as all the natives declared. Father *Torquemado* describes an animal which he calls a species of large bear, something like a buffalo, of the size of a steer, and nearly of the figure of a stag. Its hair is a quarter of a yard long, its neck aukward and long, and on c its forehead are horns branched like those of a stag. The tail is a yard in length and half a yard in breadth, and the hoofs cloven like those of an ox. But the greatest curiosity of the quadruped kind, is a species of amphibious animal exactly resembling a beaver, and probably the very same animal, though not endowed with that extraordinary ingenuity and sagacity which peculiarly distinguishes the beaver of *Canada* and other northern countries.

WITH respect to the feathered kind, we have but an imperfect account. The natural history of *California* is still in its infancy; for we are only told, that, besides the birds produced in other parts of *America*, it has also a great number peculiar to itself, which are described by no author within our knowledge. Even the ingenious and sensible *Venegas* affords no satisfaction in this particular. He only relates in general, that the coast is plentifully stocked with peacocks, bustards, geese, cranes, vultures, gulls larger than geese, d cormorants, mews, quails, linnets, larks, nightingales, and most of the birds found in other parts of the world.

As to insects, they swarm here as in most warm countries; but they are neither so numerous nor troublesome, on account of the dryness of the soil and climate. With respect to fish, the multitude and variety with which the gulph of *California* and the *Pacific Ocean* are supplied, is almost incredible. Salmon, turbot, barbel, skate, mackarel, pilchard, thornback, soals, bonetos, and all the rest of the finny kind, are caught here with very little trouble; together with pearl-oysters, common delicious oysters, lobsters, and a variety of exquisite shell-fish. However, of the testaceous kind, the most remarkable and abundant e is the tortoise, caught in the utmost plenty upon the coasts. On the *Soub-Sea* coast are some small shell-fish, or *conches*, peculiar to it, and perhaps the most beautiful in the world; their lustre surpassing that of the finest pearl, and darting it rays through a transparent varnish of an elegant vivid blue, like the *lapis lazuli*. The fame of *California* for pearls drew forth great numbers of adventurers, who, stimulated by avarice, have searched every part of the gulph, and are still continually employed in that work, notwithstanding fashion hath greatly diminished the value of this elegant natural production. Father *Torquimado* observes, that the sea of *California* affords very rich pearl-fisheries, when the *hostias*, or beds of oysters, may be seen in three or four fathom water, as plain as if they were on the surface. f

Trees.

As neither the air nor the qualities of the earth are uniform in *California*, the effects must appear in the arborious, as in the other productions of the earth. The extremity of the peninsula towards *Cape St. Lucar*, is more level, temperate, and fertile, than any other, and consequently more woody. In the more distant parts, even to the farthest missions on the east coast, no large timber has yet been discovered. In the territory of *Guadalupe* alone are found large quantities of timber fit for ship-building. Among the shrubs of this country, the most remarkable is the *pitabaya*, a kind of beech, the fruit of which forms the great harvest of the natives. The tree is peculiar to *California*; its branches are finely fluted, and rise vertically from the stem, so as to form a very beautiful top. The shrub bears no leaves, the fruit growing to the boughs without shade or cover. It resembles a horse-chestnut externally, but the pulp comes nearer a fig than any other fruit. In some it is white, in others yellow, and sometimes red; but always exquisitely delicious; being a rich sweet, tempered with a grateful acid. It would lead us beyond our design, were we to g enumerate

a enumerate all the different fruits with which this neck of land abounds; most of them are to be found in other parts of *America*: we shall therefore close this short sketch of the natural history, with mentioning a species of manna supposed to fall with the dew, and to become inspissated on the leaves of the trees. Father *Pinolo* says, that without the whiteness of refined sugar, it has all the sweetness; and botanists are now agreed, that this manna is a juice exuding from the tree, although the natives firmly believe that it drops down from heaven.

There have been a variety of opinions with regard to the nations inhabiting *California*, Nations and also concerning their languages. It is usual to distinguish barbarous nations by this circumstance, and to call all those of the same nation, who speak the same language, or dialects nearly similar of the same root. Accordingly some missionaries relate, that there are six different nations and original languages in *California*; while father *Taraval*, a very curious and learned missionary, affirms there are only three; namely, the *Chachimi*, *Pericu's*, and *Loretto's*, each of which hath its own language. From the *Loretto* two dialects have been formed; namely, *Guayamu* and *Uchiri*; and the difference is so considerable, that a person not perfectly conversant in languages would be apt to conclude they were all original and unconnected with each other. Since the arrival of the *Europeans* the names of nations have been greatly multiplied, as they called them by the names of the places where certain tribes happened to reside. The general appellation is *Manqui*; but then there are *Edues*, *Periques*, *Laymones*, and an infinity of other terms expressive of greater or smaller numbers, or circumstances of language or situation, by which they happen to be characterized. It would be endless, and indeed useless, to specify the subdivisions into which each of these nations run, all of whom have certain peculiarities of diction, and variations in the idiom, termination, and pronunciation.

It must be confessed that no other people on earth produce fewer instances of deformity than the *Californians*, who are in general handsome in their features and genteel in their persons, strong, vigorous, and robust, of a healthy countenance, but very swarthy. The paintings with which they daub themselves, and the holes with which they disfigure their ears and nostrils, are, however, great disadvantages to their appearance in the eyes of an *European*, though deemed a great beauty in their own. There is no reason to believe that the *Californians* have hitherto had any knowledge of the wonderful contrivance of letters, by which we communicate our ideas to each other at the greatest distance of place and time, converse familiarly with our remotest ancestors, and transmit our own opinions to the latest posterity; and indeed of all the *American* nations, the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* alone possessed the art of rendering themselves intelligible by certain types or symbols of ideas; rude and imperfect, indeed; but demonstrative of their address and genius; the former in their hieroglyphical signs and paintings, and the latter by their *quipos*, or strings of different colours. It is the observation of the ingenious Jesuit *Venegas*, that had the *Californians* been acquainted with the use of letters, we should easily have discovered whether the founders of the *American* nations passed from *Asia* to the continent of *America*, as hath been supposed by many of the learned, and whether this happened before or since the invention of letters in *Europe* and *Asia*. We should also be able to draw probable conjectures with regard to the particular nation of the first peoplers of this extensive country. As matters now stand, the *Californians*, if ever they were possessed of any such invention to perpetuate their memoirs, have entirely lost it; nothing now remaining besides some obscure oral traditions, that their ancestors came from the North; which might reasonably be inferred from their situation, without any information from them, *California* being surrounded by the sea, except on the north, where it joins the continent. They speak more particularly of the cause of this migration; alledging, that it arose from a quarrel at a banquet, at which the chief inca of every nation was present. This was followed by a bloody battle; the consequence of which was, that the defeated party fled to the South, to establish settlements in a distant country, where they might at least avoid servitude and oppression. Such is the imperfect idea the *Californians* entertain of their first migration, which shews nothing more than that the country was peopled from the continent; there not being a clear monument in all *America*, among the nations on either side the equinox, of their coming originally from *Asia*. Nor is there in the farthest parts of *Asia*, to which the *Russians* have hitherto penetrated, the least vestige or tradition that the inhabitants ever had any communication with, or knowledge of the *Americans*; and, indeed, the *Russian* voyages, lately published by the ingenious professor *Muller*, seem to place it beyond all doubt, that both continents, however contiguous, are nevertheless separated by an arm of the sea; —a discovery rather curious than likely to be attended with any important consequences either to science or commerce.

Except in the two great Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, where there was a greater intercourse and union, productive of the cultivation of reason, in the establishment of laws, policy, and military conduct, and of all the endearing relations and reciprocal friendly dependencies

dencies of society; all the other nations of *America* differ only in the modes of barbarity; a being nearly similar in capacity and disposition. The characteristics of the *Californians*, as well as of most *Indian* nations, is insensibility and a degree of stupidity; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity, and violent appetites; excessive sloth and abhorrence of labour; an insatiable love of pleasure and dissipation, however trifling and brutal; and, finally, a total deprivation of every quality which gives worth to humanity, and renders man ingenious, inventive, and useful to himself and society. This is the picture drawn by the masterly hand of the Jesuit *Venegas*, and applied by him to the bulk of the *Americans*, though with too much rigour and severity; as many instances may be produced of the tractable, docile, and ingenious dispositions of the natives both of *North* and *South America*, b proper allowance being made for the state of total ignorance and rude simplicity, in which they were found when the *Europeans* first invaded their country. The *Californians* have only faint glimmerings of the virtues and vices; actions appear good or evil rather from habit or accident, than from reflection in the moral sense. The most that is observed in the natives of this country is some sensibility of emulation, and ambition of applause. To see their companions praised or rewarded, kindles up some latent sparks of rivalry, and this sometimes stimulates them to shake off their innate sloth. The general extent of their desires soars no higher than to get daily provision with the least fatigue possible, taking little concern about the future; and as for their household furniture, it consists entirely of the implements of fishing and hunting, or of war. There being no such thing as property, they have consequently no idea of wealth, as their notions of right extend no farther than that of being the c first in gathering the spontaneous productions of the earth.

AFTER this general description of the disposition and genius of the *Californians*, we can entertain no great expectations from their form of government. It is perhaps impossible for an *European* to annex any ideas to what is commonly called civil government, if he be not allowed to join property. We have already observed, that the *Californians* know no division of lands or possessions, and consequently no succession to immoveables, nor any claim of patrimonial inheritance; nor, on the other hand, any complaints of illegal intrusions. Every nation or language consists of certain *Rancherias*, more or less in number, according to the fertility of the soil, and other adventitious circumstances, and each *Rancheria* is united by d consanguinity. On the first arrival of the missionaries, these little tribes acknowledged no chief by any kind of tribute, homage, or external ceremonies. Families governed themselves according to their company; and the authority of parents over their children ceases as soon as the latter are able to provide for themselves. A kind of forcerers, in whom they had great confidence, found means to impose on the understandings of this simple people, and gain considerable influence and power; but this authority, founded on imposture, lasted no longer than their festivals, or in sickness, or other incidents, which excited their fear or superstition. Yet there was in each *Rancheria* two or more persons who gave orders for gathering the products of the earth, directed the fisheries, and, in case of rupture with any neighbouring clan, headed the forces. This dignity was not acquired by blood, descent, age, or e formal election; but by merit solely and popularity. It was unanimously agreed, that he who was brave, expert, artful, or eloquent, should be promoted to the command; but his authority was limited to terms, imposed by the fancy of those who submitted to his directions. This occasional leader conducted them to the forests and sea-coasts in quest of food; he sent and received messages to and from the neighbouring nations; he gave the earliest notice of any impending danger; he spirited up the clan to revenge injuries; he directed the execution, and he headed the people in their wars, ravages, and devastations. In all other particulars, every one was intire master of his liberty.

THE *Californians* distinguish their want of ingenuity in their dress and houses. The latter consist of wretched huts, built near those few streams, wells, or ponds, found in this country. As they are under the necessity of frequent migrations in search of nourishment, they f easily shift their residences, it requiring only a few hours labour to build a little habitation fitted for all their purposes. In the severity of the winter, it is usual with them to live in subterraneous caverns, either natural or artificial, and the nations near *Cape St. Lucar* make tents of the branches of trees, like those of shepherds, which the Jesuits think they must have learned from seamen, who have been forced upon the coast; although we think the contrivance so simple, that it might easily have occurred to the most ignorant people. In some places the *Californian* houses are only a little space enclosed by stones or earth half a yard high, and without any covering. In general these habitations are so small, that the wretched inhabitants, not having room to stretch themselves at full length, sleep in a kind of a sitting posture. The missionaries taught them how to build, and even prevailed on some to erect g little houses of unburnt bricks, covered with sedges; but, notwithstanding this convenience, there was no bringing them to live under cover, or to relish advantages to which they had not been

a been accustomed ; an evident proof that most of those things, which are deemed the necessities of life, arise purely from fancy, example, and custom.

With respect to their dress, it is uniform over the whole peninsula, consisting of a few ornaments and decorations of the hair, and a girdle round their waists ; all the rest of the body being entirely naked. *Venegas* acquaints us, that the *Edues* adorned their heads with strings of pearls braided with their hair, and interwoven with the most beautiful feathers ; some wear fillets of neat net-work ; others neck-cloths of well-wrought figures of *Nacar*, and sometimes strings of round small fruit. Their arms are likewise frequently adorned with fruit, net-work, or strings of pearls, in the form of bracelets. The *Indians* of the North wear their hair short, and, instead of pearl-strings, decorate the head with a splendid crown, formed of *Nacar*, which they make of the mother of pearl, detached from the shell by a flint, and finely polished on both sides. Although many of the women went naked like the men, yet they shewed great regard to that decency, so necessary to the security of virtue. In general, indeed, they wore a kind of petticoats made of palm leaves, and all carefully concealed those parts, which nature intended should be concealed ; perhaps for the wisest reasons, the rendering them the more sacred by the mysteriousness in which they were wrapped. The dress made of palm-leaves is peculiar to the women of the *Edues*. They beat these materials until the filaments are separated, which they afterwards weave into a kind of soft stuff, superior in fineness and beauty to what is commonly composed of hemp in *European* countries. A love of ornament also prevails more among the *Californian* women than the men ; this is a female weakness, that seems common to all countries. Here the women are set off with pearls, and all the other splendid trinkets, which nature affords, or their ingenuity can invent. In the northern parts, the women wear a meaner garb, made of sedges ; but, as this proceeds from their displaying less genius and invention, than those of the more southern climes, we may affirm, that all are equally taken up with the love of dress, and ambitious of making a handsome appearance.

In their fishing-nets only the *Californians* displayed any degree of ingenuity and invention : these were made with admirable skill of various colours, and such diversity of texture and workmanship, as cannot be described. Father *Toraval's* words are, " I can affirm, that of all the nets I ever saw in *Europe* and *New Spain*, none are comparable to these, either in whiteness, the mixture of the colours, or the strength and workmanship, in which they represent a vast variety of figures. The nets are woven by the men, but the women spin and manufacture the materials, which they prepare from plants, and a coarse sort of thread made from the palm." These nets serve also for decorating the head and neck, as well as for catching fish, or holding fruits and the vegetable productions of the earth.

The *Edues*, or southern *Pericues*, admitted a plurality of wives, who took care of the sustenance of the family, and were diligent in collecting the fruits of the field, to keep their husbands in good humour. It was allowable for the husband to dismiss his wife, in which case the discarded disconsolate woman was regarded as an outcast from society. Thus the more wives any man possessed, the better he lived ; great part of his maintenance depending on their industry, and his power over them keeping the wretched creatures more diligent and obedient ; a particular which greatly contributed to the conservation of this brutal custom. In some other nations there appeared more moderation. The chief men among them never exceeded two wives, while only one fell to the share of the vulgar. Adultery was reckoned a crime deserving the severest punishment, except on two occasions ; at their festivals, and public trials of strength and agility, the most beautiful woman, whether married or single, was, for that night only, the scandalous reward of the victor. The manner of contracting the matrimonial alliance was as peculiar, as some of its restrictions and privileges. In the nation of *Loretto*, it was customary to present the bride, by way of earnest, with a bottle, or jug, in their language called *ola*, her acceptance of which denoted her consent. On her part, she was to make her return by presenting the bridegroom with a net, the reciprocation of which testimonies of friendship confirmed the marriage. There were some nations in *California*, where the marriage was concluded at the end of a ball, the whole ceremony consisting in the mutual consent of the parties before the tribe, or *Rancheria*, upon which they retired and lived together.

Among other ridiculous customs of this country, one is peculiarly absurd, and hardly known in any other part of the world, except in *Brazil*. The women, immediately after delivery, go to some water and wash themselves and the child, then fall forth to the forest, and use the same diligence in collecting wood and food, as if nothing had happened, returning home laden with heavy burdens ; while the lazy husband lies stretched at his ease in his cave, or at full length under the shade of a tree, affecting the pangs of labour, extreme weakness and illness ; a farce that usually continues for the space of three days. Mothers have been known to destroy their children with impunity upon any scarcity of food, until

until a stop was put to this shocking practice by the Jesuits, by ordering that a double portion of provision should be given to women in child-bed. We must likewise observe, that it was an established custom among the *Californians*, like the *Jews*, for the widow to marry the brother, or nearest relation of the deceased.

ALL the high festivals are kept during the time of gathering the *Pitabayas*, when the natives throw aside the little reason with which they are endowed, and resign themselves to feasting, dancing, buffoonery, and every species of absurd and ridiculous mirth. Whole nights are spent with the utmost delight in riotous and tumultuous jollity; but acting comedies is the principal entertainment. The actors are selected for their talents in mimicry and imitation, and if we may credit the reverend Jesuit fathers, these barbarians have carried pantomime to an astonishing degree of excellence. The *Californian* dances are excellent, and various in their kinds, and the performers acquit themselves with much agility and gracefulness, representing the different motions of war, fishing, hunting, marrying, and whatever is most important among them, by gesticulation and dumb shew. Even children act their parts to admiration, and perform a variety of action in the most natural manner, which require practice, and long assiduous application.

Religion of
the Californians.

THE most interesting subject of curiosity is the ancient religion of the *Californians*; but it will be impossible to avoid obscurity, or fully to gratify the reader, because of the general or prejudiced relations given by travellers. All, indeed, agree, that no idolatry has hitherto been found among the *Californians*. They neither worshipped any living creatures, or formed images of false deities, to whom they paid any kind of adoration. They had neither temples, altars, oratories, nor any other place set apart for religious exercises. In a word, no outward profession of religion appeared in festivals, prayers, vows, or expiations. There were, however, the Jesuits affirm, a set of speculative tenets, which must surprize the reflecting reader. They alledge that the *Californians* not only had an idea of the unity and nature of God, as a pure spirit, but also some faint glimmering of the Trinity, the eternal generation of the word, or *logos*, and other articles of faith mixed with a thousand absurd superstitions. As the following account is curious, we shall venture to transcribe it on the authority of *Venegas*, a most sagacious observer, and excellent writer. Speaking of the *Pericues*, he says, "they believe there is in heaven a lord of great power, called *Niparaya*, who made the land and the sea, gives food to living creatures, created the trees, and every thing we behold, whether animate or inanimate, and is possessed of unlimited power. He is invisible, because he is without a substantial body; he has a wife called *Anayicoyondi*; but he uses her not carnally, because he has no flesh, though has begot three sons upon her, one of whom was *Quaahap*, or man. It was from this prince of divine origin, they were taught many arts: he was very powerful, and had under his command a great number of men, whom he raised from the bowels of the earth. At length he was put to death by the *Indians*, and crowned with a crown of thorns, though to this day he remains beautiful, and without corruption. His wounds are continually streaming blood, and although he does not speak in his own person, all his thoughts are communicated through the organs of an owl, or *Tecolate*." A figment, which, we must confess, we think owes its birth to the Jesuits, or other missionaries, who would insinuate from hence, that the *Californians* have a glimmering notion of the birth and passions of *Christ*.

It is farther alledged, as a religious tenet of the *Californians*, that formerly there were violent wars and commotions in heaven, which is more populous than the earth. A person of eminent power rebelled against the sovereign lord, and being joined by numerous adherents, ventured to give battle, but was totally defeated, expelled heaven, and confined to a vast cave under the earth, with a great sea round him, and whales placed as guards, that he might not-escape from his confinement. This rebellious lord they call *Wac*, or *Tuperen*; he delights in fighting and slaughter, because all who die in battle go to his cave; whereas the great lord *Niparaya* is pleased with peace and concord. Should any truth really exist in this monstrous relation, we should only infer from it, that some *Christians* had entered this country before the date of the earliest accounts we have of the missions undertaken to *California*, and that these superstitions are the remains of the *Christian* and *Jewish* religions, which were but imperfectly understood by the simple and ignorant natives.

BESIDES *Niparaya*, the *Californians* believe in two other invisible spirits of inferior power, called *Qumongo*, and *Guyaiquai*. The former sends pestilence, and sickness; whereas the latter is reputed the author of the greatest blessing; namely, a plentiful harvest of *Pitabayas*. His employment was to make vestments for his priests, of the skins of wild beasts; he likewise made a great many creeks on the coast, which he stocked with fish; and after having shed his bounty on mankind, he took his flight to the skies, and left a painted table, which his priests now use at their entertainments, as a memorial that he once resided on earth. The sun, moon, and stars, they believe to be human creatures, thrown every night into the western sea, where they are under the necessity of swimming out by the east. But as it would be

- a be tedious to enter upon a detail of the religious absurdities of the *Californians*, we shall only touch upon a few particulars of the creed of the *Cachimies*, who are not only the most numerous and extended tribe of the whole country, but the most ingenious, rational, and least addicted to absurdity, and superstition, or brutality. According to them there is in heaven a Lord, whose name in their language signifies *he who lives*. This lord begot a son without a mother, who went by two names, implying his swiftness, and perfection. There is besides in heaven another great lord, who is the creator of lords; but the first mentioned is the greatest, as his power extends over the brute, the vegetable, and every other part of the creation, except some individuals among mankind. They have also a notion of a rebellion in heaven, and the expulsion of evil spirits, to whom
- b they give the appellation of liars, ensnarers, or seducers; from all which we would infer, that some *Europeans* or inhabitants of the *Philippines*, of whom no memory now exists among the *Indians*, had been driven by some accident to the coast of *California*, and being obliged for a time to take up their residence among those barbarians, endeavoured to propagate the doctrines of christianity, which, in process of time, became disfigured into the figments we have related.

As to the priesthood, it was just what might be expected from this shadow or phantom of religion. In most narratives they are called *Diminobos*, *Gnosmas*, or *Heckicheros*; according to the different language of the tribes to whom they belong. The latter of these terms signifies a forcerer, or magician, supposed to communicate with infernal spirits; an opinion

c which they endeavoured to impress on the minds of the people by a thousand frauds and impostures. This pretended commerce with spirits gained the priests great influence, and they heightened the reverence by a variety of ceremonies, gestures, and the introduction of different mystical rites; an art practised with success in countries where a purer religion is professed, that requires not the aid of imposture. The sole and ultimate intention of all these pious frauds was interest; the people imagining that success was to be obtained, and misfortune avoided, by bringing the priests the first fruits of whatever sustenance they collected. This was a principle carefully inculcated by the priesthood, who thundered out anathemas and the curses of sickness and famine, whenever the people happened to grow remiss in their offerings. They affirmed they were possessed of sufficient power to bring on

d the most dreadful calamities, by means of their friendship and intercourse with spirits; and it heightened their reputation with the people, that they were the only physicians from whom they could hope for relief in their distempers: whatever was the medicine, it was administered with great ostentation and solemnity. One was very remarkable, and the good effects which it usually produced augmented the reputation, and elated the confidence of these religious empirics. They applied to the part affected of the patient's body the *Chamac*, or a tube formed of black solid stone, through which they sucked, and sometimes blew, with all their force, supposing that by this means the disease would either be exhaled or dispersed. Frequently the tube was filled with *Cimmaron*, or wild tobacco lighted, the smoke of which was sucked in or swallowed by the patient, according to the physician's directions; and this plant alone, without other remedy, has been known to operate so powerfully, as to remove the most dangerous maladies. In most other transactions of life, they practised a variety of deceits, by which they gained an unlimited ascendant over an ignorant people, whose gross stupidity opened a way to those inseparable companions of ignorance, credulity, fear, and superstition. Schools were erected in certain provinces of *California*, in which the youth were instructed in these impostures and puerilities, which they regarded as truths of the greatest importance. The pupils attended their masters to caves and solitary places at a distance from the dwellings, where they were taught to draw certain figures in tablets, in the same manner as our children are taught to write; a secret first discovered by father *Salva Tierra*, who observed, that, about the season for gathering *pitabayas*,

f all the boys about the garrison of *Loretto* disappeared, and from one of these he drew the secret; but not without artifice and trouble; for silence is one of the strongest injunctions imposed on the noviciates.

At the public festivals celebrated by the whole nation, it is that the authority of the *Californian* hierarchy appears with peculiar splendor, whose presence makes the most riotous assemblies be considered as religious orgies. They act the principal parts, and dress themselves in the most solemn habits of their function, which are never wore but on extraordinary occasions. These consist of a large cloak, covering them from head to foot, entirely composed of human hair. Their heads are adorned with a very magnificent plumage made of hawks feathers, and in their hands they hold a large fan composed of the longest

g feathers which the country affords. When the southern *Edues* cannot procure a sufficient quantity of feathers, they deck out the head with the tails of deer, adding two strings of the hoof of the same animal; one round the neck, and the other as a girdle round the loins. The ridiculousness of this dress is still heightened by daubing the body over with

Mod. Hist. Vol. XIV. 5 Q red,

red, black, and different colours; so that the appearance they make is equally absurd and ugly. The priests open the entertainment with sucking the *chacuaco*, until they are become frantic and almost drunk with the smoke, when they pronounce a panegyric on their tenets, delivered with the wildest gestures, and horrible vociferations; pretending they are inspired by those spirits which the people acknowledge, and denouncing vengeance, or imploring blessing, just as the fumes of intoxication inspire. Sometimes they affirm, that they are the very identical spirits so much revered by the people; at others, that they had visited the skies, and just conversed with the deities; in proof of which they will produce a piece of deer's flesh, of the skin of that animal, or of an herb, with which they pretend they can kill at pleasure. But their most usual device is to hold up in their hands some little tablets of wood made with great labour, on which are painted certain grotesque figures; asserting this to be the true copy of the tablet which the visiting spirit left with them on his departure to heaven. During this frantic harangue, the audience is feasting and dancing; and being inflamed by gluttony and intemperance, the whole concludes in the most lascivious scenes and abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiscriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of shame, reason, and modesty.

THERE is another public festival on piercing the ears and nostrils of the children; at which the priests do not fail to exercise that authority which they found on the simplicity of the people, celebrating, according to their private passions, some as brave and generous, upbraiding others as cowardly and factious, enjoining penance and abstinence, and sometimes laying a whole tribe under interdiction, and prohibiting them, for a certain time, to taste fish, flesh, or fruit. Nor is this the only method of venting their spleen and demonstrating their power. They frequently order the people to make roads and clear ways over the most rugged and difficult mountains, for the more easy descent of the visiting spirit; and what cannot be read without horror is, that these inhuman impostors sometimes even order them to throw themselves down from precipices, which they obey implicitly, in the full persuasion their lives will be saved by invisible powers, although repeated experience demonstrates the absurdity of their faith. In recompence of these services, the priests raise contributions on their flocks by way of tythes, and in consequence are enabled to live more luxuriously than any other set of people. A yearly tribute of the best fruits, and daily tythes of fish and flesh is paid to them. The first is the acknowledgment made by the children for their instruction, and the adults recovered by their skill and care from dangerous diseases. The priests even find means to lay a tax upon the dead, under pretence of recommendations given to departed spirits. When a *Californian* was seized with a malady, the priest was sent for, consulted as an oracle, and all his prescriptions were followed with the utmost exactness; but if the distemper proved too obstinate to be removed by herbs, juices applied internally or externally, the *chimaco*, or *simarion*; then all the patient's relations were assembled, and the little finger of the nearest female relation was cut off, under pretence that the blood which streamed from the wound would either effect a cure, or at least remove all sorrow for the deceased from the family. This barbarous ceremonial was followed by visits from the whole tribe, each conversing in their turns with the dying patient, and, if the case be desperate, setting up a melancholy howling, covering their face with their hands and hair, and repeating this ceremony, from time to time, divided into separate companies. The cries of the bye-standers ceasing, the patient desires they will suck and blow him in the same manner the physicians had done, which is obeyed, each using his utmost strength to testify the degree of his affection. When he is just expiring, these rational humane doctors thrust their hands into the patient's mouth, saying they pluck death forcibly out of his body; and the women still continuing their yellings, give him many severe strokes to awaken life, at the moment they are extinguishing it with pain and torture.

No sooner has the patient yielded his last breath, than the friends proceed to the funeral rites, either burning or burying the body, just as it is found most convenient. The first care of those barbarians is to remove every spectacle that can possibly give them uneasiness, and immediately to resume their former mirth and festivity; to which end they inter the body before it is well cold, consuming by fire or burying all the deceased's effects with him. So little do they enquire into the reality of his death previous to the funeral, that father *Salva Tierra* acquaints us, that hearing lamentations, and seeing the fire, in the neighbourhood of *San Juan de Lando*, he hastened to the spot, where he found them just going to burn a man, who, he could perceive, had life and motion. He snatched him from the fire, administered medicines, recovered the patient, and severely reprov'd them for their rashness and barbarity.

WE shall close this account of the genius, manners, and religion of the *Californians*, with the words of father *Torquemado*, speaking of the island of *St. Catharine*. "In this island are several *rancherías*, or communities, and a temple with a large level court, where they perform

- a form their sacrifices. The place of the altar was a large circular space, with an inclosure of feathers of several birds, of different colours, which, I understood, were those of birds they sacrificed in great numbers: and within the circle was an image, strangely bedaubed with a variety of colours, representing some devil, according to the manner of the *Indians of New Spain*." How different is this, and the account given of the religion of the *Californians* by *Venegas*, from what is asserted by most of the Jesuits, who first entered that country; namely, "that the natives had no external signs of worship; that they neither offered prayers, sacrifices, nor expiations, but adored an invisible, all-creating, and omnipotent being, in silent and mental reverence. However, as these are inconsistencies that cannot be rectified by us, who pretend to nothing more than compiling from the most authentic journals, it may be agreeable to the reader that we should pursue *Torquemado's* account, which places the absurd superstition of the natives in the strongest point to view. "The inhabitants of *St. Catherine*, says the reverend father, place in the hands of this image a figure of the sun and moon; and when the soldiers came to see this temple, they found within the circle of the altar two crows of larger size than common, which flew away at sight of the *Spaniards*, but alighted along the neighbouring rocks. The soldiers, observing their extraordinary size, fired their pieces, and shot them dead; at which an *Indian*, who attended them for a guide, fell into perfect agonies. I was informed that they believed the devil spoke to them by means of these crows, whence they paid them the greatest reverence. Some time after, one of the religious going that way, saw some *Indian* women washing fish along the shore, in order to dress them for their families. The crows came and picked them from their hands, while they observed a profound silence, without daring to lift up their eyes, or frighten them away."

To conclude the history of this peninsula, we shall observe, that notwithstanding it was discovered soon after the conquest of *Mexico*, and some expeditions were made to the Gulph by *Cortez* and his officers, yet it was for a long time wholly neglected by the *Spaniards*, who to this day have but one settlement, we believe, on this valuable coast. In the year 1595, a galleon was sent to make discoveries on the *Californian* shore; but the vessel was unfortunately lost in port *des los Reyes*. Seven years after, the count *de Monteroy*, then viceroy of *New Spain*, sent *Sebastian Biscaino* on the same design with two ships and a tender. He sailed as high as *Cape Mendocina*, but discovered nothing of importance. In 1684, the marquis *de la Laguna*, also viceroy of *Mexico*, dispatched two ships with a tender to make discoveries in the lake of *California*, of which, after all his pains, he brought back but an indifferent account; though he was among the first who ascertained its being joined to the continent of *America*, and contiguous to that of *Asia*. Father *Martinez* reports, that during his residence in *Pekin*, in *China*, a Christian woman of *Mexico* was brought thither as a slave, who affirmed, that she had come by land all the way from her own country, except two days spent in passing an arm of the sea, which he supposes must have been the straits of *Anian*. Be this as it will, we owe to father *Caino*, a *German* Jesuit, the absolute certainty that *California* is a direct peninsula joining to the continent of *New Mexico* and the more southern parts of *South America*. He landed on the former from the island of *Sumatra*, and passed to the latter without crossing any other water than the river *Azal*, into which the *Rio Colorado* falls in about the thirty-fifth degree north-latitude. Since the first ingress of the Jesuit missionaries into this country, they have laboured with indefatigable zeal to propagate the Christian religion and civilize the inhabitants, though the fruits have hitherto proved inconsiderable. To them *Spain* certainly owes the first reduction of this barbarous people; but they are taxed, possibly not unjustly, with enslaving the minds of the simple natives, propagating false doctrines, and laying the foundation of an independent hierarchy and empire, as they certainly have done in *Paraguay*. The reader who is anxious to be fully informed upon this subject, may consult the writings of father *Miguel Venegas*^b, so frequently referred to in the above account, as it would greatly exceed our limits to enter upon a detail of the several missions made to *California*, and treat the matter with historical precision. Let us only observe, that were the court of *Madrid* to push their interest with half the zeal of the Jesuits, *California* might become one of their most valuable acquisitions, on account of the pearls, and other valuable articles of commerce, which, without all doubt, this country contains. At present, the little *Spanish* town near *Cape St. Lucar* is made no other use of than a place of refreshment for the *Manila* ship, and the head residence of the missionaries (N).

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^b Hist. Californ. p. 3. §. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, &c.

(N) The coast of *California*, especially towards the *Pernilian Sea*, or *Gulph*, are covered with inhabited islands; such as those of *St. Clement*, *Paxaros*, *St. Anne*, of *Cedars*, so called from the great number of these trees which it produces of the largest size; *St.*

Joseph, and a multitude of others, which may be seen by casting an eye on the map of that country. But the islands best known, are three lying off *Cape St. Lucar*, towards the *Mexican* coast. These are called *The Three Marys*, *Les Tres Marias*. They are but small, have

New Mexico.

WE come now to describe *New Mexico*, upon which subject the reader must not expect we should be very minute or explicit, as the *Spanish* accounts themselves are extremely defective. The boundaries of this province are by no means ascertained, and the greater part of it is still in the hands of the natives, who might easily be reduced, if the *Spaniards* found it advisable to render the colonies less populous, in order to render their dominions more extensive. This vast region, sometimes called the kingdom, and sometimes the province of *New Mexico*, lies eastward of *California*, being divided by the Gulph from that peninsula. It extends a great way towards the North Pole, and is bounded on that side by very high mountains, and a country never pervaded by *Europeans*, and indeed utterly unknown. On the east it has the spacious, new-discovered country of *Louisiana*, on the west the *Californian* lake and *Rio Colorado*, while, on the south, it is hedged in by some of the provinces of *Mexico Proper*, or *New Spain*. With respect to its situation geographers differ; but, in the best maps, we find *New Mexico* laid down between the thirtieth and forty-fifth degrees of north-latitude, and between two hundred and sixty and two hundred and seventy-three degrees of longitude; but whether we ought to extend or contract these limits, is what we cannot affirm with any degree of certainty. The longitude indeed is the most precarious, some giving the province much greater breadth than we have allowed; affirming, that it stretches above six hundred miles from east to west, and about nine hundred from north to south. Until the frontiers of *Louisiana* are perfectly ascertained, we shall never be able to fix those of *New Mexico* to the eastward.

THE division of the country is equally uncertain with its limits. Most geographers divide it into fifteen provinces, many into five only: but the bulk of the *Spanish* writers reckon eighteen provinces; concerning which they give us nothing besides a dry catalogue of the names. A favourable judgment of the excellency of the climate will be formed from its lying within the Temperate Zone. The summers are warm indeed, and the winters pretty sharp; but then the former are neither scorching hot or unwholesome, nor the latter intensely cold, or deluged with floods of heavy rain; on the contrary, they are clear, healthy, and bracing, neither partaking of the stifling moisture of the *West-Indies* and some parts of *South America*, nor of the rigorous congealing colds of *Canada* and the countries round *Hudson's Bay*. In general, the weather is just what is desirable in the season, and extremely refreshing to an *European* constitution.

THE greatest encomiums are lavished on the fertility of the soil, the richness of the mines, and the variety of the valuable commodities produced by *New Mexico*, which abounds with fruit and timber, fields and meadows, precious stones, silver and gold, fine rivers, and the most beautiful variety of hill and vale, land and water. All kinds of wild and tame cattle, especially cows and oxen, are found here in the greatest plenty. The hills are stocked with fowls of different kinds, and the rivers abundantly stored with the most delicious fish. Upon the whole, we may safely affirm, that *New Mexico* is among the pleasanter, richest, and most plentiful countries in *America*, or any other part of the world, which might one day probably induce the *French* to extend the frontiers of *Louisiana* quite to the Gulph of *California*, if their ambition had not been seasonably checked by the loss of *Canada*, their principal strength in *North America*. The *British* legislature may likewise find it necessary to the security of their own colonies, and to prevent encroachments on the *Spanish* territories in *America*, to deprive that restless enterprising people of their settlements on the west of the river *Mississippi*, and connect their frontier immediately with that of the *Spaniards*.

NEW MEXICO is finely watered with rivers and rivulets, although few of these are large, or at all navigable. The *Rio Solado* and *Rio del Norte* alone deserve notice, the last of which flows the whole length of the country, and then, making a sweep eastward, runs through the province of *New Leon*, and discharges itself in the Gulph of *Mexico*. There are also several smaller rivers which fall into the *Mexican Sea*, and divers bays, ports, and creeks, on that coast, which might easily be converted into excellent harbours, were the *Spaniards* possessed of any portion of that diligence and commercial spirit which animates the other maritime nations of *Europe* to the most arduous enterprizes. *Gemelli Careri*, who was in this country in the year 1698, gives the following account of the produce and natives, the conquests of the *Spaniards*, and the force they maintain in *New Mexico*. Part of this country, says he, is already reduced, but there still remains much more to conquer. The natives are easy, generous, and pacific; yet extremely formidable, on account of the dexterity with which they handle their bows and arrows. They are better provided for their defence than any of

have good wood and water, abundance of game, as in *California*, salt-pits, &c. and therefore the *English* and *French* pirates have sometimes wintered there, when bound on cruizes in the *South Seas*. Many years since it was proposed by captain *Dampier*, with great judgment and knowledge of the terraqueous globe, to

search for a north passage, by doubling *Cape Blanco*, towards the northern extremity of *California*, on the *Pacific Ocean*, and in about forty-one degrees fifty minutes north-latitude; but though the proposal merits, in our opinion, the concern of the several maritime powers of *Europe*, it has been neglected.

the

- a the other inhabitants of the New World, except in one particular, instead of being united in one society, and under the same prince, like the empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, they are divided into tribes, each commanded by its *curaca*, or petty sovereign, which renders them an easier prey to invaders, than if their whole strength was combined. When the *Spaniards* first entered this country, they found the natives well clothed, their lands cultivated, their villages neat, and their towns built with stone and some knowledge of architecture, not drawn from the rules of art, but the convenience dictated by nature. Their flocks of cattle were numerous, and they lived in a state of more comfortable barbarity than any other nations in *America*, unless we except the subjects of the two great monarchs of *Peru* and *Mexico*. So skilful were they in shooting, that with an arrow they could shake all the grain out of an ear of corn without breaking it, at a considerable distance. They were great lovers of mules flesh, and upon this account frequently fell upon the *Spanish* travellers, leaving their chests of silver upon the roads, because they set no value upon this metal. They were idolaters, and worshipped the sun and moon; but in what particular manner, or whether they offered human sacrifices, we are not informed; and as to their government, it was free; their princes being little more than leaders of their armies, and the chief persons in the state, elected, at the pleasure of the people, for their wisdom or valour. They discovered a greater readiness to embrace the doctrines of Christianity than any other of the *American* nations, and only expressed their dislike to the new tenets proposed, lest they should oblige them to part with their freedom, to which they were extremely attached. It was usual with them to paint their bodies, and to lodge the colours in scars made in the skin, by which they rendered them indelible.

- It is reported by the *Spanish* writers, that *New Mexico* is inhabited by a great variety of different nations totally unconnected with each other; but the principal are the *Apaches*, the several tribes of whom are distinguished by their towns and settlements. They are a brave, warlike, resolute people; fond of liberty, and the inveterate enemies of tyranny and oppression, of which the *Spaniards* had fatal experience about the close of the last century, when they rebelled against the Catholic king, massacred several of his officers, laid desolate the plantations, ruined the towns, and committed the most dreadful enormities. At length they were rather appeased than subdued, and ever since they have remained the allies not the subjects of *Spain*. A more formidable garrison and greater number of troops have since been maintained by the viceroy of *Mexico*; but not a single advantage deduced by the crown of *Spain*. As the *Spaniards* are themselves so negligent in cultivating the commercial advantages deducible from this country; so abundant in gold, silver, turquoises, emeralds, and other precious stones, it is matter of astonishment that no attempts have been made by any of the maritime powers, when at war with *Spain*, to penetrate into this country by the Gulph of *California*; a scheme first suggested by captain *Dampier*, and extremely rational in the design, especially if we confine our notions to *Great Britain*; for it is certain this country runs the hazard of one day becoming subjected to *France*, should the settlements of that nation ever become powerful and numerous on the banks of the *Mississippi* (O).

- e THE capital *Santa Fè* is a well-built, handsome, and rich town; but its immense dis-

- (O) It has not been in our power to describe the geography of *New Mexico*, by distinguishing it, after our usual method, by its towns and provinces; the reader must therefore be contented with a general view of the country, extracted from the account of father *Afonso de Bonavides*, with some inconsiderable additions from *Herrera*, *De Lact*, and other writers. *Santa Fè* is the capital of the whole province or kingdom, seated on the *Rio del Norte*, in thirty-six degrees of north latitude, and about one hundred and thirty leagues from the sea. The way to it is through the province of *Conchos*, which is parted from *New Biscay* by a river of the same name. Then follow the *Tobosos*, *Tarrahumares*, *Tupcanes*, *Sumas*, *Tomites*, *Hanos*, and other barbarous nations, for the space of an hundred leagues north and west. Nearest to them are the *Apaches*, a powerful people mentioned in the preceding text; and here again we fall in with the *Rio del Norte*, where *New Mexico* properly commences, and extends an hundred leagues north from *St. Anthony of Seneca*, the first town of the *Biroros*. In *New Mexico*, properly so called, are the following nations, placed in the order in which we shall mention them. At the *Rio Norte* begins the territory of the *Piros*, a civilized people, who are clad, dwell in houses, are subject to their chiefs, possess a fertile soil, and have abundance of cotton,

wheat and other grains, and articles of traffic. In the neighbourhood of these are the *Tebas*, who have fifteen towns; then the *Queres*, who are lords over seven towns; and next *Tompies* to whom belong fifteen towns, the chief of which are the *Chilili*. Next to them is the city *Santa Fè*, in which dwell about two hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, not more than half of whom are soldiers, although they keep this whole adjacent country in awe; than which there cannot be a more forcible argument of the pacific disposition of the natives: however, as this account of *Bonavides* was written more than a century ago, there is great reason to believe the number of *Europeans* has been greatly encreased, not only in the capital, but in the other towns. Not far from *Santa Fè* live the *Teos* in eight villages, being the first who embraced Christianity, and expressed an affection for the *Spaniards*. West of them are the *Hemes*, and to them, north, the *Picaries*, beyond whom are the *Toasites*. Again, west of the *Queres* is the town of *Acoma*, and farther west the *Zanis*, masters of twelve towns; next to whom come the *Moquis*. All of these have now embraced Christianity, and pursue every species of industry, especially the cultivation of the soil, with an ardour which promises that this will one day become the finest country in *North America* (1.)

(1.) *Lact. Bonavides, et Herr. tom. v. vi.*

tance from the sea, and the caution of the *Spaniards*, prevent our receiving authentic accounts of this and other towns of *New Mexico*. We believe the whole province is subject to the jurisdiction of the viceroy of *Mexico*, although *Santa Fe* is honoured with the residence of a particular governor, who is enjoined to maintain a constant force of six hundred horse, half of which number is seldom kept up, their pay going into the governor's pocket; which alone would make a considerable salary, no less than four hundred and fifty pieces of eight being allowed for the annual support of every soldier. If we may credit *Gemelli*, the governor almost monopolizes the whole sum allotted for the support of the army; for as he furnishes the troops with provision and cloathing, he fixes his own price, and obliges them to pay twenty pieces of eight for what could not cost a tenth part of the sum. In *Gemelli's* time, the *Spanish* soldiers were armed with a shield, musket, and half-pike, or spear; not to fight, says our author, but to hunt down the natives like wild beasts, notwithstanding their orders from the government are not to kill the savage inhabitants, but to subdue them by reason and instruction, and the powerful charms of civilization. By order of his late Catholic majesty, the viceroy of *Mexico* sent every year a certain number of poor families into these northern countries, which was certainly a wise measure; not only as it provided for the poor *Spaniards*, but the effectual reduction of these barbarous provinces, by rendering them populous, and instructing them in those doctrines of religion and policy, and principles of the arts, conducive to society and good government. Such is the unsatisfactory account of *New Mexico*, which we are able to lay before our readers, after having consulted all the materials, which should furnish us with more explicit information. Whether we are to ascribe this deficiency to the caution or to the indolence of the *Spaniards*, is not worth enquiring; possibly both may contribute.

Florida.

Discovery.

WE come now to the province of *Florida*, the most eastern frontier of the *Spanish* dominions in *North America*; being washed on the South by the gulph of *Mexico*, on the North by the mountains *Apalaches*, and *French* settlements behind; on the East by the *British* province of *Georgia*, and the channel of *Bahama*; and on the West by the *French* settlements in *Louisiana*, and the great river *Mississippi*. It hath been already observed, that this country was first discovered in 1497 by *John Cabot*, a *Venetian* mariner, in the service of *Henry VII.* king of *England*. It was more completely discovered in the year 1512, by *Juan Ponce de Leon*, a *Spaniard*, who gave it the name of *Florida*, because it was seen first in *Easter*, called *Pasqua de Flores* in the language of his country; or, as *Herrera* alledges, because it was covered with flowers and the most beautiful blossomsⁱ. This voyage turning out to little account, another was undertaken, in the year 1528, by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who sailed with four hundred men from the island of *Cuba*, few of whom returned. As for *Pamphilo*, he was never more heard of, some imagining he penetrated quite to the *South Sea*. At last, it was intirely subdued, in the year 1539, by *Ferdinand de Soto*, one of the bravest officers in the *Spanish* service, whose name has been mentioned with applause in the preceding history. It cost the *Spaniards* seas of blood before they established themselves in this country, which is of scarce any other utility than to secure their navigation to the islands of the *West Indies*: formerly was comprehended under the general name of *Florida*, all those parts of *Louisiana* and *New Mexico*, which were then discovered. At present, the limits of the province are confined, narrow, and inconsiderable in value to the *Spaniards*, although to the *French*, or *English*, it would prove an acquisition of the last importance.

Produce.

THE air is pure and temperate, and the country generally speaking, exceeding salubrious. The power of the sun would sometimes prove intolerable, were it not tempered by refreshing sea and land breezes; while the air towards the *Apalachian* mountains is in general cool and even sharp. Hence it is, that the natives of *Florida* are supposed to derive that strength and robustness of constitution, which distinguishes them from the more southern *Indians*, and once was deemed so formidable by the *Spaniards*. The stories related by the *Spanish* writers of their ferocity and gigantic stature, are altogether incredible and inconsistent with what daily experience now evinces. The soil is rich and fertile, producing in great abundance all kinds of timber and fruit-trees, especially pines, laurels, palms, cedars, cypress, and chefnut-trees, which grow to an extraordinary height and size. But the wood most prized, and in great plenty, is the *sassafras*, quantities of which are annually exported. There is no species of vegetable, but may be raised with little trouble in *Florida*; and even with the mean culture at present bestowed, it produces corn, pulse, roots, herbs, and fruits, in abundance for the inhabitants; also flesh, fowl, and fish, where sufficient industry is exerted to collect those gifts of nature. For the distance of two hundred miles from the sea, every part almost produces two crops of corn, and some would yield three, with a small share of labour; besides, the root *Mendiboca* of which the *Cassavi* flour and

ⁱ Vid. Univ. Hist. sect. 1st of America, l. 9. c. 5.

a bread are made, grows in the utmost plenty : there also is another kind of grain, like our oats, that shoots up spontaneously in marshy places, and by the sides of rivers. Limes and prunes grow wild, and the latter are plentifully eat from the tree by the natives, or dried and laid up for winter provision ; but the most delicious fruit is the *Tuna*, so exquisite and wholesome when ripe, that the *Europeans* call it their cordial julep. Excellent beef, veal, and mutton are the produce of the country, together with horses fit for draught and carriage, so cheap that they may be purchased for the value of a crown in *European* commodities. Not to enumerate the valuable articles of commerce and living found in this country, we shall only mention the pearls found on the coasts of *Florida*, the ambergrease, cochineal, and indigo, produced in the country ; also a kind of stone-pitch, called *Copea*,
b used by the *Spaniards* as tar for their shipping. Nor ought we to omit the hemp, flax, silk-grass, amethysts, turquoises, *lapides lazuli*, and other precious stones ; nor the copper, quicksilver, pit-coal, and iron-ore, discovered in different parts of this invaluable province. As to cotton, it is so plentiful that most of the civilized inhabitants are clothed of a manufacture composed of that useful natural production. The country is well-watered ; but it must be confessed the sea-ports are so indifferent and difficult of access, that, in this circumstance, the *Spaniards* place their chief security.

THE natives of the country are of an olive-colour, robust, active, and well-proportioned. They go naked, men and women, unless we except a deer-skin, wrapped in the nature of an apron, round the loins. Those, indeed, who have come into the manners of the *Spaniards*,
c dress in cotton garments, nearly in the *Spanish* fashion. They are stained over with the juice of herbs, which leaves an indelible mark, and preserves them, as they imagine, from the inclemency of the weather. Their hair is long and black, falling down loose on the shoulders, and floating carelessly in the wind, or twisted in beautiful shining wreaths, fastened up in a knot upon the head in a manner extremely agreeable and becoming. The women are also remarkably handsome, well-shaped, and they not only support the fatigue of all domestic offices, but accompany their husbands in the field, either in war, or the chase ; swimming over rivers with their children on their back. No people on earth are more hardy, bold, and persevering, but the women are more particularly so, and it is difficult to determine, whether most to admire their beauty, their courage, or their conjugal
d fidelity. We cannot alledge so much of the men, who are charged by the *Spaniards* with several vices, especially a fraudulent disposition, and strong inclination to cheat and deceive in traffick. As an instance of this, we cannot but take notice of one piece of fraud, which displays more ingenuity than might be expected from such unpolished people. They counterfeit the ambergrease so dextrously, that they often impose upon those who are not perfectly acquainted with this elegant production. As the *Spaniards* have lived in a state of constant warfare with these *Indians*, we are to make some grains of allowance for the prejudices which they naturally entertain ; they have always represented them in the blackest colours, although such of our countrymen as have traded with them tax them only with subtilty, and an inclination to knavery in trade, in a stronger degree than any of the other in-
e habitants of *America*.

THE religion of the *Floridans* favours of the same absurdity and ignorance, as that of the other barbarians of the continent. The Sun and Moon are worshipped as supreme deities, the people are immersed in the grossest idolatry, and the more irrecoverably, because they bear the most irreconcilable hatred to the Christians, whom they believe to be cruel, ambitious, and covetous to an extreme. With respect to government, the *Floridans* are subject to petty chiefs, whom they call *Paraousti*. These are their leaders in war, and the presidents of their councils in peace, to whom they are extremely obedient and submissive. To these princes only polygamy is allowed ; they are indulged with three or four wives, as a mark of sovereignty ; but the children only of the first are deemed legitimate,
f and capable of succession. Next to the authority of the princes, the most powerful is the influence of the priests, who act in the triple capacities of priests, conjurers, and physicians. They are clad in long robes made of skins, always preserve a very grave appearance, speak little, live abstemiously, and practise every part of hypocrisy necessary to maintain that ascendant they have gained over the minds of their countrymen. As priests, they pray and sacrifice to the Sun and Moon ; as magicians, they pretend to foretel future events ; under the quality of physicians, they bleed, bathe, vomit, sweat, and purge the sick ; in all which cases they levy heavy taxes upon the ignorance of their employers.

IN Mr. Coxe's description of *Carolana*, which the *Spaniards* call *Florida*, we meet with a variety of ingenious and interesting particulars, respecting the produce of this country,
g and the genius of the natives. He likewise specifies the names of a variety of tribes or clans, to enumerate which would serve only to burthen the reader's memory. From him we shall extract the subsequent account of the rivers of *Florida*, and the adjacent provinces ; as upon a just knowledge of these depends the success of any attempts which in time may be

be made to add *Florida* to our more southern settlements (P). About twelve miles above the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, a branch runs off in the east side, which after a course of 160 miles, falls into the north-east end of the great bay of *Spirito Santo*. Sixty leagues higher up, on the east side, is the river *Tosona*, which falls into the *Mississippi*, near three hundred miles out of the country, and is inhabited by the nations of the *Tasones*, *Tonnicas*, *Kowronas*, and others; and sixty leagues still higher is the river and nation of *Chenque*, with divers other tribes to the eastward. The river *Onespere*, about thirty leagues to the north-east of the lake, divides into two branches, the most southern of which is called the Black River, its rise being in the vast ridge of mountains running along the back of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland*. Through these mountains, there is a short passage to the sources of the great river *Polomachy*; and as the *Indians* are perfectly acquainted with all these passes, it affords them an opportunity, in conjunction with the *French* on the *Mississippi*, to insult our colonies. A variety of other rivers are specified in Mr. *Coxe's* description, which we shall omit, as they properly belong to *Louisiana*, or our provinces of *Carolina*, *Virginia*, *New York*, and *Maryland*; but it is necessary to observe, that a fine river discharges itself in the bay of *Mexico*, on the east side of the harbour of *Pensacola*, which flows a course of an hundred miles out of the country.

Fort St. Augustine.

THE only towns or fortresses possessed by the *Spaniards* in the whole province of *Florida*, are *St. Augustine* and *St. Mattheo*, against the former of which an expedition is now in agitation. *St. Augustine* stands on the eastern coast of the peninsula, about seventy leagues from the Gulph of *Florida*, and Channel of *Bahama*, thirty south of the river *Altamaha*, and forty-seven from the town and river *Savannah*. It is situated in latitude 30, and lies along the shore at the bottom of a hill, in the form of a parallelogram, the streets cutting each other at right angles. The fort is formed by an island, and a long point of land divided from the continent by the river, which falls into the sea two miles above the fort. About a mile to the northward of the town stands the castle, defended by four bastions, built during the last war, and reported to be considerably strong. Before the last attempts made by the *English* upon this place, the fortifications were very indifferent, but they were repaired on that occasion; fifty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted, sixteen of which were brass, and strong intrenchments formed. The *Spaniards* were scarce established in Fort *St. Augustine*, when they were attacked, in 1586, by Sir *Francis Drake*, who reduced and pillaged the fort and town. It underwent a similar fate in 1665, being attacked by captain *Davis*, at the head of a considerable body of buccaneers. In 1702, an attempt was made by colonel *More* to annex *St. Augustine* to the *British* dominions. This gentleman was governor of *Carolina*, and was persuaded by the assembly to undertake the conquest of what the *Spaniards* still possess in *Florida*. Considering the restrictions under which the governors of the *British* colonies are laid, it cannot be imagined, that the troops with which he entered upon this enterprize were considerable; in fact, they did not exceed five hundred *English* and seven hundred *Indians*, with which corps he had to march about three hundred miles by land. After destroying the farms and villages in the open country, he sat down before *St. Augustine*, and besieged it for three months; at the expiration of which the *Spaniards*, though extremely dilatory in their motions, sent some ships to the relief of the garrison, which obliged colonel *More* to raise the siege, and retire precipitately, just as he was on the point of accomplishing his enterprize. His retreat has been stigmatized as too hasty and favouring of timidity; for had he continued in his camp, it is more than probable the enemy would not presume to attack him, as their numbers were not considerable, and it was besides attended with this bad consequence, that, notwithstanding the war continued for the space of ten years between *Great Britain* and the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the provincials of *Carolina* were so discouraged with their late repulse, that they never repeated the attempt. The great distance, indeed, and the difficulties under which they laboured, that are now happily removed, leave us no cause of astonishment at the conduct they pursued.

If the *Spaniards* dreaded the *British* power in *Carolina*, and the adjacent provinces, at so early a period, they had much more reason to be alarmed when the danger drew nearer, a colony was settled in *Georgia*, in the year 1733. Accordingly, the *Spanish* general in *Florida* complained of encroachments, made dispositions for a rupture, and spoke in such high terms, that all expected he would use his utmost endeavours to ruin the infant settlement; but whether it was from a sense of his own weakness, or that he received no instructions from his court, certain it is, that, in the year 1736, he thought proper to conclude a treaty with the *English*, for which he afterwards lost his head on his return to *Spain*. The last expedition against Fort *St. Augustine* was set on foot and conducted in the year 1740, by general *Oglethorpe*, who made all the preparations that circumstances would admit, though

(P) Since the above was written, it appears, from the preliminaries of peace, that *Florida* is ceded in perpetuity to the crown of *Great Britain*; an acquisition of the utmost importance to our cotton manufactures.

a greatly inadequate to the occasion. The *Spanish* governor, who was an officer of prudence and experience, having intelligence of the designs formed by the *English*, had augmented his garrison to near a thousand men, all well disciplined troops, and taken every precaution which his knowledge of the art of war dictated. He had in particular laid traps for general *Oglethorpe*, by abandoning a number of out-posts of no consequence to the defence of the place, although the general's taking possession of them served to weaken his army; a circumstance which the governor improved to such advantage, that he cut off above an hundred and thirty *English* posted in the negro fort, under the command of colonel *Palmer*. This unfortunate incident immediately turned the scale against the besiegers; to which was added the fruitless toil of erecting batteries in the island of *Eustatia*, which were found incapable of doing execution on the fort. Reflecting upon these circumstances, general *Oglethorpe* perceived that pursuing his project would answer no other purpose than that of sacrificing his troops, and giving the *Spaniards* greater cause of triumph, accordingly raised the siege towards the close of the month of *June*, and thereby blasted the sanguine expectations entertained, that our southern settlements would have been secured against any attempts of the *Spaniards* by land; that we should henceforward be able to annoy their commerce, and possess the most convenient station for cruising on their homeward-bound shipping from the Gulph of *Florida* and the Straits of *Bahama*, though it certainly lies too far from these streights to be so useful to that design as the *Havannah*, the distance being about seventy leagues. It must be observed that Fort *St. Augustine*, as well as the whole province of *Georgia*, is certainly within the *English* dominions, according to the limits of *South Carolina*, fixed in the charter of the second *Charles*, in the year 1665; but the *Spaniards* alledge that this grant is an invasion of their rights; and we have no other refuge than the claim of being the first discoverers of the country, as they never admitted the limits of that charter in any subsequent treaty.

To this account of *Florida*, we shall only subjoin, that *St. Mattheo* is situated about fifteen leagues north of Fort *St. Augustine*, and is a place of much less consideration, though it likewise was unsuccessfully besieged by the *English*, not to speak more harshly of the miscarriage of an expedition, which, in the beginning, afforded the happiest prospects. St. Mattheo.

Geographical order next brings us to describe *Mexico Proper*, or *New Spain*, the first valuable acquisition of the *Spaniards* on the continent of *America*, and that glorious monument of the courage, conduct, and perseverance of the brave and fortunate *Cortez*. This vast country extends for the space of twenty three degrees, from seven degrees thirty minutes, to thirty degrees forty minutes, north latitude. It is bounded on the south-east, lengthways, by the Isthmus of *Darien*, or *Panama*; and on the north-west, by *New Mexico*; the north and south seas washing it on both sides. Along the *Pacific Ocean*, it stretches above two thousand miles, and the coast toward the north sea cannot extend less than sixteen hundred miles; but the breadth of this great empire is unequal. Towards the north-west we may safely reckon it between six and seven hundred miles over; while towards the south-east, the breadth cannot exceed sixty miles. To ascertain the number of solid miles contained in the area, it will be necessary to trace the out-lines of an accurate map of the country, which we shall leave to the curious reader. Mexico, or New Spain.

The greater part of *Mexico* lies within the torrid zone, yet the air is temperate and healthy. As you approach the equinoctial, it necessarily grows hotter; but in no place is the atmosphere heated to such a degree as to render the climate insupportable. This arises from the land and sea-breezes, which blow alternately, and the great number of lakes and rivers, the vapours from which refrigerate the air, and render it mild, soft, and pleasant. The greatest heats are during the months of *February*, *March*, and *April*, when the sun is seldom obscured by clouds; and the waters are dried up in such a manner that it is difficult to meet with any in a variety of places. The rainy season begins towards the close of *April*, and continues till the month of *September*; it is always preceded by tempests or tornadoes, thunder, lightning, and hurricanes, when the wind blows almost from every point of the heavens, increasing daily in fury to the month of *June*, at which time the rains fall as if a second deluge was to ensue. Its extent;

No country under heaven abounds more with grain, delicious fruits, roots, and vegetables of every kind; many of which are peculiar to the country, or at least to *America*. The woods on the tops and declivities of mountains consist either of fine forests, or delightful groves of trees of various kinds, large, and unincumbered with brush-wood; so that a traveller may pass through them on horseback, without any inconvenience. The coasts are covered with bamboes, mangroves, log-wood, and other species of timber; either serviceable to the natives, or valuable as articles of commerce. Among the most curious species of woods in this country, may be reckoned the red and white cotton trees, the cedar, log-wood, blood-wood, mangrove, maho, of which the natives make ropes and cables, light-wood, white-wood, and other trees, equally curious and valuable. Of the fruit trees, we shall only specify the cabbage, babbage,

bage, calabash, cacao, and venella, which the *Spaniards* call *Bexuco* or *Bainilla*, plantains, a
 bananas, pine-apples, sapadillo, avogato pear, mammee, mammee sapota, grape, prickles,
 bibby, and other curious fruit-trees; besides which the *Spaniards* have introduced most of the
European fruits. *Mexico* also produces the poisonous manchineel apple, gourds of a prodigious
 size, melons, silk grass, tamarinds, and locust trees; the little black, white, and *Ber-*
rachio sapotoz trees, the last of these taking its name from the inebriating quality of the fruit.
 To these we may subjoin the *Grenadillo de China* creeping plant, and the maykey, which
 furnishes the natives with thread for linnen, and cordage, and also a balsam and liquor,
 which, when fermented, is as pleasant and strong as wine. From this too is distilled a strong
 spirit, not unlike brandy. The particular description of these trees, fruits, and plants,
 we must leave to travellers and naturalists, it being sufficient for our purpose to observe that b
 they are produced in *Mexico*.

AMONG the valuable commodities of *New Spain*, may be reckoned the following drugs;
 namely, copal, anime, tacamahaca, caranna, liquid amber, oil of amber, balsam of *Peru*,
 also found in *Mexico*, guiacum, *China* root, sarsaparilla, and the root mechoacan; all of which
 are known in the shops of our retailers of medicine, and of excellent use in a variety of dis-
 tempers. Besides the maiz, or native grain of *Mexico*, the *Spaniards* have introduced the use
 of barley, wheat, peas, beans, and other grains, pulse, roots, and vegetables, which are now
 to be met with in every province. Rice grows abundantly, and flourishes extremely, on ac-
 count of the long wet seasons. Trees are all the year in leaf, blossom, or fruit, and every
 month in the year presents an appearance of Spring, Summer, and Autumn, altogether. c

THE principal commodities of *New Spain* are wool, cotton, sugar, silk, cochineal, cho-
 colate, feathers, honey, balsams, drugs, dying woods, salt, tallow, hides, tobacco, ginger,
 amber, pearls, precious stones, gold and silver. It was an insatiable thirst after those pre-
 cious metals, more than zeal for religion, which first led the *Spaniards* to the conquest of
 this country, then overflowing with the riches of the great *Moteczuma*. In most general
 accounts of *New Spain*, we are told that mines of gold and silver are found in the greater
 part of the provinces of *Mexico*. Of silver, it is reported, there are no fewer than a thou-
 sand different mines, but gold only in *Veragua*, and *New Grenada*; although, by the way,
 the latter of these provinces is entirely without the *Mexican* frontier, and in *Terra firma*; d
 and therefore scarcely within what constituted the limits of the empire. Notwithstanding
 this, they are considered as provinces of *Mexico*, because they are under the jurisdiction of
 the same viceroy. Gold is found either in the mines, or in grains at the bottom of run-
 ning streams, and *Acosta* affirms that he has seen grains of pure gold weighing two pounds,
 although, in general, they seldom exceed a twentieth part of that weight. In the mine,
 the gold runs in veins, through a hard stone, to separate which requires great labour and
 expence; especially as it is generally incorporated with silver or copper. Both the mines
 of gold and silver are usually found in barren rocks, mountains, and such places as are
 entirely unfit for pasture and tillage; as if nature had wisely provided, that soil fit for
 bearing every thing necessary to the life of man, should not be mangled and torn in search
 of those metals, which generally turn to his prejudice. As we shall have occasion to touch e
 upon the method used by the *Spaniards* in refining the precious metals, when we come to
 describe the present state of *Peru*, we will here only mention that some of the mines are of
 an extraordinary depth. That of *Pachuca* is above three hundred yards deep, and above
 a thousand negroes are continually employed in digging. From the mine called *la Trini-*
dada no less than forty millions of pieces of eight were drawn into the royal treasury in the
 space of ten years, deducting all expences. Whoever discovers a mine of gold or silver,
 is at liberty to work it, paying the king a tenth of the product, and limiting himself
 within sixty yards round the place upon which he has fixed. Beyond this space, any other
 person may open a mine, leaving five yards between to serve for a partition. All the
 silver and gold, either dug or found in grains, is entered in the royal exchequer; and it is f
 reported, that, notwithstanding great quantities are run and concealed, not less than two
 millions of silver marks, weighing eight ounces each, are entered yearly, out of which
 they coin seven hundred thousand marks into pieces of eight, half pieces of eight, quarter
 pieces, ryals, and half ryals, the value of the latter being about three pence sterling. As
 to the *Indians*, they have no coin; formerly gold and silver served them only for ornament,
 and now they value it only as the means of purchasing the comforts of life from their
 masters the *Spaniards*. Their whole commerce consisted in bartering one commodity for
 another, and with cacao-nuts they purchased things of small value.

BUT the wealth of *Mexico* does not entirely consist in the particulars we have mentioned;
 there are quarries of jasper, porphyry, and exquisite marble, in this country, of which the g
 temples and palaces of the antient inhabitants were built. In the old *Spanish* historians we
 read of the valuable jewels which adorned the crown and royal robes of *Moteczuma*; but
 their

a their names are not mentioned, and at present there are only pearls, emeralds, and turquoises, found in *Mexico*.

NEW SPAIN is at present inhabited by a mixed people, consisting of the native *Indians*; the *Spaniards* and other *Europeans*; the unmixed descendants of the *Spaniards*, who are called *Creols*; the *Mestizos*, or issue of the *Spaniards* by *Americans*; the *Mestiches*, or the issue of such issue; the *Terceroons dez Indes*, or the children of the last, married to *Spaniards*; and the *Quarteroons dez Indes*, whose descendants are allowed the same privileges as true *Spaniards*. The negroes are likewise pretty numerous, being imported from the coast of *Africa* for various purposes, and many of them admitted to their freedom. The issue of an *European* and a negro constitutes another distinction, called *Mulatto*; besides which there is a mixed breed of negroes and *Indians*, which is generally deemed the lowest rank of the people.

Different ranks of the natives.

As to the persons of the *Mexicans*, they are like those of the *Americans* in general, tall, clean, well-proportioned, and handsome. They are active, nimble, and remarkably swift. The complexion is a deep olive; the eyes large, lively, and sparkling; the face round, and the features usually good and agreeable. All are proud of their hair either flowing loose in the wind, cut short, or twitted and plaited on the head; but this is the only hair which they suffer to remain on their bodies, the rest being pulled off by tweezers as soon as it begins to appear; and this is generally the employment of the old women, where their own sex is concerned. Some nations, indeed, within the limits of this vast empire, differ widely from the general appearance and manners of the country; a few there are who deem flat noses the greatest ornament, and practise very early upon their children to produce that beauty on the faces of their infants; while others mould their tender skulls into a conical or pyramidal form by means of compression. Almost all the *Mexicans* disfigure themselves with paint, or rather daubing, and anoint their bodies with oil or fat, not only to preserve the skin against the intense heat of the sun, but to render the joints supple and pliant. On the body are represented the figures of various birds and beasts; and, in times of war, many of the *Mexican* nations paint their faces with red, to give them a warlike, bloody appearance. In general, however, the people are clothed, tho' in a manner extremely different from the *Spaniards*, and still retaining part of their antient barbarousness. In *Veragua* there is a nation, which we have already mentioned, where the men clothe nothing besides the penis, which the vulgar wrap in a leaf, and the great enclose in cases of gold and silver, of a conical fashion. This they adorn with jewels and precious stones, letting the scrotum fall under in full view. In general, the *Indians* are fond of pendants, bracelets, and neck-laces; the *Mexicans* are so in particular, the nose, lips, ears, necks, and arms, being all adorned with pearls, and other jewels, or trinkets made of gold, silver, or some other metal. Those who live in the *Spanish* towns wear a short waistcoat and wide breeches, with a short cloak of various colours, resembling the *Spanish* dress; but their legs are bare, and only a few cover their feet with sandals. The women wear a short jacket of cotton or linen, over which flows a loose robe, or a strait petticoat, and frequently both. There are, however, such varieties in dress, depending upon fancy or necessity, that it would be endless to enter upon particulars.

Persons and habits of the Mexicans.

With respect to genius, temper, and manners, the *Mexicans* appear to be greatly degenerated since the conquest. Once ingenious, hospitable, generous, and civilized, except in the article of human sacrifices, they are become cruel, cowardly, treacherous, and altogether vicious and stupidly unconcerned about futurity, if we may credit *Gemelli*. The buildings, images, paintings, carvings, cotton cloths, manufactured feathers, and many other elegant arts, evince the genius of the antient *Mexicans*, and the total privation of these is equally demonstrative of the decline of that genius; nor is the cause difficult to be assigned. Their temples and images, on which they had lavished all the powers of art, being destroyed, themselves reduced to a state of servitude, and forced to labour in the mines to gratify the avarice of their new masters, it is no wonder they were effectually discouraged from cultivating any kind of talent, which could only turn to their own destruction, and gain stripes instead of rewards. Besides, the introduction of *European* manufactures, arts, and the implements of mechanics, made the *Indians* despise the inferiority of their own, all knowledge of which they soon forgot, without being able to acquire any degree of skill in the other, to the drudgery and lower branches of which they were confined. To what purpose should an *Indian* labour to improve talents that can serve only to make his bondage more irksome? Why should he strive to accumulate wealth, of which he knows he shall be stripped by his avaricious, arbitrary master? Hence it is that necessity renders the *Mexicans* mean, thievish, and pilfering; insomuch that *Gemelli* reports he has seen above four hundred natives take their trials before a judge, all at the same time, for burglary. The mulattoes are still more knavish; and such is the sloth, indigence, and im-

Genius.

Those who
have preserv-
ed their free-
dom.

Audience of
Guadalajara.

immorality, of the lower class of people, that a traveller can scarcely escape being robbed; which, by the way, shews a great defect in the *Spanish* police. Those *Indians* who have preserved their freedom in the open country and mountains, are still a brave, generous, and humane people, totally untainted with the sordid vices and corrupt manners of the inhabitants of the *Spanish* towns and cities. They spend their time in fishing, hunting, and field-exercise, and discover a natural spirit of generosity and humanity even towards the cruel *Spaniards*, who never fail to treat them with the utmost rigour, whenever the occasion offers^k. They cultivate but little soil; they sow and plant just sufficient to answer the purposes of nature, and allow nothing for the gratification of appetites founded wholly upon luxury. This is the business of the women, after the men have cleared the ground. The females execute, besides, all the domestic offices, spin, weave, and dress cotton and linen cloths for their own and their husbands apparel. They are obedient and respectful, and meet in return with all the tenderness of connubial affection; at least this is the picture given us by *French* and *English* travellers, although the *Spaniards*, perhaps in palliation of their own conduct, speak less favourably. They still preserve the religion of their ancestors, and are, with little alteration, what we have already described in our relation of the conquest of this empire. But, to give the reader more distinct ideas, we must descend to particulars, and treat of this country under the three divisions of *Guadalajara*, *Mexico*, and *Guatemala*, all under the same viceroy, but, for the convenience of government, split into *audiencias*, as those tribunals are called by the *Spaniards*.

GUADALAJARA, also called *Galicia*, is bounded by *New Mexico* on the north, by the audience of *Mexico* on the south-east, and by the Gulph of *California* on the south-west, containing a space of eight hundred miles in length, and above five hundred miles in breadth. This audience is divided into seven provinces, is the most temperate division of this empire, and in general pleasant and healthy. The capital, likewise called *Guadalajara*, is the seat of the royal courts of judicature, a bishop's see of considerable revenues, and pleasantly situated on the north banks of the river *Barenja*, and to the north of the lake *Chapala*, reported to be forty leagues in compass. About the year 1531, this country was first entirely reduced and colonized by the *Spaniards* under *Nunez de Guzman*, who found it inhabited by a bold, warlike people, well armed, well clothed, obstinate lovers of freedom, and who, for a long time, resisted all the power of the *Spaniards*. Their towns were well built, the people were comparatively civilized, and conducted their affairs, both civil and military, with great address and regularity. Notwithstanding their women were remarkably beautiful, the *Spaniards* charge them with a certain unnatural vice; apologizing for their own unjust usurpation and barbarous usage by raising a report that favours equally of malice and falsehood.

FORTY leagues north of the city *Guadalajara* stands the city *Zacatecas*, capital of the province of that name. It consists of about six hundred houses, and is defended by a considerable *Spanish* garrison, on account of the silver mines, the produce of which is lodged in the capital. The western parts of the province are celebrated for the richness of the silver mines, and the eastern for their fertility in corn, fruit, and herbage.

THE province of *New Biscay* is the next in situation, and is reputed to produce some of the precious metals, and to be extremely rich in corn, cattle, and the other conveniences of life. Its principal towns are *St. John*, and *St. Barbara*, concerning which we know no particulars.

NEXT in order comes the province of *Cinaloa*, abounding in corn, cattle, and cotton, and rendered extremely picturesque, by a number of beautiful cascades of chrystal water, which tumble down the mountains. The chief town in the province goes by the same name, and stands in twenty-six degrees of north-latitude.

THE province of *Culiacan*, bounded by *Cinaloa* on the north-west, has the Gulph of *California* on the opposite side, and a city of no great consideration, of the same name, for its capital.

ANOTHER province, called *Chiamettan*, is bounded by the foregoing on the north-west, and has for its capital the city of *St. Sebastian*, situated on a river of that name, and about forty miles to the eastward of the *South Sea*. This province is reported to contain mines of gold and silver.

THE seventh and last province of this audience is *Xalisco*, which hath three considerable towns; namely, the capital of the same name; *Compostella*, a rich town, lying in the midst of divers mines; and *Santa Pecaque*, where the *Spaniards* maintain some hundred slaves. In the year 1686, this town was plundered by the *English* buccaneers, of whom *Dampier* was one; but being attacked by a body of *Spanish* cavalry, they were forced to retire precipitately, with the loss of fifty men. It is affirmed, that jealousy of attracting

^k DAMPIER, vol. II. p. 115.

a the attention of other nations to this defenceless audience, has prevented any *Spanish* writers from giving a minute description of *Guadalajara*; a country which abounds not only in silver, but the richest gold mines, if the accounts left by some of our buccaneers with their friends in *Jamaica*, may be credited. The sea-coasts are purposely deserted, that strangers may find nothing to invite them to land, or to gratify curiosity; and this precaution is deemed the more necessary as the *Spaniards* are not very numerous, except in the cities *Guadalajara* and *Compostella*, and the natives but too ripe for revolt, if the occasion offered. Indeed, the chief strength of the audience is in the *Mextizos*, who are considerable in point of property and number, extremely civilized, and a brave, hardy, warlike, people, well affected to the government. In the reduction of these, a foreign enemy would find the only difficulty; and indeed they so soon over-awe the natural inhabitants, or pure *Indians*, that it is a question whether these would presume to take up arms, even though they were supported by a vigorous descent. It is observable, that not only the natives but the *Spaniards* live to a very advanced age in *Guadalajara*, and the climate is daily rendered more healthy by the pains taken in clearing the woods and draining the marshes; insomuch that several towns in the audience are regarded as the *Montpeliers* of the *Mexican* empire, and visited by the sick for the recovery of their health.

WE come next to the audience of *Mexico*, which is beyond comparison the most valuable part of the *Spanish* dominions north of the Equator. On the east it is bounded by the Gulph of *Mexico*, on the west by the *Pacific Ocean*; *Guadalajara* forms the frontier on the north-west, and the audience of *Guatemala* skirts it on the east. The extent of this audience is great, its soil fruitful, its appearance beautiful, and the climate pleasant, though situated under the Torrid Zone; but in rich commodities, in gold, silver, and precious stones, it far surpasses all the rest of the empire. The variety likewise of great lakes, rivers, and sea-ports, with which it abounds, furnish it with every commercial advantage; but to acquire a just notion of the country, it will be necessary to consider it under its present division into seven provinces. The first of these is *Mechoacan*, bordered on the north by *Panuco* and *Guadalajara*, on the east by *Panuco* and *Mexico Proper*, on the south by the *Pacific Ocean*, and on the west by *Guadalajara* and the *South Sea*. The soil is admirably fertile, and the climate so wholesome, that the *Spaniards* imagine it is possessed of some peculiarly restorative quality, for which reason the sick and infirm flock to it from all quarters. Here are the most beautiful corn fields, the richest pastures, the most numerous herds of cattle, the finest breed of horses, and greatest abundance of fish, fowl, and game; but the commodities for which the province is celebrated, are sulphur, indigo, sarsaparilla, saffraas, indigo, cacao, venillas, ambergrease, hides, wool, cotton, silk, sugar, the root mechoacan, sometimes called white rhubarb, and silver. Some gold is likewise found in this province; but it is not so considerable as to merit a place among the native articles of commerce. *Mechoacan* formed an independant kingdom at the time *Mexico* was reduced by *Cortez*. The sovereign had long been the inveterate enemy of the *Mexicans*, who had made repeated unsuccessful attempts to reduce him, and he was considered, next to the republic of *Tlascala*, as the most formidable barrier against the extension of the imperial frontier. However, he submitted to the reputation of *Cortez*, being intimidated by the wonders he had performed with a handful of men; and thus *Mechoacan* became a *Spanish* province without striking a blow, and a valuable addition to the antient limits of *Mexico*. At that time the country was exceedingly populous; but the natives are since thinned, rather by the luxury and manners introduced by the *Spaniards*, than in consequence of their rigour. The capital of the province is the city *Mechoacan*, called *Valadolid* by the *Spaniards*, standing pleasantly on the banks of a large river at an inconsiderable distance from a large lake of the same name. It lies in the latitude of nineteen degrees, ten minutes, and forty-seven leagues, from *Mexico*; large and beautiful, adorned with a fine cathedral, full of handsome houses, the property of rich *Spanish* merchants, who are proprietors of the mines of *Guanaxoto*. Besides this city, there are other rich and handsome towns in the province; *Colima* in particular, situated not far from the *South Sea*, is reported to be spacious, well built, and populous. *Navidad* has a good harbour, and here the *Spaniards* build some of their larger shipping used in the commerce of the *South Sea*. To conclude, in this province are several kinds of trees remarkable for their odoriferous gums and balsams. Here are flocks of cattle and herds of swine without owners, wild boars, multitudes of hares and rabbits, and, among other quadrupeds, the bezoar goat. *Ximenes* alledges, there is a kind of bezoar formed in the river *Mechoacan*, which is washed down from the mountains, where there is great store of bole-armoniac. In the neighbourhood of *Colima*, cassia and the famous plant alcacazon are produced, the latter of which is reckoned a catholicon in all decayed, enervated, and emaciated constitutions. The natives apply the leaves to the parts chiefly affected, and judge of the success of the application by its sticking or falling off.

PANUCO, the next province, is bounded by *Mechoacan* on the west, by the Gulph on the

Audience of Mexico.

the east, by *Tlascala* and *Mexico Proper* on the south, and, on the north, it has part of *Florida* and of the audience of *Guadalajara*. The province is fine and extensive. It was among the first conquests of the celebrated *Cortez*; its inhabitants made considerable resistance; however, they have been since thoroughly bridled by a variety of *Spanish* cities and garrisons, which occasioned great numbers to retire to *Florida*, and save their liberty at the expence of all their valuable possessions. This is the principal reason why the province is so thinly peopled. Its capital *Panuco*, at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, is a neat well-built town, the houses being of stone, prettily thatched with palmetto leaves. It contains five hundred families, and has a large harbour, rendered almost useless by a dangerous bar, although the river is navigable for ships of five hundred tons, it is thought, as far as the mines of *Zacoticas*. *Cortez* was the founder of this city, originally called *St. Isevan del Puerto*; besides which there are several towns in the province, though of no consideration.

THE next province in the audience of *Mexico* is *Tlascala*, skirted by the south or north seas. This province is also called *los Angeles*, and the capital bears the same name, the ancient city of *Tlascala* being dwindled to a pitiful village. *Puebla de los Angeles*, or the City of Angels, vies in magnificence with *Mexico* itself. It is situated in nineteen degrees of north latitude, on the river *Zacatula*, in a fine valley, about twenty-five leagues to the eastward of *Mexico*. In the middle is a beautiful spacious square, from whence run the principal streets in a direct line, which are crossed by others at right angles. One side is almost entirely occupied with the magnificent front of the cathedral, while the other three consist of piazzas, under which are the shops of tradesmen. The city is the see of a bishop, suffragan to the archbishop of *Mexico*, and we may form a judgment of the wealth of the inhabitants, by the revenue of the cathedral and chapter, which amounts to three hundred thousand pieces of eight annually. True it is, indeed, that the wealth of the laity bears no proportion to that of the clergy; yet still it is very great, and we may justly reckon this among the most opulent cities in the empire of *Mexico*. What adds exceedingly to the convenience and riches of this province, is, that here is situated the city of *la Vera Cruz*, or *Ulva*, in the gulph of *Mexico*, lying about seventy leagues from the city *Mexico*. As this is the great mart of all the *Spanish* trade in the North Sea, no pains have been spared to fortify a place naturally strong. Old *Vera Cruz* was built, as we have seen, by *Cortez*; but, as the situation was inconvenient, unhealthy, and defenceless, a new city was built at the distance of sixteen miles, on a safe and strong, though not capacious, harbour. At first only a fort was erected on a triangular rock, merely for the protection of the shipping in port; but the *Spaniards* soon began to remove their habitations thither, and, in course of time, old *Vera Cruz* was almost entirely forsaken by the new. Even this situation is so unhealthy, that no *Spaniards* of distinction make it their constant residence; though it is a place of great convenience. On the one side, it is exposed to clouds of dry sand, and, on the other, to the putrid exhalations of bogs and marshes, which impregnate the air with the most pernicious vapours. *La Vera Cruz* receives from *Acapulco* over land a prodigious quantity of *East-Indian* commodities, which the *Spaniards* dispose of chiefly in the *West-Indies*. It is the natural center of the *American* treasures; and the magazines of the greater part of all merchandize exported from *New Spain*, or imported from *Europe*. The warehouses are constantly full of *European* manufactures and commodities; insomuch that the trade of this city alone may be reputed nearly equal to the commerce of almost all *Spanish America*. The merchants in this part trade not only with *Mexico*, but by *Mexico* with the *East-Indies*, with *Old Spain*, *Cuba*, *Yucatan*, *Peru*, and all the interior parts of the *Spanish* dominions. Here the *flota* winters, and, on its arrival, there is a great fair held, which entirely alters the face of the city for some days; nor does it intirely cease during the stay of the *flota*. Writers, who have not made accurate distinctions, report that *La Vera Cruz* is one of the richest cities in the universe, and this is certainly true, if confined to particular periods, and the arrival of the *flota*; but it cannot generally be reckoned so, as most of the rich merchants reside chiefly at *Los Angeles*, where they keep their plate, until an opportunity offers of securing it on ship-board; a necessary precaution, as experience evinces the possibility of surprising this harbour, the *French* and *Dutch* buccaneers having taken it in the year 1683, and the number of inhabitants not exceeding four thousand men, including slaves, upon whom there is no great dependance in case of an attack.

THE province of *Guaxaca*, having the Gulph on the north, *Tabasco* on the east, and the *Pacific Ocean* on the south, is one of the best situated provinces in the audience of *Mexico*. It produces great abundance of those valuable commodities, venillas and cochineal; yet, though the soil be fertile, and the climate tolerable, the province is but thinly inhabited, for which we can assign no reasons; especially, as it is furnished with excellent ports. Among these may be reckoned *Guatulco*, or *Aquantulco*, situated on the *South Sea*, a safe and com-

a commodious harbour, now intirely abandoned; because it had been frequently plundered by pirates and privateers. The capital of this province is *Guaxata*, standing upon the river *Alvarado*, which flows through the beautiful valley that bears the name of the province.

To the eastward of this province stands that of *Tabasco*, extending along the Gulph of *Mexico*, and inconsiderable in its dimensions. Neither the soil nor the climate are inviting; yet it is tolerably well inhabited, because it produces great abundance of fruit, and excellent pasturage, by which means, they make great profits of their cattle. The principal, and indeed the only, town worth mentioning, stands in the eastern corner of the province, and is called by the *Spaniards* *Neustra Señora de la Vittoria*.

b THE three remaining divisions of the audience of *Mexico*, except the province of *Mexico Proper*, which we reserve for a more particular description, are the provinces of *Yucatan*, *Chiapa*, and *Soconusco*. The first is a peninsula in the Bay of *Mexico*, situated between the bays of *Campeachy* and *Honduras*. The chief produce consists in cotton, salt, and log-wood; and the only town possessed by the *Spaniards* on this extensive coast, that deserves any notice, is *Campeachy*. Its situation, exposed to the sea, gives it a fine appearance, and this is encreased by a strong citadel placed at one end, and mounted with several pieces of heavy cannon; notwithstanding which, *Campeachy* was taken in 1659, by Sir *Christopher Mims*, who, though he was advised to make use of fraud, marched boldly up to the walls, with drums beating and colours flying, telling his men, "that he came not to steal, but to gain a victory." As to *Chiapa*, it is an inland province, fertile, and well-stocked with cattle; but neither rich nor populous, its whole trade consisting in an exchange of commodities with the neighbouring provinces. The metropolis of the province is called *Ciudad Real*, situated about the sixteenth degree of north latitude, at equal distances from the North and South Seas. Here the courts of judicature are held, and it is a bishop's see; but it is neither rich, populous, nor splendid. With respect to the province of *Soconusco*, it has nothing, either in its productions, commerce, buildings, or inhabitants, to merit the attention of the reader, who peruses books for the sake of improvement.

c THE case is otherwise with the provinces of *Mexico Proper*, the finest country in the *Spanish* dominions to the north of the Equator, and incontrovertably the richest in the audience of *Mexico*. It is reported to exceed all the provinces of *America* in extensive, beautiful vallies, rich arable lands, and delicious pasturage. Fruits are in the greatest variety, perfection, and abundance; the great lakes, rivers, and the neighbourhood of the sea, afford fish of every kind. In a word, it enjoys every external and internal advantage, being washed towards the south by the *Pacific Ocean*, by which means the inhabitants trade with the other maritime provinces, while the richness of the country furnishes every article of commerce, and the roads, lakes, and rivers, every requisite of domestic industry and intercourse. The climate is indeed variable: strangers complain of its excessive heat, while the natives frequently shiver with cold; however both, who are blessed with sound constitutions, agree that it is temperate and pleasant in general. The soil is so fruitful, that notwithstanding the great abundance of money, and the external luxury of the *Mexicans*, the necessities of life are exceedingly reasonable, which affords a pregnant proof of the plenty that reigns in the provinces. The silver mines are much richer than those of *Mechoacan*, or indeed of any other province of the empire, and their value is still augmented by their containing a considerable portion of gold.

d THE royal city of *Mexico* is now the capital of the audience, and of all *New Spain*, as it formerly was of the *Mexican* empire. The situation is now, where it always was, in the midst of the great lake of *Mexico*; the *Spaniards* not thinking it necessary to desert a city so well built and magnificent. In point of regularity it exceeds all the cities in the universe, the streets being so strait and exactly disposed, that from any part of the town the whole is visible. The *Spanish* writers place it in nineteen degrees forty minutes, north latitude, but most other writers twenty minutes more to the northward. The want of gates, walls, and artillery, together with the great causeways leading to the city, renders *Mexico* extremely remarkable. All the buildings are convenient, but the publick edifices are magnificent. Here are twenty-nine cathedrals and churches, and twenty-two monasteries and nunneries, of the opulence of which we may form some judgment from the revenue of the grand cathedral that amounts to near eighty thousand pounds a year, out of which the archbishop has fifteen thousand pounds annually, besides vast sums that arise by way of perquisites. All the inhabitants are indeed immensely wealthy; and nothing can convey a higher idea of the vast grandeur and riches of *Mexico*, than the prodigious quantities which are daily exposed to sale in the streets of the most valuable commodities of *Europe* and *Asia*.

e THE great square in the middle of the town is extremely magnificent, and the palace of the marquis de *Valle*, as it is called, one of the noblest pieces of architecture any where

to be met with. It is built in the very spot where formerly stood the palace of *Moteczuma*, and occupies nearly the same space. Several of the hospitals are superb; but what most strikes the eye of a traveller is the vast abundance of silver, gold, and jewels, exposed in plate and toys in the streets by the goldsmiths and shopkeepers. A sensible writer of our own country gives the following method of calculating the wealth of *Mexico*, which very well answers that purpose, as the account is by no means exaggerated, though different from many other writers. The king's duty from the mines, which ought to be one fifth of the whole, brought into the royal exchequer, in the year 1730, more than a million of marks of silver, at eight ounces to the mark; so that the inhabitants draw annually from the bowels of the earth above ten millions of money, without reckoning the vast sums secreted in order to defraud the king of his rights. Yet with these almost incredible treasures the people may be reckoned poor, as most of them live beyond their fortunes, and terminate a life of profusion in the most wretched indigence. The military power of *Mexico* is inconceivably low, there not being more than four or five hundred men about the viceroy's person, owing possibly to the jealousy of the *Spanish* government; for otherwise the viceroy might be much better provided against all danger at a very inconsiderable expence. The great dread indeed of the ministry, since the days of *Cortez*, has been lest the *American* governors should throw off the yoke, claim independency, and endeavour to establish a sovereign dominion in *America*; a dread which, we may venture to pronounce, is wholly imaginary. It might, however, be dangerous to put arms into the hands of this unruly people, especially as *Mexico* is but little exposed to the invasion of foreigners; for nothing is more common than to see the mob, upon the slightest grievance, threaten to burn the royal palace, and tear the viceroy to pieces.

It might reasonably be imagined, that the extraordinary multitude of people contained in the metropolis, which is reported to amount to near three hundred thousand souls, would prevent any other towns in the province from attaining to a pitch of grandeur; but the case is otherwise, for besides *Petallan* and *Cataiutbi*, which are maritime places of some consequence, there are the towns of *Ostuma*, *Tasco*, *Cazruabaca*, *Atlisco*, with several more, scattered up and down the province; and there are, even upon the lake, some handsome cities, within sight of *Mexico*: whence we may judge, that notwithstanding this country was stripped of myriads of its inhabitants by the sword, famine, pestilence, servitude, and all the miseries consequent on the *Spanish* conquest, yet that it is still populous. Next to the capital, the most considerable town, at least in point of commerce, is *Acapulco*, standing in seventeen degrees north latitude, in a bay of the *South Sea*, about two hundred and ten miles south-east from *Mexico*. The haven is large, commodious, and capable of containing several hundred large ships; and the entrance is secured by a flat island running across, at each end of which is a deep channel, sufficiently broad for the greatest vessels. The only inconvenience is, that ships must enter by the sea wind, and go out by the land breeze, which seldom fail to succeed each other alternately; so that frequently they are blown off to sea, after repeated attempts to make the harbour. The town is large, but ill built; and the considerable extent of the place hath occasioned false conclusions as to its wealth and importance. The great trade carried on with the *East Indies* and *Peru* requires such a multitude of warehouses, as would alone make no inconsiderable town; but *Acapulco* is poor and mean-looking, because the principal inhabitants retire from the sea-coast, except when business requires their immediate attendance, and the houses are built slightly on account of the frequent earthquakes to which this country is exposed. Besides the climate is exceedingly unhealthy, sweeping off great numbers of the inhabitants every year; it is always fatal to strangers, unless the greatest care be taken to conform to the necessary regimen, and not to expose the body to unwholesome dews and damps. Opposite to the town, on the east side, is a lofty strong castle, said to be mounted with forty pieces of very large cannon, and the ships ride near the bottom of the harbour, under the command both of the castle and platform; so that this place is by no means so accessible as is commonly imagined.

THERE is a general mistake with respect to the commerce between *Acapulco* and *Peru*, that it is confined to the annual ship from *Lima*. This ship arrives about Christmas, and all the rest of the year the trade is open, ships continually passing and repassing, from one part to the other with the commodities of their several countries. It is true, that *Acapulco* derives its chief importance from the annual *Lima* and *Manilla* ships; whence arises the mistake that no other shipping comes into this harbour. All the intercourse which the *Philippine* islands have with the rest of the world is by means of *Acapulco*, without we except the ships sent to these islands by our traders in the *East Indies*. For these forty years past, the *Manilla* trade has been carried on by two large ships, one laden with goods, and the other serving chiefly the purposes of a convoy. The galleon is generally about 1200

- a or 1000 tons burthen, while the convoy is a frigate mounting thirty-six or forty guns. What the intention of that strict regulation may be, whereby the inhabitants are obliged to send no more than this annual ship, we cannot presume to determine. The galleon is freighted with all the rich merchandize of the East; such as ambergrease, civet, bezoar, oriental pearl, piece goods, and gold-dust, to the value of fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; and we may conjecture what the profits of the voyage are, from the emoluments arising to the captain, which are reckoned worth forty thousand pieces of eight, twenty thousand to his chief mate, and a thousand to the meanest seaman. The truth is, these profits are purchased at the expence of great danger and fatigue, this being the longest possible voyage from land to land; for except touching at *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*, the ship makes three thousand leagues, during which tedious course nothing besides the sea and sky is visible to the mariners. At *Acapulco* she meets with the *Quira* ship laden with the richest produce of *Peru*, and at least two millions of pieces of eight, to be laid out in the purchase of *India* commodities; upon which occasion there is a great fair, which lasts commonly for a month. Now the town is populous and gay, being crowded with the richest merchants of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and even of *Chili*, who come hither to provide themselves in whatever they want, either for the purposes of luxury or of commerce. All the houses in the town are not sufficient to lodge half the strangers, who are therefore provided with tents, which they pitch in the neighbourhood in the form of a large encampment. It is supposed that the *Manilla* galleon carries off from *Acapulco* at least ten millions of dollars for the purchase of goods, and the payment of the *Spanish* garrisons in the *Philippine* islands. Formerly the galleon went one year, and returned the third; but the trade is so much encreased, that the returns are quicker, and the burthen of the vessel greatly encreased.

BEFORE we conclude the description of this province, it may be necessary to shew in what manner the trade is carried on between *Mexico* and *Europe*. In the month of *August*, a fleet, consisting of eight large galleons, loaded with merchandize, chiefly on the king's account, and mounting fifty guns, and about sixteen merchantmen fraught with the goods of private adventurers, set sail from the port of *Cadiz*, in *Old Spain*, for the *Spanish Main*. This fleet of galleons is distinguished from the *flota*, because the former is employed chiefly in carrying military stores to *Peru*, *Mexico*, and the *Spanish* islands; whereas the latter is fraught chiefly with merchandize. The cargo brought back to *Europe* by the *flota* is not so rich as that of the galleons, though it is said to encrease annually. As soon as the galleons and *flota* arrive at the *Havannah*, the *flotilla*, so called because it is composed of the lightest and cleanest vessels, is detached to *Europe*, with a considerable quantity of money and merchandize, but principally with an exact account of the cargoes of the homeward bound galleons and *flota*, that the court may be able to judge of the requisite convoy, according to the value and the danger; as well as to regulate the indulto proper to be levied on the merchants, according to their respective interests in cargoes (P).

- THE last audience in the kingdom of *Mexico* is *Guatemala*, a fine country, inferior to the audience of *Mexico* in nothing except in flourishing cities, and as capable of improvement as any part of *Spanish America*. It contains about a thousand miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, being bounded by the audience of *Mexico*, and the bay of *Honduras*, on the north; by the *North Sea*, and some of the provinces of *North America*, on the east; and, on the south-east, being bounded by the *Pacifick Ocean*, thus enjoying every advantage of situation with respect to commerce. Some writers place the provinces of *Chiapa* and *Soconusco* in this audience, and some in the audience of *Mexico*; as we think this matter of very little consequence to the reader, we have followed the latter, almost without any cause for preference. The first province, therefore, according to this disposition, into which the audience of *Guatemala* is divided, bears the same name, extending itself along the coast of the *South Sea*, for the space of one hundred leagues, having the provinces of *Vera Paz* and *Honduras* on the north, *Nicaragua* on the east, the sea on the south, and the province of *Soconusco* to the westward. The country is mountainous, filled with volcanos, and subject

Audience of
Guatemala.

(P) As we have touched upon this subject, it may not be amiss to specify what is intended by a register-ship, which takes its name from being registered with all the effects in books kept for that purpose in the chamber of *Seville*. These register ships go every year to *Buenos Ayres*, *St. Martha*, *Porto Cavallo*, and other places neither frequented by the *flota* nor galleons; yet they generally return and go out with them, perhaps to save the government the expences of different convoys. When a set of merchants find that *European* commodities are much wanted in any part of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, they petition the council

of the *Indies* for leave to send a ship of three hundred tons, or under, to such a port; and having obtained permission, they pay a sum, from 30 to 50000 pieces of eight to the crown, besides presents of considerable value to the king's officers. The ship and cargo are registered, to prevent any species of fraud; yet she is generally twice the burden specified in the licence, and contains double the cargo entered. When such glaring frauds are permitted in the *Spanish* ports by the king's own officers; need we admire that the endeavours of court to prevent an illicit trade with the *West-Indies*, have been vain and fruitless?

to earthquakes and dreadful fiery eruptions. It abounds, however, with rich and fertile a valleys, equally pleasant and healthy, notwithstanding it does not frequently rain for a whole year in some parts of the province. The pastures are so admirable, that the multitudes of cattle are incredible; but the principal commodities are corn, rich dying drugs, sugar, sugar-cane, and cotton. Great quantities of bees-wax are likewise exported out of this province. *St. Jago de Guatemala*, standing in fourteen degrees north latitude, about nine leagues from the *South Sea*, is the capital. Formerly this was among the noblest cities in *New Spain*, before it was destroyed in 1541, by a dreadful hurricane, in which an hundred and twenty thousand *Spaniards* and natives lost their lives. Never appeared a more terrible and awful scene than this; the day preceding a prodigious noise was heard from the bowels of the volcano, seated in the mountain above the city, which was succeeded in the night by a furious explosion, as if the earth had discharged all her bowels; and a torrent of water issuing from the mountain that swept all before it, and carried off houses and inhabitants. The horror of the scene was heightened by one of the most dreadful earthquakes ever felt in any part of the globe. *New Guatemala*, the present capital of the audience and province, the residence of the president and royal courts, the seat of a bishop, and the center of commerce in these parts, is situated in a beautiful plain at a good distance from the fatal volcano; however, all the precautions cannot secure it against the dreadful earthquakes, so frequent in this country. It is, nevertheless, well-built and well-inhabited, the citizens trafficking largely, not only with all the provinces of *Mexico*, but even with *Peru*. In this way immense fortunes are raised, with which the parties then retire to the neighbourhood of the capital of the empire, to spend the remainder of their days in the fullest enjoyment of riches. c

THE other places of any consideration in this province are *La Trinidad* or *Sonsonate*, situated in a bay of the *South Sea*, about two miles to the south-east of the capital, containing about five hundred *Spanish* families, besides *Indians* and mulattoes; *St. Michael*, another sea-port town, to the eastward of the former, having about six hundred families; and *Amapalla*, standing upon a fine bay to the eastward of *St. Michael*, with above a hundred *Spanish* families, who trade largely in cochineal, cocoa, hides, indigo, and the other commodities of the province.

BETWEEN the gulph of *Honduras*, and the province of *Guatemala*, lies the province of *Vera Paz*, so called because the natives submitted without resistance, and maintained the treaty made with the *Spaniards* religiously. The extent of this province is but forty-eight leagues in length, and about half that breadth; nor is it remarkable, either for being populous or fertile, to which the woodiness of the country, and the frequency of earthquakes, are great and insuperable impediments. As to the climate, the *Spanish* writers affirm, that half the province is very pleasant, healthy, and temperate, while the other half is insupportably hot; the air participating of all the bad qualities which can be expected from heat and moisture. With all these inconveniencies, the *Spaniards* find it worth maintaining, upon account of the admirable medicinal gums, dying drugs, and other valuable commodities produced here in abundance. Formerly there was gold in the *Gulfo dulce*, but now it is either exhausted, or so scarce as not to reward the trouble of searching. The capital is *Vera Paz*, a city pretty enough, but not magnificently built, and emblematical of the real situation of the inhabitants, who enjoy a sufficiency to live at ease, without opulence or grandeur. This town is also called *Cobon* by some modern travellers and geographers. e

HONDURAS province, lying from west to east considerably above a hundred leagues in length, and near eighty in breadth, is the next in situation. On the north it is skirted by the bay of *Honduras*, and on the east by the *North Sea*: it has on the south, the provinces of *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*, and is bounded on the west by *Vera Paz*. No part of this continent is more healthy and fruitful; corn is abundant, the pastures rich, and the cattle numerous. Several rivers overflow their banks, and greatly increase the fertility of the province, which likewise furnishes divers valuable articles of commerce; such as *Vigonia* wool, cotton, wax, sugar, pearls, log-wood, gold and silver; but these two last particulars in no great abundance: nor are the pearls, found upon the coasts of the island of that name, at all so plentiful as formerly, and indeed the fisheries are much neglected. With all these advantages the country is by no means populous, the *Spaniards* having almost extirpated the original inhabitants, in revenge for their not discovering the rich gold mines, which they supposed were situated in the province, because they saw the natives adorned with trinkets made of the precious metals. There is indeed some silver dug in the mountains, which the *Spaniards* refine in *Valladolid*, the capital of the province, which the *Indians* call *Comoagua*. This city stands in fourteen degrees of north latitude, upon a river, which falls into the gulph of *Honduras* after a long course. It is now a bishop's see, removed in 1558 from *Truxillo*, and for an inland town, is rich, populous, and handsome. *Truxillo* is the only sea-port of consequence belonging to the province of *Honduras*, unless we except *Porto Cavallo*, chiefly f

a chiefly famed for being the port of the city *Guatemala*, to and from which, all commodities are carried on horseback by a road cut in many places through the living rock. According to most geographers it lies without the limits of *Honduras*.

We come now to the province of *Nicaragua*, of which we have made frequent mention in relating the first expeditions of the *Spaniards* to the continent of *America*. It is washed both by the *North* and *South Seas*. The air is clear and healthy; the soil excellent and the whole country finely diversified with mountains, valleys, extensive lakes, and beautiful savannahs, or meadows, on which feed numerous herds of cattle. Corn, timber, wax, tar, cordage, and sugar are the principal commodities; but the province is so well furnished with all the necessaries of life, and so pleasant, that it is frequently called the *Mohammedan Paradise*. What adds equally to the beauty and convenience of *Nicaragua* is a delightful lake of the same name, that runs across from within twenty miles of the *South Sea*, until it discharges itself by a pleasant canal into the *North Sea*, at the entrance of which is the port of *St. Juan*. The tides rise quite up to the lake; so that every species of fish, peculiar to fresh and salt water, is found here in great abundance, almost together. Happy it is for the natives, that their country produces no mines; for otherwise their bonds must have been drawn tighter, and their lives destroyed in digging for the precious metals, to glut the avarice of their masters. For this reason, both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* employ themselves in husbandry and agriculture, for which no part of *America* affords more encouragement. They have erected divers manufactures, with which they draw large quantities of gold and silver from the other provinces; and hence it is observed, even among the *Spaniards*, that the industry of *Nicaragua* is the most permanent and secure treasure; because the money drawn from it remains in the country. It is also observed, that a more free and bold spirit of liberty reigns here than in any other of the *Spanish* provinces; for the people constantly refuse to stoop or truckle to oppressive governors. The capital is called *Leon*, and frequently the whole province is distinguished by the appellation of *New Leon*. This city stands in a sandy plain, directly on the edge of the lake, and at the distance of twenty miles from the *Pacific Ocean*. Round it are several beautifully enamelled meadows, though the spot in which it is immediately situated be dry and barren. It is the see of a bishop, and hath, besides a handsome cathedral, several churches and monasteries, with divers private buildings of magnificent appearance. The *Spanish* inhabitants do not exceed a thousand, but the city is pretty populous if we include all the natives, who live with more conveniency and under more regular social institutions, than in any other town in the *Spanish American* dominions; because the *Spaniards* do not require that servitude from the *Indians*, which they absolutely refuse to their own governors. In 1685, the buccaneer captains, *Swan* and *Townly*, attacked, plundered, and destroyed this city to the ground; but it has since been rebuilt with more lustre and beauty than before.

BESIDES the capital, this province is adorned with the handsome city of *Granada*, which carries on great trade by the lake to *Carthagena*. The buildings are splendid and elegant, every thing bearing the marks of wealth and industry; the latter of which is, through the misconduct of the government, turned into an illicit channel, the great part of the commerce of the lake consisting in smuggling. The *Spaniards*, indeed, discover such an attachment to ancient customs, that projects of the utmost advantage to the community have been rejected, merely because they were novel; nor can a stronger instance of this weak prejudice be given, than that the manner of navigating and constructing vessels on the lake, are directly the same they were before the improvements made in ship-building, and the art of sailing. The very constitution of the people seems to be altered with the climate; for we see the descendants of those bold, enterprising, and active conquerors, who hesitated at no danger, and stickled at no difficulty for pain and glory, now degenerated into a slow, cautious, unambitious, dastardly race, devoid of every principle of virtue and public spirit, and tamely suffering themselves to be trampled upon by their governors. One more place there is in the province of *Nicaragua* that deserves notice; this is *Rialta*, an excellent port on the *South Sea*, situated in a plain, by the side of a river. It stands twenty miles west of the capital *Leon*, and serves not only the purposes of a port to this city and province, but likewise to *Guatemala*, with which it carries on a very considerable trade. *Dampier* acquaints us that the situation is unhealthy, and reckons this the principal obstruction to its becoming populous and important.

THE province more immediately contiguous to *Nicaragua*, is that to which the *Spaniards* have given the name of *Costa Rica*, or the *Rich Coast*; and yet the communication is interrupted by an exceeding rough country, and a long chain of mountains, which run across it from east to west. It stands to the northward of *Nicaragua*, being hemmed in by the *Pacific* on the south, and by the province of *Veragua* on the west. The country is barren and mountainous, but it gained its name from the valuable pearls found on the coast,

for which the *Spaniards* still maintain a fishery (Q). *Cartbage*, generally called *Cartbago* by the *Spaniards*, is the capital; but the city stands forty miles within land, is poor in trade, and inconsiderable in point of wealth and inhabitants. *Nicoya*, which is considered as only the second town in point of dignity; is beyond comparison more opulent, because it has a communication by rivers with the bay of that name, much frequented by the *Spanish* shipping (R).

It has been usual to class the provinces of *Costa Rica* and *Veragua* in the audience of *Guatemala*, and we have reason to believe they absolutely come within the jurisdiction of this tribunal; yet the ingenious Don *Antonio de Ulloa* places the latter within the division of *Terra Firma*, without taking the least notice of what is asserted by all other writers. We shall, however, adhere to the old division, and reckon *Veragua* a *Mexican* province. It is skirted by both seas, has in the east a part of *Terra Firma*, and the gulph of *Panama*; and, on the west, the province of *Costa Rica*. The country is mountainous, and unfit for culture, extending about fifty leagues in length, and twenty-five in breadth. The vast woods, which cover the country, add great beauty to the country, but no way improve the natural unwholesomeness of the climate. Indeed, such is the barrenness of *Veragua*, in all the productions necessary to life, that the *Spaniards* would certainly abandon it, but for the great quantities of gold found in the rivers, especially after floods of rain. In this particular, *Veragua* alone is more abundant than all *Mexico*, if we may credit some of the latest travellers. There are likewise some gold mines in the heart of the country; near *Santa Fe*; and the bars of gold, made out of the pure gold of the rivers, and extracted from the mines, is reported to amount to an immense revenue. The city of the *Conception* is reputed the capital, and is a large, rich, populous, and flourishing town, standing not far from the coast of the *North Sea*. Forty miles within the province stands the town of *Santa Fe*, considerable only for the gold mines in the neighbourhood. *Puebla Nova* is reputed to be a place of considerable extent, seated upon a river that discharges itself into the *South Sea*. —As we cannot specify every little town in each district, or even descend to a minute description of the larger places, the reader must be contented with this general delineation, since we profess to write a history, and not a geographical account of the countries of which we treat; adding a concise view of the present state of each, merely for the further satisfaction of the publick.

(Q) It is likewise more than probable that the great quantities of gold, of which the natives were possessed when the *Spaniards* first arrived on that coast, gave the adventurers the highest opinion of the wealth of the country; but as this gold was chiefly found in their rivers, the quantity decreased in proportion as the people were diminished, who used to search for it with more diligence than since it subjected them to the dominion of the *Spaniards*.

(R) The *Spaniards* trade from hence to *Panama*, in salt, maiz, wheat, fowls, and the purple juice of a shell-fish, found in the neighbouring bay. This may

possibly be the antient *murex*, which, however, we cannot possibly affirm, because we can find no description of the animal, nor of the juice, any more than that it dyes wool of a fine purple, which the *Spaniards* use in their *Segovia* cloth. They call the fish *Porpura*, and it is described as not eatable, living for the space of seven years, and always hiding itself about the rising of the dog-star. Here also the shell is converted into a slimy soft wax, used by the dyers. We shall speak of the fish more particularly, when we come to describe *Punta de St. Elena*. (1)

(1.) *Ulloa*, T. i. p. 176.

S E C T. XIV.

Containing a short description and account of the present state of Terra Firma, called also the New or Golden Castile; and of Peru and Chili, Buyenos Ayres, Paraguay, Brasil, &c. In which the commodities and curiosities of each province are specified.

THIS vast peninsula, extending itself from the Isthmus of *Darien* to *Cape Horn*, in the form of a triangle, of which the *Terra Magellanica* and the *Cape* form the vertex; goes by the general name of *Peruviana*, which includes the whole of *South America*, although all the countries included within these limits do not acknowledge the dominion of the crown of *Spain*. The heart of the country hath not yet been reduced, or at least civilized; the *Portuguese* are in possession of a large tract, and some other nations have found means to establish themselves on the skirts of this noble empire. On the *North Sea*, the *Spanish* territories reach no farther than the Equinoctial; on one side; and commence again at *Rio de la Plata*, on the other, the fine country of *Brasil* occupying the middle place; and from this river quite to the Straits of *Magellan*, the *Spaniards* rather claim than possess a real dominion. Indeed the territories already in their hands are of such extent; and afford such vast treasures, that they have no temptation to make either conquests or discoveries; and, as the *Portuguese* are much in the same situation, with respect to *Brasil*, we may infer that there is a tract of interior undiscovered country, stretching for near two thousand miles from east to west, and above a thousand from north to south; part of which is only known even to the *Jesuits*, who have established themselves in *Paraguay*. The inhabitants consist not only of the natives, who first possessed the country, but of vast numbers of other *Indians*, driven by the cruelty of the *European* conquerors to seek repose and shelter in those remote parts. If we consider their multitudes, and the natural strength and situation of the country, it is highly probable, these barbarians will always preserve their liberty, unless they should happen to yield to the address of the *Jesuit* missionaries, who have, by dint of civil policy and religion, erected a more firm and permanent empire, without shedding a drop of blood, than the court of *Spain* has after the slaughter of millions; yet there is the greatest reason to believe, that it is infinitely rich in gold, silver, jewels, drugs, fruits, cattle, corn, and every conveniency of life and commerce.

THOUGH the *Spanish* dominions in *South America* are subject to one governor, stiled viceroy and captain-general, titles which have sometimes been disjoined by writers, and assigned to different persons, yet as it would be impossible to govern immediately territories of such vast extent and so remote from each other; his jurisdiction is therefore divided into several audiences, such as *Panama*, *Terra Firma*, *Chuquisaca*, *Quito*, *Lima* and *Chili*; of each of which we shall treat separately. Over these audiences, which are composed of a president and council, the viceroy enjoys only a pre-eminence, with a reservation in cases of appeal. We may compare an audience to a *French* parliament; each consists of judges appointed by the king of *Spain*, and a number of inferior officers dependant on them; the whole under a direction of a president. The business of these two tribunals is transacted by four chambers, called the chamber of justice, the criminal court, the exchequer, and the chamber of treasure, the various departments and proper business of which are implied in the names. Commonly the viceroys and presidents hold their authority for the space of seven years; and the inferior magistrates for four or three years, though the viceroy has power to renew their commissions, upon their exhibiting proofs of the able and honest discharge of their duty; a scheme of policy, which, at the same time that it is advantageous to the crown, is productive of the greatest miseries to the people. It prevents the great officers from establishing too extensive an influence within their several jurisdictions, but it encourages the subaltern magistrates to fleece and oppress; they know their power is only of short duration, and they lose no opportunity of making their fortunes at the expence of principle and reputation. They regard this season as a kind of harvest, which occurs but once in a life-time; and thus the royal officers are generally a set of legal thieves, and the rulers of the people only a succession of robbers screened by authority, and guarded against all inquiry by the royal mandate. The stated appointment of the viceroy of *Peru* is, notwithstanding the great dignity of the employment, no more than forty thousand pieces of eight *per ann.* but then he has occasional salaries and perquisites which exceed all computation; for this reason these employments are usually bestowed on favourite noblemen of broken fortune, who by this means soon lay up sufficient resources for new scenes of luxury and dissipation.

THE province of *Terra Firma* is a very extensive country, being bounded by *Pern*, the country of *Amazons*, and part of *Guiana*, on the south; by the river *Oroonoko* on the south-east; by the *North Sea* on the north and east: and by the *South Sea* on the west, where the Isthmus of *Darien* also divides it from *Mexico*. From east to west, it extends above 1300 miles, and is about 750 in breadth from north to south, though these dimensions are extremely unequal, on account of the curvatures of the great river *Oroonoko*. Sometimes the province of *Guiana* is included in the division of *Terra Firma*; however, as it is not within the jurisdiction of the same governors, or indeed under the dominion of the *Spaniards*, we propose treating it in a separate article. The *Spaniards* have made such frequent alteration not only in the names, but in the boundaries of the several provinces in *South America*, that it is not easy to ascertain their exact jurisdictions. *Terra Firma*, also called *New Castile*, or *Castile del Oro*, from the quantities of gold found in the district of *Uraba*, and other parts, was first discovered by the celebrated *Columbus* in his third voyage, as we have already related. We have seen the changes which happened in the government of this country, and the misfortunes and hardships to which the *Spaniards* were exposed through their own insolence to the natives, treachery to each other, and general misconduct. The climate is neither pleasant nor healthy; one part of the year the inhabitants are scorched by the most intense and burning heat, and the other, almost drowned with perpetual floods of rain, pouring from the sky with such violence, as if a general deluge was to ensue. In so large a tract of country the soil must necessarily vary; accordingly in some parts of *New Castile*, though the trees put forth a perfect verdure, yet they bear scarce any fruit. In others, the soil is so fertile naturally, that it scarce requires the assistance of the husbandman to produce two harvests; while, at the same time, the meadows are stocked with the most beautiful herds of cattle. The mountains abound with tigers, it is reported with lions, and great numbers of other wild beasts; the rivers, seas, and lakes teem with fish, and the bowels of the earth were once furnished with the richest treasures, now almost exhausted. The same may be said of the pearl fisheries on the coasts, which now yield nothing equal to their former profits. The natives have never been thoroughly subdued, and probably never will, as they are not only a gallant warlike people, but have almost impregnable fastnesses to retreat to, and bear an inveterate hatred to the *Spaniards*; yet there is little appearance that they can ever again acquire the entire dominion of their own country by the expulsion of the strangers. They are not cordially affected to any *European* nations, as may be perceived by the expeditions of the buccaneers, of whose assistance they made use against the *Spaniards*, without expressing any inclination to suffer them to settle in the country; and yet this is the only prospect they have of getting rid of that particular nation, for which they entertain the most invincible aversion.

NEW CASTILE, or *Terra Firma*, is divided into the following districts or governments; namely, the Isthmus of *Darien*, or *Terra Firma Proper*, *Cartagena*, *Santa Martha*, *Rio de la Hacha*, *Venezuela*, *New Grenada*, *New Andalusia*, and the province of *Popayan*. The most northern of these is that country lying between the Gulph of *Darien* and *Mexico*, along the coast of the *North* and *South Seas*, particularly distinguished by the name of *Darien*. It is that narrow neck of land which forms *South* and *North America*, by some writers called the Isthmus of *Panama*, extending in the form of a crescent round the bay of *Panama*, for about three hundred miles in length, and sixty in breadth, from the *North Sea* to the *Pacific*; which situation, together with the gold mines, gold sands, and fine pearls found here, renders the province invaluable. The land is generally rough, but beautifully variegated with mountains and valleys, woods and rivers, brooks and perennial springs, that discharge themselves in the *North* and *South Seas*; which are separated by a ridge of mountains. Great floods of rain fall in this country, which some ascribe to its situation between two seas; they begin towards the close of *April*, and pour down without intermission to the middle of the month of *August*, or of *September*, when they abate and yield gradually to the fair season. The principal rivers are the *Darien*, which, after a course of near a hundred miles, falls into the *North Sea* near *Golden Island*; the river *Conception*, which discharges itself in the same sea, opposite to one of the *Santalloe* islands; and the *Chagre*, the most frequented by mariners, which forms a harbour about ten leagues west of *Porto Bello*. Into the *South Sea* fall the *Santa Maria*, on the south-side of the bay of *Panama*; the *Congo* to the northward of *Santa Maria*; and the *Cheapo*, which empties itself seven leagues to the westward of *Panama*. All these rivers are navigable, but their utility for the purposes of commerce is greatly diminished by bars, which run across the mouths of each, and admit only of small vessels.

Puerto Bello.

NOMBRE DE DIOS was the first settlement made by the *Spaniards* in this province, which rose in a short time to a flourishing city, and would have continued so, in despite of the climate and unwholesome situation, had it not been repeatedly destroyed by the *English*, which obliged the inhabitants to look out for a more safe and commodious situation. This gave birth

■ birth to *Porto Bello*, standing in $9^{\circ} 34'. 35''$. north latitude; the harbour of which was first discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, and so named from its beauty. It was in 1584, that a colony was first planted here by order of *Philip II.* The town lies close to the sea, on the declivity of a mountain, which surrounds the whole harbour. Most of the houses are built with wood, they do not exceed a hundred and thirty in number; and are ranged into one long street, which runs the whole length of the town, and is divided by several lanes and ialets to the harbour. Besides this street are two handsome squares, chiefly of stone, in one of which the governor usually takes up his residence. All the inhabitants do not amount to three thousand, half of whom are *Indians*, mulattoes or negroes; the *Spaniards* of any substance not chusing to reside in a place so extremely unhealthy and fatal, even to the lives of the natives. Until of late years, the air of *Porto Bello* was supposed to be remarkably unfavourable to parturition; and it was customary with the *Spanish* women to remove, about the third or fourth month of pregnancy, to the opposite side of the isthmus, to be delivered at *Panama*. It has even been a generally received opinion, that animals brought to *Porto Bello* cease to procreate; but *Ulloa* affirms no more, than that the cattle removed hither from *Panama* or *Carthagena*, lose their flesh so fast in the best pastures, as to become scarce eatable; and he lays it down for certain, that neither horses nor asses are bred here, which serves to confirm the notion, that this climate checks the generation of animals produced in a less noxious atmosphere. The heat, indeed, is here excessive, which, joined to the moisture of the rainy season, may possibly enervate the system, and relax the solids, so as to render animals unfit for procreation; but we would not chuse to reason too much upon a fact, not yet sufficiently established. The torrents of rain are so dreadful, sudden, and impetuous, as to threaten a second deluge; and they are usually accompanied with such tempests of thunder and lightning, as must daunt even the most resolute, the noise being prolonged by repercussions from the mountains, like the explosion of cannon, the rumbling of which is heard for some time after. To this may be added, the shrieks and howlings of the multitudes of monkeys of all kinds, which inhabit the surrounding woods, and encrease the horror of the scene. Great pains have been taken to fortify the town and harbour, yet no place has been more unfortunate than *Porto Bello*; which, in 1595, was taken and ransomed by *Sir Francis Drake*; in 1601, was surpris'd by *Capt. Parker*; in 1669, by *Capt. Morgan*; in 1671, by *Capt. Croxon*; and, in 1739, was taken by *Admiral Vernon*; a petty conquest, which was extolled with as much noise as if he had reduced *Peru* and *Mexico*. Except during the fair, opened on the arrival of the galleons, the place is very inconsiderable; and indeed, at no time of importance, but for the harbour, which is extremely beautiful and commodious for every kind of shipping. The entrance is wide, but well defended by *Fort St. Philip de Todo Fierro*, standing upon the north point of the channel. On the south side, and opposite to the anchoring place, is a large castle, called *St. Jago de la Gloria*; to the east of which, at a small distance, begins the town, having before it a point of land projecting into the harbour, on which stood the castle of *St. Jerome*, demolished by admiral *Vernon*.

BEFORE the arrival of the galleons at *Porto Bello*, proper expresses are dispatched to *Panama*, requiring the king's treasure, and the merchandize from *Peru* and *Chili*, to be conveyed hither; which is either performed by land in summer, or by water in the winter. When the galleons come into port, the cargoes are landed and lodged in proper warehouses; and the price immediately paid out of the treasure lodged in *Porto Bello*. The whole country round is filled with mules and beasts of burthen, employed in transporting the silver from *Panama*, which are emptied in the open square, and yet without theft or loss, notwithstanding the seeming hurry and confusion. This exchange of plate for merchandize constitutes the business of the fair, which, by order of the king, lasts no longer than forty days; and if the merchants cannot finish their bargains within that time, those of *Spain* shall, in that case, have liberty to carry their goods up the country to *Peru*; but, otherwise, by virtue of a compact among themselves, and ratified by the king, no *Spanish* trader is to send his goods, on his own account, beyond *Porto Bello*, nor can a *Peruvian* ship money or send remittances in his own name to *Spain*.

THE next city we shall mention in this province is *Panama*, standing, agreeable to the observation of those excellent astronomers, *Don Juan* and *Antonio Ulloa*, latitude $8^{\circ} 57'. 48''$. $\frac{1}{2}$. north, upon that capacious and beautiful bay from which it derives its name (S). When *Guzman* first touched here in 1514, the place consisted intirely of fishermen's huts; *Orius D'Avila* settled a colony here in a few years after, and, in 1521, it was constituted a city by the emperor *Charles V.* with the proper privileges. In 1670, it was sacked and burnt by *John*

(S) It must be observed that the civil and military tribunal residing at *Panama* is honoured with the appellation of an audience; though we are unacquainted with the reasons, unless it be what *Ulloa* alledges, that it is the capital of the three provinces.

Morgan,

Morgan, an *English* adventurer, who had the preceding year taken *Porto Bello*. This misfortune occasioned the inhabitants to remove the city to its present situation, distant about a league from where it stood before; and, for the greater security, the new city was inclosed by a free-stone wall, and the houses were built of stone and brick. Since that time several bastions have been added, and now there is always a complete garrison maintained, and the walls mounted with large cannon. But all these precautions could not save the city from another misfortune, being intirely consumed by fire, in the year 1737. After this accident it was again rebuilt in the manner in which it now stands; with neat elegant houses, but not magnificent. The inhabitants are rather independent in their fortunes than rich, there are few of them opulent, and scarce any in a state of poverty. As to the harbour it is convenient, and well secured against storms by a number of surrounding islands. Here the royal audience is seated, at which the governor of *Panama* resides; for which reason this city is commonly deemed the capital of the province (T).

Carthagena.

THE next contiguous province is *Carthagena*, which is one of the most considerable governments in *New Castile*, on account of the great trade carried on by the capital; for otherwise the country is neither rich, fertile, nor populous. It indeed produces some valuable balms, gums, and drugs, together with a few emeralds; but there are neither mines of gold nor silver, nor extraordinary crops of corn, or herds of cattle. The principal river is *Magdalena*, that falls into the sea about seventy-two miles north-east of the city *Carthagena*, which is not only a fine opulent town, but a strong fortress. Its advantageous situation, the extent and security of its bay, and the great share it obtained in the commerce of *South America*, occasioned its being erected into an episcopal see, and contributed to its preservation and increase, as the most esteemed settlement and emporium of the *Spaniards* in that country. Its wealth drew upon it the hostilities of foreigners, who, thirsting after the riches it contained, have attacked, taken, and plundered it, without ever attempting to maintain it as a settlement. The first invasion was made in 1544, soon after its establishment, by certain *French* adventurers, conducted by a *Corfican* pilot. In 1485, it was pillaged and almost destroyed by Sir *Francis Drake*, that celebrated scourge of the *New Spanish* settlements. *M. de Pointis* came before it in 1597, with a squadron of privateers, protected by the *French* king; and, after obliging the fort of *Boca Chica* to surrender, whereby he gained the entrance of the bay, a descent was made, fort *Lazare* besieged and forced to capitulate, which agreement could not however preserve the place from the rage of avarice. The *French* soldiers were no sooner in possession, than they entered the town, and pillaged it, without regard to the articles of capitulation, or the laws of nations. It was supposed that the governor had betrayed his trust, and this suspicion was corroborated by his embarking on board the *French* squadron, with all his treasures and effects, none of which had shared in the general calamity. As to the attempts made on this city by the *English*, they were unfortunate and disgraceful; the expedition of admiral *Vernon* is too fresh in the memory of every *Briton*, to need a recital in this place. The city of *Carthagena* is situated on a sandy island, called a peninsula by most writers, which, forming a narrow passage on the south-west, opens a communication with that port called *Tierra Bomba*, as far as *Boca Chica*. The little island, which now joins them, was formerly the entrance of the bay, but it having been filled up by orders of the court, *Boca Chica* became the only entrance, but this also has been filled up, since the attempt of *Vernon* and *Wentworth*. The danger to which the town was exposed on that occasion by the loss of the forts which defended the entrance to the harbour, gave birth to a fresh order for

(T) We cannot avoid taking notice, that near the north-west point of the gulph of *Darien* stood the fortress of *New Edinburgh*, built by a *Scotch* colony, who attempted to establish a settlement, in the year 1699, and denominated the surrounding country *New Caledonia*. In 1695, the *Scotch* parliament passed an act for erecting a company to trade to *Africa*, and the *East* and *West Indies*, under his majesty's letters patent, which the company obtained. The design was so plausible, that it induced several *English* and *Hamburgh* merchants to engage deeply in the adventure, in consequence of which divers ships were equipped, and a body of forces raised to plant a colony on or near the isthmus of *Darien*. The territory of which the adventurers took possession was governed by eight *Indian* princes, then at war with the *Spaniards*, for which reason they joyfully received the *Scotch*, in hope of being able to expel the *Spaniards* by their assistance. For some time the new colony flourished extremely, but their good fortune soon met with a check from the jealousy of the *English East India* company and the complaints of the court of

Madrid. The former complained of an infringement of their charter, and the latter of a violation of the treaties subsisting between *Spain* and *Great Britain*. Accordingly the *English* parliament interposed, and addressed king *William* to vacate the charter granted to the *Scotch* company. The *Scotch* defended their rights with all the arguments of reason and justice; but the influence of their adversaries was too powerful, and all measures were taken to ruin the infant settlement. The *Hamburghers* were prevailed on to withdraw their subscriptions; the merchants of *London* were threatened with the ministerial displeasure, and orders were sent to the *English* plantations to deny the colonists all provision and assistance. In a word, such was the power of faction and private interest, that the nation was robbed of the benefit of one of the most useful establishments ever projected, the advantages of which must have appeared in the most sensible manner, whenever a rupture happened between *England* and *Spain*; for while the isthmus remained in possession of the colony, the *Spanish* treasures must be detained in *America*.
opening

- a opening the old passage, by which all ships, at this time, enter the bay. On the north side the land is so narrow, that, before the wall was begun, the distance from sea to sea was only thirty-five toises, but afterwards enlarging, forms another island on this side; so that, excepting these two places, the whole city is intirely furrounded by the salt water. To the eastward, it has a communication, by means of a wooden bridge, with a large suburb called *Xexemani*, built on another island, which is also joined to the continent by a bridge of the same materials. The fortifications both of the city and suburb are constructed in the modern fashion, and lined with free-stone; and, in time of peace, the garrison consists of ten companies of seventy-seven men each, besides militia. The city and suburbs are well laid out, the streets strait, broad, uniform, and well paved. All the houses are built of stone or brick, only one story high, well contrived, neat, and furnished with balconies and lattices of wood, which is more durable in that climate than iron, the latter being soon corroded with the acrimonious quality of the nitrous atmosphere. The city is populous, though most of the inhabitants are the descendants of the *Indian* tribes; but it is by no means opulent, the country producing no mines, and even the money for paying the salaries of the governor, and inferior officers coming from *Santa Fè* and *Quito*. Yet there are many persons, who have acquired large fortunes by commerce, whose houses are splendid, and who live in every respect with great magnificence. As it would greatly exceed our bounds to enter upon a minute description of this city, its inhabitants, climate, and other particulars, we must refer the reader to the voyages of that excellent writer, don *Antonio de Ulloa*, which work is well translated into the *English* language. We cannot, however, quit this subject without touching upon some very remarkable circumstances, that distinguish this from every other climate. To this singularity, we may probably ascribe some extraordinary distempers, which make horrible ravages among the human race, and especially the *Europeans* who visit *Carthagena*. This disease is called *Chapatonada*, alluding to the name given here to *Europeans*, and is a species of the *vomito prieto*, or black vomit, that being a constant, leading, and fatal symptom. The other symptoms, except a fever and delirium, are not to be found similar in any two patients, or distinguishable from those of a slight indisposition. Multitudes of people are yearly swept off by this distemper on the arrival of the galleons; it seldom continues above three or four days, in which time the patient is either dead, or out of danger, and, what is remarkable, never again subjected to the same disorder; which has foiled all the art of the *Spanish* physicians.

ANOTHER dreadful endemial disease is the leprosy, which gains ground every day, and is now so frequent, that an hospital is erected for patients labouring under this loathsome distemper. It is observable here, that the leprosy greatly encreases the desire of coition, in consequence of which the patients in the hospital are allowed to intermarry; a strange policy! that only tends to propagate a disease so extremely contagious, and baffle all endeavours to extirpate it. At *Carthagena* likewise that painful tumour in the muscles of the legs and thighs, occasioned by entrance of the *Dracuncula*, or *Guinea* worm, so common on the coast of *Africa*, and some of the *West-India* islands, is extremely troublesome, especially to the natives. Another disorder, nearly similar, is occasioned by a little insect called *Nigua*, peculiar to this country and to *Peru*, where it is called *Pigue*, so extremely minute, as scarce to be visible to the naked eye. This insect breeds in the dust, insinuates itself into the soles of the feet, the toes, and the legs, piercing the skin with such subtilty, that there is no being aware of it before it has made its way to the flesh. If it be perceived in the beginning, it is extracted with little pain; but having once lodged its head, and pierced the skin, the patient must undergo the pain of incision, without which a nodus would be formed, and a multitude of insects engendered, who would soon overspread the foot and leg. They cause an extreme pain, especially when they have penetrated deep, as they sometimes do, quite to the bone; and then the incision is not only attended with exquisite torture, but much trouble, and sometimes with real danger. One species of the *Nigua* is venomous, and when it enters the toe an inflammatory swelling is soon perceived in the groin, greatly resembling a venereal bubo, which phenomenon is not easily explained, as all the intermediate parts are untouched, and devoid of pain, or uncommon external appearance.

As the galleons first touch at *Carthagena*, on their arrival in *America*, the inhabitants enjoy the first fruits of that trade, and, for this purpose make public sales, which are very considerable, though not accompanied with the formalities usually observed at *Porto Bello*. The merchants of *Santa Fè*, *Popayan*, and *Quito*, not only dispose of all their stock, but also lay out all the money entrusted by commission for those goods most wanted in their respective countries. They bring gold and silver in specie, ingots, and dust; and also emeralds, the

¹ ULLOA, T. I. L. i. c. 7.

demand for which being now decreased, they are less sought after than formerly. This traffic was prohibited for some years at the instance of the merchants of *Lima*, who complained of the great damage they sustained by the transportation of *European* commodities from *Quito* to *Peru*; but it being afterwards considered that this prohibition was no less injurious to the traders of *Quito* and other places, it was ordered in regard to both parties that, on notice being given in those provinces of the arrival of the galleons, all commerce in *European* commodities should cease between *Quito* and *Lima*, and that the limits of the two audiences should be those of their commerce; an equitable regulation, that was first enforced in the year 1730. During the *tiempo muerto*, or dead interval between the departure and the arrival of the galleons, all the trade of *Carthagena* is confined to the towns and villages within its jurisdiction, from whence the inhabitants are supplied in all the necessities of life in exchange for *European* commodities. To this we may add, the illicit trade carried on with the *English* of *Jamaica*, and the *Dutch* of *Curacao*, in despite of all the vigilance of the guarda costas.

Santa Martha.

PROCEEDING towards the south, the next country we meet with is *Santa Martha*, a province bounded on one side by the *Rio Grande de Santa Magdalena*, and, on the other, by the *Rio de la Hacha*, extending near a hundred and forty miles in length from east to west, and above two hundred in breadth. The country is extremely mountainous, and some of these mountains, especially that called *Santa Martha*, higher than the *Pike of Teneriffe*, if we may credit *Dampier* and other travellers, who speak rather from appearances, than actual mensuration, from the surface of the ocean. From hence result considerable advantages to the inhabitants, the air being cooler and whollomer, than in other parts of *America* near the Equator, and the valleys especially being exceeding fruitful. The gold mines too are rich, and in the mountains are found emeralds, sapphires, jasper, and marble, of an exquisite vein and polish. It is reported, that notwithstanding the air is sultry hot by the coast-side, yet the mountains in the interior country are covered with snow, and the cold so severe, that while the people in one place are scorched with the sun-beams, others, at the distance of sixty miles, are shivering with the rigor of the season. The capital city is excellently situated on a branch of the *Rio Grande*, near the mountains of *Santa Martha*. It gives name to the province, has a direct communication with the *North Sea*, and lies, according to the latest observations, in eleven degrees thirty-four minutes of north latitude. Formerly the city was flourishing and populous, when the *Spanish* fleets used to touch at the mouth of this river; but now the inhabitants are reduced to three thousand souls, including all degrees. Still, however, it is honoured with the residence of the governor of the province; and is the see of a bishop, suffragan to the metropolitan of *New Granada*. The frequent shocks it hath sustained from hostile fleets has likewise greatly contributed to its fall. In 1525, it was intirely ruined by Sir *Francis Drake*; the year following, it was plundered by Sir *Antony Shirley*. In 1630, it fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who by no means encreased its wealth, and was frequently afterwards pillaged by the buccaneers.

ON the east side of the *Rio Grande*, is seated about twenty miles from the capital, the town of *Baranca del Malambo*, a place of more consideration, by reason of the brisk trade carried on by the inhabitants. The merchandize of *New Granada* is brought down hither by boats, and conveyed to the bay about forty miles below the town, or else directly to *Santa Martha*, by a branch of the great river. But the chief article of commerce is salt from the mines, of which in the neighbourhood of the town, the inhabitants draw very large profits.

Rio de la Hacha.

ON the southern frontier of *Santa Martha* is situated the little province of *Rio de la Hacha*, in the form of a peninsula, between the gulph of *Venezuela* on the east, and a bay of the *North Sea* to the westward. The country is pleasant, tolerably healthy, and exceeding fruitful. The rains are not so violent as in *Santa Martha*, though there are frequent tornadoes and thunder showers. In the middle of the province are some mines of jasper and chalcidone, and, on the coast, a very rich pearl fishery, in which the *Indians* are chiefly employed; so that, in despite of the utmost vigilance of the *Spaniards*, they reap the chief profits. The inhabitants of the open country retain their freedom, where they form a numerous, stubborn, and obstinate people; yet they admit some *Spanish* missionaries, who have opened a trade, and rendered them more sociable and tractable than formerly. *Rio de la Hacha*, the capital, which gives name to the province, and takes its own from the river, at the mouth of which it is situated, was formerly called *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*. It stands in eleven degrees six minutes of north latitude, about a hundred and twenty miles from the city *Santa Martha*, and contains about a hundred houses. Formerly the town was rich and strong, but it was so often attacked and taken by the buccaneers, that in 1682, the *Spaniards* abandoned it, but were afterwards induced to return, and fortify it in such a manner as not to be any longer apprehensive about the visits of those pillagers.

a NEXT on the north lies the province of *Venezuela*, within the limits of which we include the district of *Caraccas*, though, from the confusion of names and geographical descriptions, we cannot pretend to ascertain the exact boundaries. Some writers affirm that it extends four hundred miles along the coast of the *North Sea*, and near three hundred into the interior country, while others greatly retrench these limits; but it is on all hands allowed that the province is large, the climate moderately temperate, and the soil so rich and fertile as to produce two harvests, and feed great flocks of sheep and black cattle. In some books we find this country called *Corana*, from the city *Cora*, which stands upon the lake; but the bulk of the *Spanish* writers, and indeed the most accurate travellers, stile it *Venezuela*. The inhabitants are said to exceed an hundred thousand, exclusive of *Spaniards*, mulattoes, and negroes; the country produces fine plantations of cocoa, sugar, and tobacco, from which, and its fertility in grain and fruits, we may judge of its value. The famous lake of *Maracaibo*, eighty leagues in compass, adds equally to the beauty and convenience of the province. In one particular, however, the natives labour under an insurmountable difficulty; namely, the want of fresh water, for, though the waters of the lake, and the rivulets flowing from it, be potable, they are nevertheless brackish and unwholesome. This inconvenience the *Spaniards* have laboured in vain to remove. The capital of the province called *Venezuela*, or *Cora*, is situated on the *North Sea*, on the north east part of the peninsula, and lies in ten degrees and about forty minutes of north latitude. It is the residence of the governor, the seat of the courts of judicature, and the see of a bishop; but remarkable neither for its commerce, opulence, or buildings; the situation alone, in the middle of the waters, engages attention, and from hence it hath been called *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*. The town of *Maracaibo*, though inferior in dignity, is more wealthy, elegant, and pleasant. It fronts the lake of the same name, and has a great number of splendid buildings, adorned with balconies, that command the prospect of the lake at a great distance. The inhabitants are reckoned to exceed four thousand, out of which more than eight hundred men are fit to bear arms. Small vessels are continually trading to this place, with the merchandize and manufactures from all the towns contiguous to the great lake; particularly cacao, indigo, sugar, tobacco, and green hides. *Maracaibo* is not only a celebrated port for ship-building, but the staple for the commodities of *Merida*, and the other towns situated on the frontiers of *New Grenada*.

Venezuela.

b WITH respect to the country of the *Caraccas*, it extends as far as *Cape Blanco*. The coast is rocky and mountainous, interspersed with small fertile valleys, subjected at certain seasons of the year to dry north-west winds, but blessed in general with a clear air and wholesome climate. A prodigious extensive illicit trade is pushed with this coast by the *English* and *Dutch*, in spite of all the vigilance of the *Spaniards*, who have scouts perpetually employed, and breast-works raised in all the valleys. *Caraccas*, the chief town in the district, is situated in ten degrees and nearly ten minutes of north latitude. *Dampier* says it stands at a considerable distance from the sea, is large, wealthy, and populous, and extremely difficult of access, by reason of the steep and craggy hills, over which an enemy must take his route. *Porto Cavallo* is a sea-port town on the *Caraccas* coast, which was unsuccessfully attacked in the last war by admiral *Knowles*; though the place is so inconsiderable that neither detriment to *Spain*, nor advantage to *Great Britain*, could arise from the conquest: possibly the admiral's sole design was to adorn his unshaded temples with laurel.

c BEYOND the province of *Venezuela*, lies that of *New Andalusia*, the boundaries of which are very indefinite; the *Spaniards* pretending a right to countries in which they never established any settlements. Including the districts of *Camana* and *Paria*, it extends, according to the most reasonable limits, for the space of five hundred miles from north to south, and about two hundred and seventy from east to west. The interior country is woody and mountainous, variegated with fine valleys, that yield corn and pasturage. The produce of this country consists chiefly in dying drugs, gums, medicinal roots, brazil wood, sugar, tobacco, and some valuable timber. To these commodities we may add pearls, for which the *Spaniards* fished along this coast to *Carthage*. Five of these fisheries particularly belonged to this province; but as that elegant natural production is now, by the tyranny of fashion, greatly diminished in its value, a minute account of the manner of collecting them will hardly be expected in so general a history as we propose. *Comana*, *Cumana*, or, as some writers call it, *New Corduba*, is the capital of *New Andalusia*, situated in nine degrees fifty-five minutes of north-latitude, about nine miles from the *North Sea*. Here the *Spaniards* laid the foundation of a town in the year 1520, the place being strong by nature, and fortified by a castle, capable of making a vigorous defence, as appeared in the year 1670, when it was assaulted by the baccaneers, who were repulsed with great slaughter. Most writers include the town of *St. Thomas* within the limits of *New Andalusia*, though it is certainly situated in the jurisdiction of *Surinam*, near the mouth of the great river *Oronooko*; a place celebrated only for having been fatal to our illustrious countryman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*;

New Andalusia.

leigh, who took the town with the forces intended to plant a colony in *Guiana*, left his son ^a in the enterprize, and was afterwards sacrificed by the pusillanimous king *James*, to appease the court of *Madrid*, and the jealousy of a faction.

New Granada.

NEW GRANADA, an inland country, is the next which we are led to describe by its situation. It is sometimes called *Santa Fè*, and *Castella del Oro*, and is bounded by *Popayan* on the west, by *Peru* on the south, on the east by the district of *Venezuela*, and by *Santa Martha*, *Rio de la Hacha*, and the same province of *Venezuela*, on the north. Part of the eastern side is likewise skirted by *Guiana*, and on the south, it has part of the country of the *Amazons*. The whole is supposed to include a space of three hundred and thirty six miles in length, and near as much in breadth. *New Granada* is beautifully variegated with hills covered with verdure, and fruitful valleys. The mountains contain gold, silver, and ^b emeralds, and the valleys are enriched with all the necessaries of life, corn, cattle, roots, and fruits; producing likewise great quantities of guaiacum, balms, gums, drugs of various kinds, with other rich articles of commerce. Though placed so near the line, it lying between the first and ninth degrees of north-latitude, the climate is temperate; inasmuch, that many writers affirm, there is an equality of day and night, undisturbed by any variety of seasons; which, however, upon a rigid examination appears not to be strictly fact, there being in reality two summers and two winters, without any intermission of spring and autumn. The capital of the kingdom, as it is called, and indeed of all *Terra Firma*, is the city of *Santa Fè de Bogata*, situated on the banks of the lake *Gatavita*, the residence of the royal audience, and of an archbishopric, having for suffragans the dioceses of *Carthage* ^c *gena*, *Santa Martha*, and *Popayan*; the city is large, populous, opulent, well-built, and adorned with fine houses, and magnificent palaces: but we can meet with no particular description drawn for a century past, during which time it is probably much changed. There are, besides the capital, *Tunia*, *Trinidad*, *Truxillo*, *Merida*, and a variety of other populous towns, the names of which we shall omit, because strangers have no intercourse with the inhabitants.

Popayan.

THE last province in this audience is called *Popayan*, a district of very large extent. It is bounded on the south by *Peru*; by *Carthage* ^d *gena* on the north; by the kingdom of *New Granada* on the east; and on the west by the *South Sea* and part of *Terra Firma*. In *Popayan* the *Spaniards* possess a number of large, well-built, and strongly fortified towns; but the open country is greatly exposed to the ravages of the *Indians*, who affect independency, and bear an implacable hatred to their invaders. For this reason the *Spaniards* dare scarce venture beyond their walls, except in parties, without running the hazard of being massacred; yet they find mind means to draw to themselves all the wealth of the province, which consists in gold mines, precious stones, gums, balsam, rosins, and cotton. Some of the *Indians* are converted to christianity; and, by their means, the *Spaniards* carry on a traffic with the natives, exchanging wine, cinnamon of *los Quixos*, iron, copper, silks, woollen stuffs, and gold and silver lace, for the productions of the country. *Popayan* is the capital of the province, and stands within two degree of the line, on the north side, at the foot of the mountains, and on the banks of a river, that falls into the *Magdalena*. ^e It is the see of a bishop, and the residence of the governor, a large populous city; but chiefly inhabited by creoles, mulattoes, *Indians*, and negroes.

Quito.

WE come now to the first division of the great empire of *Peru*; namely, the audience of *Quito*, reckoned by most writers within the limits of the empire, and certainly under the dominion of the incas at the time of the *Spanish* invasion. It was included within the jurisdiction of the viceroys of *Peru*, until the year 1718, when the court of *Madrid* thought proper to dismember it from the ancient limits, and annex it to the kingdom of *New Granada*. The audience was, at this time, suppressed with a view of encreasing the revenues for the support of the new-erected viceroyalty of *Santa Fè*, by annexing to it the salaries of all the great officers of the audience; but many inconveniences resulting from ^f this regulation, things were placed again on their ancient footing in 1722. The motives, however, for erecting a viceroyalty at *Santa Fè*, being confessedly of the greatest importance, its restitution was again schemed by the *Spanish* ministry, but in such a manner as should prove no detriment either to the publick, or the audiences of *Quito* or *Panama*; and this difficulty being surmounted, the dignity of viceroy was again erected in the year 1739. Don *Ebastian de Esteva*, lieutenant-general, was appointed to that high office; all *Terra Firma* and the province of *Quito*, being included in his jurisdiction. We are now therefore to consider *Quito* as unconnected with the viceroyalty of *Peru*, though all the modern writers, and especially the *English*, place it within that division, appearing to be entirely ignorant of the late regulations we have mentioned upon the authority of *Antonio de* ^g *Ulloa*, one of the most sensible and intelligent writers that *Spain* ever produced.

a THE province of *Quito* is bounded on the north by the last province described, and limited on the south by *Peru* and *Chuchupayas*; eastward it extends to the river of *Amazons* and the meridian of demarkation, which divides the *Spanish* from the *Portuguese* dominions. To the westward it is hemmed in by the sea, from the gulph of *Puera* to the bay of *Gorgona*, which will exactly shew its dimensions with the least attention to an accurate map. *Ulloa* reckons it six hundred leagues in length from east to west, and two hundred in breadth; but this is considerably more than is allowed by the best geographers. Indeed all that is possessed of this vast country by the *Spaniards* is very inconsiderable, in proportion to the whole. According to most writers, the climate here is immoderately hot; an error founded upon speculation, that has since been corrected by experience. In so extensive a country, b lying in the very center of the torrid zone, it is impossible to suppose but the sun has great power; yet *Ulloa* affirms, that not only the heat is very tolerable, but that in some parts the cold is painful; while other places in this province enjoy all the advantage of perpetual spring, the fields being constantly covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers of the most lively colours. Nature has here, especially round the capital, been so profuse of her blessings, that *Quito*, lying almost under the vertical sun, surpasses the countries in the temperate zones, where the vicissitudes of winter and summer, and the transition from heat to cold, occasions both to be more sensibly felt. Provident nature hath assembled a variety of circumstances to moderate the effects of the sun's beams, and give *Quito* all the advantages, without the inconveniences, of that glorious luminary. The country stands c extremely high, by which elevation the winds are more subtile, the atmosphere more rare, congelation more natural, and the heat less vehement. The mornings are cool, the middle of the day hot, the nights of an agreeable temperature, and the seasons so equal, that through the whole course of the year, the difference is scarce perceptible. Yet we find all the gradations of temperature in this province, according to the disposition of the country. In one part the mountains are covered with snow and ice, while the valleys are parched up with the sun's intense rays, clouded over with thick suffocating fogs, or deluged with rain. What reason authors could have for calling this province sandy, barren, and unhealthy, we cannot conceive; as some of the best writers celebrate it as the garden and *Montpelier* of *America* in fertility, beauty, and salutary air. *Ulloa* applauds in particular the country round the capital, and says, that the curious *European* observes with pleasure a perpetual spring and verdure, some flowers continually blowing, to supply the place of those which were faded, and fill up all the chasms in the beautifully enamelled prospect. The same incessant fertility is conspicuous in the corn, both reaping and sowing going on together; that corn which has been recently sown springing up, that which has been longer sown in blade, and some mellowed with ripeness, and ready to receive the sickle; so that the declivities of the hills, exhibit at one view all the beauties of the four seasons. Thus an article so essential to life is in such abundance, that the poorest persons are never in want of bread, and horned cattle too are in so great plenty, that beef is sold in the markets of the capital, at sixteen ryals the hundred weight. Fruits, herbage, and vegetables of every kind are in the utmost perfection; the sea-coast is well provided with fish; but the extraordinary plenty and the beautiful scenes described are chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the capital, many other parts of *Quito* being desert, unwholesome, and scarce habitable.

QUITO is divided into five governments and nine jurisdictions, which it would be unnecessary to specify, as we do not propose a minute description. The capital, also called *Quito*, is a noble, large, and populous city, situated almost under the equinoctial, in thirty minutes thirty-three seconds of north-latitude, according to the most accurate observations; its distance from the coast of the *South Sea* being about thirty-five leagues west. It stands on the declivity of the high mountain *Pichinca*, among other eminences of a moderate height, and a number of branches or clefts, which occasion great part of the city to be founded upon arches, and the streets to be extremely uneven and irregular. With regard to magnitude, *Quito* may be compared to a city of the second order in *Europe*; but its unequal situation is a great disadvantage to its appearance. It may seem extraordinary that so inconvenient a spot should be chosen, when there are two of the most beautiful plains in the world immediately contiguous; but the first founders would seem to pay more regard to preserving the memory of their conquest, by building on the situation of the ancient capital of the *Indians*, than either to beauty or convenience. Formerly it was in much greater repute than at present; the inhabitants now decrease daily, and whole streets of *Indian* huts are entirely forsaken and in ruins. The principal square is spacious, well built, and furnished with some very magnificent public buildings, especially the great cathedral, episcopal palace, and a beautiful fountain in the middle. The palace of the audience indeed rather disfigures than adorns the square, because, instead of being kept in repair, according to the dignity of the government, all, except a few offices, is suffered to fall into ruins.

ruins. The inequality of the streets prevents the use of coaches, so that persons of the first rank are attended only by a servant carrying an umbrella, and the ladies are conveyed in sedans. Besides the great square, there are two others very spacious, and a great variety of smaller squares, in which many opulent citizens take up their residence. In these the greatest part of the convents are situated, and make a handsome appearance, the fronts and portals being adorned with all the embellishments of architecture, particularly the convent of the *Franciscans*, which is an exquisite building entirely of fine free-stone, equally elegant in the contrivance and execution. In general the materials used in building are *adobes*, or unburned bricks or clay, cemented together by a certain substance called *Jangua*, a species of mortar of uncommon hardness used by the ancient *Indians*.

AMONG the courts held at *Quito*, the principal is the royal audience, first established there in the year 1563, and composed of a president, who is also civil governor of the province, four auditors, who are likewise civil and criminal judges, and a royal fiscal, who, besides the causes brought before the audience, takes cognizance also of every thing relative to the revenue. There is another fiscal besides, called *Protector de los Indios*, who solicits for the *Indians*, and, when injured, pleads in their defence. The jurisdiction of this court extends to the utmost limits of the province, with no other appeal than to the council of the *Indies*, and this only in case of a rejection of petition, or flagrant injustice. This at least is the allegation of *Ulloa*, although we have reason to believe there is an appeal to the viceroy and his council. Here likewise is an exchequer or chamber of finances, the chief officers of which are an accomptant, a treasurer, and a royal fiscal. The revenues paid into the receipt of this court are the tributes of the *Indians*, the taxes, and the customs; which sums are annually distributed for paying the salaries of the officers of this province, and also of *Carthagena* and *Santa Martha*. There is likewise a treasurer to receive the effects of persons deceased, whose heirs were in *Spain*; an institution of antient establishment all over the *Indies*, at first excellent and beneficial, but now productive only of misconduct, villainy, and oppression.

THE cathedral church consists of the bishop, dean, archdeacon, chanter, treasurer, a doctoral, a penitentiary, a magistral, three canons by presentation, four prebends, and two demi-prebends, with the following stipends, which sufficiently shew the wealth of the clergy. The bishop has 24,000 dollars *per annum*, and the dean, canons, and prebends in the same proportion; besides the sums levied on the ignorance and credulity of the people. The procession of the host is made with infinite pomp and magnificence at *Quito*. Every house of the streets through which it passes is adorned with rich hangings, and superb triumphal arches are erected with altars, at stated distances, higher than the houses, in which, as on the arches, may be seen with admiration immense quantities of the richest wrought plate and jewels, disposed in such an elegant manner as to exhibit the grandest prospect of opulence. This splendour, together with the magnificent dresses of the persons who assist at the procession, render the whole extremely solemn, and the pomp and decorum are both continued to the end of the ceremony.

It is customary at *Quito*, that the priest, a month before the celebration of the feast, selects a number of *Indians*, who are to be the dancers; and the persons appointed immediately begin those dances which were used before their conversion to Christianity, to the music of a pipe and tabor. This dancing consists entirely in a kind of awkward capering and ridiculous distortion, very little to the taste of an *European*. A few days before the solemnity they dress themselves in a doublet, a shirt, and a woman's petticoat, adorned in the handsomest manner; and over their stockings they wear a kind of pinked buskins, to which are fastened a number of bells that keep ringing at every motion. Their heads and faces they keep covered with masks formed of ribbands of various colours, in which fantastical garb they proudly call themselves angels, unite in companies of eight or ten, and spend the whole day in roving about the streets, highly delighted with the gingling of the bells, and frequently stopping to entertain strangers with a dance, and gain the applause of the spectators. This they perform without any pay or view to interest, regarding it as a religious duty, continuing it a fortnight before and a month after the grand festival, without minding either their labour or families, without fatigue or disgust, though the number of their admirers daily decreases, and the applause is turned into ridicule. Notwithstanding the astonishment which the *Spanish* writers express at the absurdity of this religious institution, from which they draw reflections to the disadvantage of the natural understanding of the people, we cannot upon the whole think it more ridiculous than the popish solemnity above described, and many other ceremonies of the church of *Rome*, which cannot very well be reconciled to sound sense and clear reason. It is therefore unfair to estimate the natural understanding of any nation from a few religious ceremonies, which have seldom failed to run into extravagance in every country.

a We may judge of the extent and populousness of *Quito* from the computation given by *Ulloa* of the number of inhabitants, which, including all degrees, he reckons to amount to sixty thousand, nine tenths of whom are *Indians*, mulattoes, and their descendants. They are divided into four classes, the principal of which are the *Spaniards* in dignity, but by no means in wealth, as they refuse to apply themselves to any mechanic business, considering it as a disgrace to that quality on which they so highly value themselves, and resting perfectly satisfied with being more proud and more wretched than the *Mestizos*, whose pride is regulated by prudence. They readily apply themselves to the arts, and arrive at great perfection in the more polite; such as sculpture and painting. A *Mestizo*, called *Miguel de Santiago*, acquired so much reputation, that his paintings were applauded and bought at a great price b in *Rome*, the scene of the fine arts; and what renders many of the admirable pieces of painting and sculpture executed in *Quito* still more exquisite, is, that the artists are destitute of many of the tools and instruments requisite to bring their works to the highest perfection. Young persons of family are instructed in philosophy and divinity; some proceed to the study of the civil law, but follow that profession with reluctance. The belles lettres is entirely neglected and unknown; poetical and historical knowledge is in no repute; but from the vivacity and subtilty displayed in the old scholastic metaphysical jargon, we may venture to pronounce, that the *Mestizos* would become proficient in more useful and rational science if it were once introduced, and the prejudice against innovation overcome.

c THE sumptuous manner of performing the last offices of the dead demonstrates how far the power of habit may prevail over reason and the most feeling experience. The ostentation of the inhabitants of *Quito* is so extraordinary in this particular, that many families of credit are moved by a preposterous emulation of excelling others in funeral pomp. The inhabitants may therefore be said, as *Ulloa* observes, to toil, scheme, and endure the greatest labour and fatigue, merely to enable their successors to lavish honours upon a carcase insensible to all pageantry.

WITHOUT entering upon a description of the several governments contained in this audience, the principal of which are *Quito Proper*, *Los Quixos*, and *Los Pacamores*, we shall give a short account of the principal towns, especially those lying on the sea-coast. The principal of these is *Guiaquil*, the second city of *Spanish* origin in this province, or indeed in all *Peru*. d The first situation was in the Bay of *Charapoto*, from whence it was removed to the present spot, on the west bank of the river *Guiaquil*, in two degrees, eleven minutes, twenty-one seconds, of south-latitude. It is of considerable extent, occupying the bank of the river from the lower part of the old town to the upper part of the new, the space of half a league; but the breadth is not proportionable, all flocking to the river side for the pleasure of the prospect, the diversion of fishing, or the refreshing coolness of those breezes which blow from the water. All the houses are built with wood, many are covered with tiles, tho' the greatest part are thatched; but, in order to prevent fires, by which the city hath been frequently damaged, builders are ordered to tile all their new houses. Most of these are large, convenient, and beautiful, adorned with handsome porticos, which in the rainy season, are the only places for walking, the streets being utterly impassable. *Guiaquil* is defended by three e forts, two on the river near the city, and one behind it, all fortified in the modern manner, and built of a variety of pieces of hard wood, forming a kind of strong palisadoes. In proportion to its dimensions, *Guiaquil* contains as many inhabitants as any city in all *America*; the great resort of strangers contributing to encrease the number; generally computed at twenty thousand. The most eminent personages are *Europeans*, who have married and settled in the country; but there are likewise many opulent *Creolians*. The citizens capable of bearing arms are divided into companies of militia, according to their rank and cast; so that they can be ready on occasion to defend their country and property. One of these, composed entirely of *Europeans*, is the most esteemed, splendid, and numerous. The corregidor f commands in chief, having under him a colonel, major, and subalterns; for disciplining the other companies.

g THE commerce of this city consists either of the product and manufactures of this country, or in goods imported from *Peru*, *Terra Firma*, and *Guatemala*; cacao, timber, salt, horned cattle, mules, hides, tobacco, wax, *Guinea* pepper, drugs, and *Loua de Cieba*, being the product of a high tasted tree of that name, are very considerable articles of trade. The filaments are infinitely more soft and delicate to the touch than those of cotton, and so extremely fine, that no method of spinning it hath hitherto been invented, the only use to which it is applied being to fill bolsters and matresses. The goods imported are oil, wine, brandy, dried fruits, *quays*, *tucayas*, flour, bacon, hams, cheese, iron, and cordage. The navigation of the river is chiefly carried on by small vessels, canoes, and *balzas*, or rafts, which the *Indians* steer and manage with surprising dexterity, venturing even upon voyages at sea as far as *Paite*. The mouth of the river *Guiaquil* is about two miles over, and navigable

gable more than four leagues above the city, whence it is greatly exposed to the depredations of a naval enemy. In 1687 it was forced and plundered by the *French*, who took the governor and 700 men prisoners, ransoming them afterwards at the price of 400,000 pieces of eight. In 1709 it was taken by captain *Rogers*, and ransomed for 30,000 pieces of eight.

PAITA is a small sea-port, situated in four degrees five minutes south latitude, consisting only of one street, and about 200 houses, built of cane, and covered with leaves. In the center of the town is a square, on one side of which is a fort mounted with eight pieces of cannon; whence we may judge how easy a prey it fell to commodore, late lord *Anson*, in 1741, who, with the loss of one man only, obtained a booty which the *Spaniards* estimated at a million and a half of dollars. The soil round *Paita* is sandy and barren; for, besides the total want of rain, it has not a single rivulet; so that the inhabitants are supplied with great fatigue with that necessary fluid from *Colan*, a town on the same bay, at the distance of four leagues, from whence likewise *Paita* is supplied with the greatest part of the provisions. To conclude, the province of *Quito* is of the greatest consequence to the *Spaniards*, not only as a barrier to *Peru*, but as it contains several mines of gold and silver, and furnishes many of the most valuable articles of commerce.

THE next division, and what we may now reckon the first audience of *Peru*, is that of *Lima*, or *Los Reyes*, bounded on the north by *Quito*, on the east by the *Cordillera* incun-tains, on the south by the audience of *Los Charcas*, and on the west by the *Pacific Ocean*, being about 770 miles in length from south to north, but of unequal breadth. Nothing more various or uncertain can be imagined than the climate and soil of this country, which in some places is exceeding hot, in others insupportably cold, and at *Lima* always equal and temperate, because it never rains in this city. The seasons vary within the compass of a few miles, and in certain parts of the audience, all the vicissitudes of weather are experienced in twenty-four hours. However, what is most singular, is, that no rains fall, or rivers flow on the sea-coast, though they are supplied by thick fogs, and dark clouds, that never however condense into showers. This phenomenon hath exercised the wits of many naturalists; some ascribe it to the constancy of the south winds, which propel the vapours exhaled from the sea insensibly to the same point. Others, unsatisfied with this explication, attribute it to the coldness of the south wind; but this is more liable to exception than the former, even admitting that it was established upon fact; the contrary of which is true. The most rational account of the phenomenon is, that in summer, when the atmosphere is most rarefied, the influence of the sun's rays proportionally elevates the vapours, and gives them a greater degree of rarefaction. The vapours then touching the lower part of the atmosphere, when the winds blow with the greatest force, are carried away before they can rise to the height required for melting into drops, and consequently no rain can be formed. All vapours issuing from the earth, are washed along the lower region of the atmosphere, without any impediment; and the winds blowing always from the south, and the vapours being rarefied in proportion to the heat of the sun, its great activity hinders them from combining. Hence, during the whole summer, the air is clear, and quite free of all exhalations. With respect to the winter, if it may be so called, the rays of the sun being less perpendicular to the surface of the earth, the atmosphere becomes considerably more condensed; but the south winds still more so, as being loaded with the cold particles from the frozen zone, which particles it communicates to the vapours as they issue from the earth, and consequently renders them more condensed than in the summer; hence they are hindered from rising with the same celerity as before. Yet this mist or fog is incapable of being converted into rain, hail, or snow, because all the adventitious particles are congealed, and thus cannot unite with the effluvia from the earth, so as to overcome the resistance of the air that supports them; for the quantity of those which have ascended to a sufficient height for combining, is too inconsiderable to withstand the continual dissipation occasioned by the sun's rays. This is the hypothesis of the ingenious *Antonio de Ulloa*, which we have given for the satisfaction of the curious reader, though we think it liable to objection, and by no means adequate to the difficulty.

THUNDER and lighting are as much unknown at *Lima*, as rain, hail, or snow; but it is very remarkable, that these explosions should be so common at the distance of thirty leagues from the capital. Earthquakes, however, are so frequent and dreadful, that the inhabitants live in continual apprehension. Several deplorable instances of this kind have happened in this unfortunate city; and, not many years since, proved the total destruction of all its buildings. The first concussion, since the establishment of the *Spaniards*, happened in 1582; but the damage was much less considerable than in some of the succeeding. Six years afterwards, the city of *Lima* was again visited by another earthquake, so dreadful that to this time it is solemnly commemorated every year. In 1609, another violent

- a shock happened which overturned many houses. On the twenty-seventh of *November* 1630, such prodigious damage was done in the city by an earthquake, that, in acknowledgement of its not having been intirely demolished, a festival is annually celebrated on that day. Twenty-four years afterwards, a shock happened on the third of *November*, which destroyed the most stately edifices in the city, and great numbers of houses; but few of the inhabitants perished, as they took refuge on the mountains, and remained there for several days, during the continuance of the concussion, or danger of its return. On the seventh of *June*, 1678, another earthquake happened, by which several houses were laid in ruins, and the churches greatly damaged. But one of the most terrible, of which we have any account, was that of the twentieth of *October*, 1687. It began at four in the morning with the destruction of many of the finest publick buildings and houses, in which great numbers of the inhabitants perished; but this was little more than a presage of what followed, and a warning to the people to remove from the impending danger. The shock returned two hours after with such impetuous concussions, that all was laid in ruins, and the inhabitants thought themselves happy in being only spectators of the general devastation, and the loss of all their property. During this second shock, the sea retired considerably from its bounds, and returned with such violence in mountainous waves, as totally overwhelmed *Callao*, and the adjacent country, together with the miserable inhabitants. To omit those earthquakes which happened in 1697, 1699, 1716, 1725, 1732, and 1734, we shall close this account of the misfortunes of *Lima*, with an account of that dreadful shock, which, on the twenty-eighth of *October*, 1746, destroyed all the buildings great and small in the space of three minutes, burying in the ruins those inhabitants, who, endeavouring to save their most precious moveables, had not made sufficient haste into the streets and squares. At the very same hour, the fort of *Callao* sunk into ruins; but what it suffered by the earthquake in its buildings was inconsiderable, when compared to the terrible catastrophe which followed. The sea, receding to a considerable distance, returned with such violence, that *Callao* and all the neighbouring country was laid under water; men, women, houses, and cattle, being swept away with the torrent. Nineteen vessels out of twenty-three were sunk; and the frigate called *St. Fermin* was carried by the force of the waves to a great distance up the country. For the space of four months the concussions continued with short intervals, and many of them were as violent as the first; so that before the twenty-fourth of the following year, no less than four hundred and fifty shocks had been felt; many of them as dreadful as if all nature had been convulsed. What horrible devastation must that have been, where above 12000 lives perished in the ruins of their own effects and property. Whether the city has hitherto recovered its former splendor, we cannot determine; but as it still remains the emporium of this part of *America*, and the capital of all *Peru*, being honoured with the residence of the viceroy, we shall give the reader a short account of its former magnificence and opulence, before it suffered from this fatal accident, the recollection of which cannot fail to excite sentiments of humanity and sorrow for the sufferings of our fellow-creatures.
- e THE city of *Rimac*, by corruption stiled *Lima*, and frequently called *Ciudad los Reyes*, *Lima*, or *The City of Kings*, stands in the latitude of twelve degrees, two minutes, thirty-one seconds of south latitude. Its situation is pleasant and beautiful, lying in the center of the great valley of *Lima*, an intire view of which it commands. A river of the same name washes the walls of *Lima*, and, when not encreased by the torrents from the mountains is easily fordable; however, as it sometimes happens, that it is equally rapid and deep, an elegant and spacious stone bridge is thrown over, the architecture of which hath been much admired. A gate, beautifully constructed, stands at one end, forms the entrance to the city, and leads to the grand square; in the middle of which a fountain plays, remarkable for its capaciousness and magnificence. The water is ejected through the trumpet of the statue, and the mouths of eight lions, which surround it, and greatly add to the grandeur, if not to the propriety, of the workmanship. The cathedral and episcopal palace, which occupy the east side of the square, are fine buildings. On the north side is the viceroy's palace, a building once of great magnificence, which never recovered the damage it sustained by the earthquake in the year 1687.
- f THE form of *Lima* is triangular, its base or longest side extending along the bank of the river, its length being precisely two miles. A brick wall, which answers the original intention, but is devoid of all beauty or regularity, surrounds the whole. It is flanked with thirty-four bastions; but without platforms or embrasures, the intention of it being merely to defend the city against any sudden attack of the *Indians*. The suburb called *St. Lazaro*, on the opposite side of the river, has greatly encreased of late, and now forms a noble city, the streets being wide, parallel, or at right angles, forming squares of houses, each a hundred and fifty yards in front. The houses of *Lima*, though low, are extremely commodious. They are slight with all the appearance of solidity; and that they may the better support
- g them-

themselves under the shocks of earthquakes, of which the city has had such frequent fatal experience, the principal parts are composed of wood, joined to the rafters of the roof, and those which serve for walls are lined both within and without, with wild canes and osiers plaited over with clay, and white-washed, all the fronts being in imitation of free-stone. Cornices and porticos are added, which are also painted of a stone colour; thus the whole front imposes on the sight, and strangers suppose them composed of materials which they only imitate.

TOWARDS the east and west parts of the city, within the walls, are many fruit and kitchen gardens; and most of the people of fashion have gardens to their houses, continually refreshed with water by means of canals. In the suburbs especially the gardens are so spacious, that the jurisdiction of *St. Lazaro* alone extends for the space of fifteen leagues, being full of large plantations, cut out in walks shaded with groves of odoriferous plants and fruit trees. The convents in *Lima* are numerous, some of them are stately; and the Jesuits have six colleges within the precincts of the city. Three charitable foundations do honour to the piety and humanity of the inhabitants. They are intended for the relief of those who are sick or indigent through infirmity; and one in particular is appropriated to sick and infirm *Indians*, all being under the direction, of the clergy, but subjected to the visitation of the civil magistrates. Besides these three great public institutions, this opulent city hath also nine hospitals, supported by the contributions of the people, each of them appropriated to some peculiar charitable purpose. All the churches, both conventual and parochial are large, constructed partly of stone, and adorned with fine paintings, and other decorations of great value. The cathedral churches of the different orders are so splendid as to exceed all imagination, and surpass the powers of description. The altars, from the very basis to the borders of the paintings, are covered with massive silver, wrought into various kinds of ornaments. All the walls are hung with velvet, or tapestry of equal value, fringed with gold and silver, all which bear an incredible price in this country, into which they are imported from *Old Spain*. On these hangings are suspended rich pieces of plate, in various figures, and if the eye be directed from the pillars, walls, and ceiling, to the lower part of the church, it is equally dazzled with glittering objects presenting themselves on every side to view; particularly the candlesticks of pure silver, seven feet in height, placed in two rows along the nave of the church, embossed tables of the same metal, supporting candlesticks of a lesser size; and, in the intervals, silver pedestals supporting angels of the same metal. In a word, every part of the churches is covered with plate, or some ornaments of equal value; so that on public occasions divine service is performed with inconceivable magnificence; and the ornaments, even upon common occasions, exceed those which most cities in *Europe* put forth upon the most solemn and pompous festivals. Yet all this forms but a small portion of the wealth of these houses of religious worship; the sacred vessels, the chalices, the ostensoriums, and other implements, are of unspeakable value, the gold and silver being covered over with diamonds and rubies, so as to dazzle the eye of the spectator.

IN the city of *Lima*, the viceroy takes up his usual residence. His government is triennial, though, at the expiration of that term, the sovereign may renew his commission. He enjoys all the pomp and prerogatives of royalty. Absolute in all affairs, whether military, civil, criminal, or relating to the revenue; he has under him officers and tribunals for executing the several departments of government. All officers are appointed and places filled up by him; so that the grandeur of this employment actually exceeds the dignity of the title. For the security of his person, he has two corps of guards; one of horse, consisting of a hundred and sixty soldiers, under the command of a captain and lieutenant, the uniform being blue, richly laced with silver. A body of fifty halbardiers do duty in rooms, leading to the royal audience chamber, whose uniform is composed of crimson velvet waistcoats, deeply laced with gold; and, besides these there is another guard within the palace, of a hundred men; being a detachment from the garrison at *Callao*. All are occasionally employed in executing the orders of the viceroy, and enforcing the decrees of the tribunals, after they have received the royal assent; for such the concurrence of the viceroy is esteemed. Besides assisting at the courts of justice, and the councils relating to the finances and war, the viceroy gives daily audience to all degrees of persons; for which purpose, the palace is furnished with three very grand and spacious rooms, in the first of which, adorned with the portraits of all the preceding viceroys, he receives deputations from the *Indians*, and other casts. In the second he gives audience to the *Spaniards*; and, in the third, in which are placed the pictures, of the reigning king and queen, he receives all those ladies, who desire a private audience.

NOTHING can be more regular than the forms of government, which are kept up with the strictest appearance of business, and the most scrupulous justice; although, in fact, every thing flows from the pleasure of the court, and the viceroy. All affairs immediately relative

- a relative to the cabinet are dispatched by a secretary of state, with an assistant properly qualified for so important a charge. From this office orders are issued for passports, which must be obtained from every corregidor within his jurisdiction. The secretary has the power of filling all juridical employments for the term of two years; but he must have the viceroy's approbation, and, in fact, does nothing but by his authority. Causes relating to equity are tried in the court called *Audiencia*, from the decrees of which there is no appeal to the council of the *Indies*; unless in cases of the most notorious injustice, and a second trial. This tribunal, the supreme court at *Lima*, is composed of eight auditors and a fiscal for civil affairs; and is held in the viceroy's palace in three different saloons, appropriated to those sittings, the deliberations being held in one, and the causes tried, either publickly or
- b privately, in the other two.

NEXT comes the chamber of accounts, consisting of a commissioner, five chief accountants, and two directors, with inferior officers belonging to each class. Here corregidores, intrusted with the publick revenue, pass their accounts, and here also the distributions and management of the royal revenue are regulated. Lastly, within the palace is the royal treasury, under the direction of a treasurer, accountant, and agent, who superintend his majesty's revenue, from whatever it may arise, within the jurisdiction of the audience of *Lima*.

- WITH respect to the corporation of *Lima*, it differs little from other royal charters to the same purpose. The magistrates consist of *Regidores*, or aldermen; *Alfarcz real*, or sheriffs; two *Alcades*, or royal judges; all being noblemen of the first distinction in the city. These have the direction of the police, and the ordinary administration of justice. The alcades preside alternately every month; for, by a particular privilege of the city of *Lima*, the jurisdiction of the corregidor extends only to the *Indians*.

- ONE of the most useful institutions, if duly administered, is the court for the effects of deceased persons. This takes charge of all the goods of persons dying intestate, and without lawful heirs; and likewise inspects the conduct of those intrusted with the effects of other persons. It consists of a judge, who is one of the auditors; a counsellor, and an accountant; and at present serves no other purpose, than to prevent private rapine by a kind of legal oppression, there being scarce any possibility of ever profiting by estates once
- d thrown into the charge of this tribunal.

THE next tribunal is the consulado, or board of trade and commerce, composed of a president and two consuls, who preside over every thing relative to traffic, decide all commercial disputes and processes, and are governed by the same rules as the consulados at *Cadiz* and *Bilboa*. The tribunal of inquisition is composed of two inquisitors and a fiscal, who, like the subordinate officers, are nominated by the inquisitor-general; and, in case of a vacancy, filled by the supreme council of the inquisition. Every one, acquainted with the severity of these tribunals in *Spain* and *Portugal*, may judge of the effects it produces at *Lima*, which is that of inspiring horror, and gaining universal detestation.

- IN *Lima*, there is an university, where the genius of the natives is cultivated in that species
- e of divine and human knowledge in repute in *Old Spain*. The *Aristotelian* and old school philosophy still maintain their ground; so that the inhabitants of *Lima* are much more indebted to the kind gifts of nature for any extraordinary exertions of genius, than to culture and education. Their little progress in useful learning appears to be owing rather to the want of proper instruction, than of talents; for, by their ready comprehension of whatever is taught them, we may judge of their abilities for real improvements. The university of *St. Mark* has chairs for each of the sciences, filled by suffrage, a method extremely favourable to merit; and, indeed, some of the professors of this seminary have approved themselves worthy of their promotion, by publishing works which have gained the applause of the *literati* of *Europe*; but such productions are rare, and to be classed among
- f the wonders of the new world. Besides this university, are the subordinate colleges of *St. Teribio*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Philip*; each of them endowed with particular privileges, and professors, who teach the different languages and sciences. Upon the whole, there are only wanting a few new regulations and reformatations to render this seminary equally useful and respectable; an observation no less applicable to the most ancient and celebrated seats of learning in *Europe*, and especially in *Great Britain*, where science and the arts have notwithstanding flourished with more vigour, than in any other country recorded in ancient or modern story.

- THE inhabitants of this opulent and populous city are composed of *Spaniards*, *Mestizos*, *Indians*, and *Negroes*, together with other casts, the descendants of a common mixture.
- g The *Spanish* families are very numerous; there being no fewer, at a moderate computation, than eighteen thousand whites in this capital, among whom are reckoned a third or fourth part of the most distinguished nobility in *Peru*. Many of these are honoured with the dignitary titles of ancient or modern *Castilians*; and there are reckoned no less than forty-five

five counts and marquisses, who take up their general residence in the city. The number of knights also belonging to the several military orders, is very considerable, which adds greatly to the brilliancy of the court; besides which, there are many other ancient families living in the greatest splendor, particularly twenty-four gentlemen of large estates with ancient country-seats, but without titles. One of these traces, with undeniable certainty, his pedigree from the incas; and his family has, for this reason, been loaded with favours and distinguishing honours by the *Catholic* kings, as a kind of atonement for the injuries done to his predecessors. The great keep coaches, and calashes or chaises are so common, that no family of any degree or rank is without one; these carriages being extremely necessary here, because the streets are eternally crowded with droves of mules, which cover the ground with their dung, and are themselves extremely troublesome to passengers. The number of these is computed at eight thousand, if we include camels, which may take up about a third part. From this circumstance we may judge of the populousness of the city, and the opulence of the inhabitants, who are reckoned to amount to seventy thousand, including all degrees; and to expend in rich silks, laces, pearls, and jewels, to the amount of one million, two hundred thousand pounds annually. Possibly this expence may be diminished, since the *French* have found means to introduce *European* commodities into *Lima* at a cheaper rate than before. To this may be added, that the trade carried on at *Arica*, *Tio*, and *Pisco*, has diverted the people who came to *Lima*, and considerably lessened the wealth that was daily pouring into the capital.

THE viceroy of *Peru*'s allowed yearly salary amounts to seven thousand one hundred and sixty-seven pounds sterling, besides lawful perquisites to three times that value. It is reputed he can raise an hundred and twenty thousand horse and foot within his jurisdiction; but it is acknowledged on all hands, that he cannot arm a fifth part of this number. The garrison of *Lima* is composed of militia, fourteen companies of which intirely consist of *Spanish* infantry, seven companies of the corporation of commerce, eight companies of *Indians*, and six companies of mulattoes, with ten troops of *Spanish* horse; all making up a corps of four thousand able-bodied, but ill-disciplined, soldiers.

It is more than probable, that, notwithstanding the devastations occasioned by frequent earthquakes, *Lima* would be one of the most populous cities of the new world, or perhaps any part of the universe, but for the crowds swept off by endemial distempers; such as malignant, intermittent, and catarrhus fevers, pleurifies, constipations, convulsions, and other diseases, among which we may reckon the small-pox and venereal taint. The former of these is indeed not annual; but rages with peculiar violence when it appears, and sweeps off the people like a pestilence. Convulsions, which are divided into two kinds, the common or partial, and the malignant or *arched*, are extremely common, and the most dreadful of all disorders. Both come on when Nature is struggling in the crisis of some acute distemper; but with this remarkable difference, that those attacked with the partial convulsions often recover, though the greater part die within the fourth day; whereas the patients seized with the arched convulsions sink under them in two or three days, it being very extraordinary even to see an instance of recovery; whence they are termed malignant. Even the first stage of the arched spasm is so violent, as to cause a contraction of the nerves of the *vertebræ*, from the brain downwards, which, with all the muscles, become more and more constricted all over the body, until the body is drawn backwards in the form of an arch, and all the joints dislocated. To promote a profuse *diaphoresis* is found by experience to be the only cure; if, indeed, there can be said to be a cure for a symptom almost always fatal.

Not to insist upon a subject so shocking to humanity, and mortifying to human pride, let us turn our eyes to one which will afford a happier prospect; namely, the commerce of *Lima*, which has contributed more than its being the residence of the court, to raise it to its present state of opulence and grandeur. It is the general emporium of commerce of every kind, the center of the products and manufactures of other provinces, together with those of *Europe*, imported by the galleons, and the staple of the whole kingdom. It supplies, as the common mother, the wants of all the other towns and cities in this vast empire. All the wealth of the southern provinces pours into this capital, and is discharged into the fleet, which sails with the galleons from *Callao* to *Panama*. At the head of this commerce is the tribunal *del Consulado*, already described, which appoints commissaries to reside in the other cities of its dependence, all over *Peru*. When commodities arrive at *Lima*, the merchants remit to their correspondents such goods as are commissioned, reserving the rest in warehouses to dispose of, on their own account, to traders who at this time resort to *Lima*. Thus the cargo of a flotilla lasts a considerable time; there not being purchasers sufficient to take the whole off immediately. The produce of the sales in the interior country is sent to *Lima* in bars of silver, and a kind of amalgama of mercury and dust, taken out of the mines, called *Rigna*, which are coined in the mint of their city.

The

a The remittances sent to *Lima*, during the interval between the flotillas, are expended in purchasing the manufactures of the country; great quantities of which come from the province of *Quito*, and the consumption is large, being worn by all the lower class of the people. *Lima* has also its particular trade with the kingdoms both of *North* and *South America*; from the former the most considerable commodity imported is snuff, brought from the *Havannah* to *Mexico*, and from thence transported to *Lima*, and diffused by the merchants of this city all over the province of *Peru*. Those who deal in this merchandize, never interpose in any other branch of commerce, except in the sale of perfumes, porcelain, ambergrease, and musk. From *New Spain*, *Lima* receives tar, iron, indigo, and naptha; from *Terra Firma*, it imports leaf tobacco, greatly used here by ladies, gentlemen, and especially by the vulgar; pearls, and a few other articles of traffic. The timber used in building houses, ships, boats, is brought from *Guiaquil*, together with cacao, for which there is no great demand. Wine, brandy, raisins, olives and oil, are sent from *Nasca*; and *Pisco* and *Chili* supplies *Lima* with flour, wheat, lead, leather, cordage, wines, dried fruits, and some gold. Copper and tin are brought from *Coquimbo*, the mountains of *Caxamarca*, and *Chachapayas*; canvasses made of cotton for sails, and other stuffs of a similar nature, come from *Pita*. From the southern provinces is imported *Vicuna* wool for making hats; and lastly from *Paraguay* are brought all the commodities of that country, which are not likewise the product of the jurisdiction of *Lima*. Thus it is the emporium to which people resort from all quarters; and trade being always in a constant circulation, the families of rank are enabled to support that splendor with which they are so much delighted. From a commerce so extensive and important, it might be imagined many prodigious fortunes are raised; but the case is otherwise: trade is so equally diffused, that no man is allowed to engross too great a share, or monopolize any valuable article; from whence follows, what is extremely desirous in every country, an equality of wealth, which prevents any one from acquiring too large a portion of the goods of fortune, while others are left destitute. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of *Lima* have such an aptitude for trade, that the city may be considered as an academy to which great numbers repair to perfect themselves in the various arts of commerce. They penetrate into the designs of the seller, and artfully draw the purchaser into their own views. They are blessed with a remarkable talent of persuasion, and the means of eluding all objections; however, with all their precaution and evasion, no men are more punctual in executing their contracts.

CALLAO is the port of *Lima*, at an inconsiderable distance, extending along the sea-coast, on a low flat point of land. The Spaniards have no harbour to compare with this in the *South Sea* for beauty, convenience, and security. The largest vessels may lie with perfect safety in the road of *Callao*, the water being extremely deep, and the port shaded from the winds by the island of *St. Lawrence*, which also breaks the surges rolling from the south-west. From the sea, the town makes a tolerable figure, having several publick edifices, churches, and particularly five monasteries, though the inhabitants are not reckoned to exceed four or five hundred. The government has expended large sums of money in giving this important harbour all the advantages of strength, that art could bestow; and the town is actually considered in *Spain*, as little less than impregnable, though, in fact, both the garrison and fortifications are very inconsiderable. The latter consisted of an inclosure flanked by ten bastions on the land-side, and several redans and plain bastions on the edge of the sea, together with four strong batteries to command the port and road; but these being demolished in the last great earthquake, have never since been thoroughly repaired, the money appropriated by the government having been expended in other purposes, more agreeable to the designs of the viceroy of *Peru*. Besides, it is reported, that his Catholic majesty is charged annually with large sums for the garrison, fortifications, and squadrons of men of war, which are supposed to lie in the harbour; yet such is the vigilance and integrity of the royal officers, that the soldiers at *Callao* are hardly sufficient to mount guard; that the walls are in many places in ruins, and that the ships could not be repaired in such a manner as to be fit for sea, in the space of several months. We may judge of the importance of this harbour, from what we have said of the commerce of *Lima* chiefly driven by this channel. Two flotas annually sail from hence, one for *Arica*, the other for *Panama*, the former about the close of *February*, which, having received the silver sent from *Potosi*, returns in the month of *March*. In the beginning of *May*, the flota sails from *Panama* with all the treasures of *Potosi*; the wealth of *Chili*, brought by the *Valperdiso* fleet; and the royal revenues and merchandize, brought from the most distant parts of *Peru* and *Is Charcas*. Besides these fleets, there sail annually two ships for *Acapulco*, freighted with gold and silver; and the commodities they bring back are lodged in the magazines here, and retailed to all the southern provinces of *America*.

In this province are some other sea-ports, but neither comparable to *Callao* in security or importance. The little harbour of *Guanchaco* to the northward serves for the traffic carried

on by the *Indians* of *Truxillo*; but it cannot be recommended either as safe or commodious. *Sangallo* is another sea port, about twenty-six leagues to the southward of *Lima*, which carries on some trade; but the port that comes nearest to *Callao* in point of excellency is *Arequiba*, in the valley of *Quilca*, a hundred leagues south of *Lima*. The entrance of this harbour is indeed narrow, and rather shallow for ships of very great burthen; but when once they are entered, they can anchor securely in eighteen fathom water. The town is one of the most beautiful and pleasant in all *Peru*, delightfully situated in a fine plain, and the houses built with stone and vaulted. It was founded in 1539, by order of *Don Francisco Pizarro*, in a place known by the same name; but this situation being found disadvantageous, the inhabitants obtained leave to remove the town to the valley of *Quilca*, where it stands at present, about twenty leagues from the sea, with which it has a free communication by means of a fine river. The temperature of the air is remarkably good, and though sometimes a slight frost is perceived, the cold is never excessive, nor the heat troublesome; so that the surrounding fields are clothed with perpetual verdure. The buildings here, contrary to the usual manner in warm countries, are lofty, neatly furnished within, and finely decorated on the outside; but what chiefly gives the inhabitants an exemption from many diseases common in other parts of *Peru* is greatly owing to their keeping the streets clean, by means of canals, which extend to a river running near the city. However, these advantages are considerably allayed by the dreadful shocks of earthquakes, to which it is so subject, that it has been five times laid in ruins by these convulsions of Nature. Nevertheless, it is populous, and reckons among its inhabitants many of the noblest families in *America*; this being the place to which *Spaniards*, who had raised their fortunes by trade, or disengaged themselves from business, retire to enjoy the pleasure of life, and the blessings of a temperate wholesome climate. Considering its importance, this place is badly fortified; for the greatest part of the silver from *Potosi* and *los Charcas* is brought here to be sent to *Callao*, and from thence to *Panama*.

Arequiba.

Cusco.

BUT of all the cities in *Peru*, *Cusco*, or *Cozco*, is the most antient, being of the same date with the eastern empire of the incas, and found by *Manco Capac* I. as the seat and capital, and indeed the origin of his empire. From small beginnings this city enlarged to so great an extent, that the *Spaniards* were astonished at its grandeur and magnificence, especially of the famous temple dedicated to the sun, and of the inca's palace. *Cusco* stands in a very unequal situation on the sides of a mountain, on the north part of which are still to be seen the ruins of that celebrated fortress erected by the incas for their defence, the design of which was to enclose the whole mountain with a prodigious wall of such construction as to render the ascent absolutely impracticable to an enemy. This wall was entirely of free stone, remarkable for its extraordinary dimensions, and the size and magnitude of the stones, which are of different figures. At present the city is nearly equal to *Lima*. The north and west sides are surrounded by the mountains of the citadel; on the south it borders on a plain, on which are several very beautiful walks. The houses are entirely in the *Spanish* fashion, built with stone, well-contrived, and covered with tiles, whose lively red gives them an elegant appearance. All the apartments are spacious and finely decorated, the inhabitants of *Cusco* being celebrated for their elegant taste, their love of show, and skill in architecture. The mouldings of the doors are gilt, the ornaments and furniture correspondent, and the houses of private persons equal in splendour to palaces. The magistracy consists of a corregidor and two alcalds, chosen out of the body of the nobility, who are served by a number of inferior officers, agreeable to the policy established by the *Spaniards* over all *America*. Formerly the city was well peopled with *Spaniards*, and adorned with the residence of many noble families; but the capital and the court being removed to *Lima*, *Cusco* is at present much declined, and indeed but the second city in the empire. The inhabitants are not computed at more than sixteen thousand, besides the strangers who come thither to trade; for some manufactures of bays and cotton cloth have been erected here, to the prejudice of the exports from *Europe*. The mines of *Lumpu* and *Cordellera de Cusco* yield considerable quantities of the precious metal; but there are others beyond comparison richer towards *Maxos*, where even the *Indians* glitter in gold, chiefly because the *Spaniards* have not established their dominion over those fierce nations dwelling beyond the mountains.

ABOVE forty leagues north-east of *Lima* stands the city *Guanuco*, formerly one of the most considerable places in *Peru*, and the settlement of some of the first conquerors. At present, it is in so ruinous a condition that scarce the vestiges of its former opulence remain, notwithstanding it is mentioned by modern compilers as a populous and wealthy inland city.

GUAMANGA is a city of much greater consequence, founded by *Pizarro*, and usually called by the *Spaniards* *St. Juan de la Vittoria*, in memory of the precipitate retreat of the inca from the *Spaniards*, who offered him battle. The original design of building this city was to serve for the convenience of trade, and the medium of intercourse between *Lima* and *Cusco*. At first it stood upon a spot which rendered supplying the inhabitants with provisions extremely difficult; but at the close of the war, the city was removed to its present situation

a on the declivities of some mountains, which extending southward enclose a spacious plain to the eastward of the town, watered by a small stream descending from the adjacent eminences. The inhabitants who pay tribute within the jurisdiction of this city are computed at thirty thousand; among whom are reckoned twenty noble families, who live in the centre of the town, in fine houses of considerable height, built partly of stone, and covered with tiles. All are provided with spacious handsome gardens, which are kept in order at a great expence, on account of the difficulty of procuring water; besides, the large *Indians* suburbs round the city greatly encrease its dimensions and add to its beauty, as the houses are built of stone, and raised entirely in the *Spanish* manner. The cathedral is a magnificent building, well endowed, and the see of a bishop; the churches are rich and handsome, and many of the seminaries of learning and religion such as reflect honour on the piety and munificence of the founders. Here is an university, with professors of philosophy, divinity, and law, endowed with the same privileges as the university of *Lima*, both being royal foundations. In a word, the climate is so fine and serene, and the soil so fertile in the surrounding country, that the inhabitants are abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life; but the principal trade of *Guamanga* consists in gilt leather, a species of pavillions for beds, confectionary pastes, marmalades, jellies, preserved quinces, and other articles of luxury, which serve to evince the disposition of the people to industry and elegance of diet.

As it would oblige us to unnecessary minuteness to descend to a particular account of all the towns and cities within the jurisdiction of *Lima*, we shall content ourselves with describing *Truxillo* as the last, but one of the most important places in this audience. This city stands, according to the observation of Don *Antonio de Ulloa*, in eight degrees, six minutes, and three seconds, of south-latitude, which is something less than the latitude assigned by all former writers. It was founded by *Pizarro* in the valley of *Chinca*, and is now justly reputed one of the principal cities in the empire of *Peru*. The situation is pleasant, notwithstanding the sandy soil, which is the universal inconvenience of all the towns in the vallies. It is surrounded by a brick-wall, stands about half a league from the sea, and two leagues from *Guenchaco*, the channel of its maritime commerce. The tributary inhabitants within the jurisdiction of *Truxillo* are computed at fifty thousand, but the houses within the walls do not exceed five hundred. They make a handsome appearance, being built of brick, and decorated with stately balconies and superb porticos; but they are all low, on account of the frequent earthquakes with which all the sea-coast is visited. Among the *Spaniards* residing at *Truxillo* are many families of rank, opulence, and distinction; all are friendly, hospitable, and regular in their conduct, beyond what is observable in any other city in this quarter of the world, where the mixture of nations serves only to beget vices of a peculiar nature, arising from the depravity of the whole body. The inhabitants carry on a prodigious trade in wine, brandy, sugar, flax, and marmalade, of which they export three or four ship loads to *Panama*.

BEFORE we quit this audience, let us observe, that within its limits mines of every kind are to be found; and of gold there are several, with rich lavaderos. Those especially in the district of *Guarrano* will be for ever celebrated on account of two petitos, or lumps of fine gold, which they yielded, the largest ever found in that state; one weighing five hundred and twelve ounces, and the other about three hundred and sixty, containing gold of different degrees of fineness and purity. There are likewise silver-mines in the audience of *Lima*; and those in the neighbourhood of *Cusco* were celebrated before the discovery of the mines of *Potosi*, which are much richer, and wrought with far less expence. In 1713 the rich mine of *St. Anthony* was opened just by *Cusco*; but we cannot give the reader any account whether the great expectations entertained from it were in any degree answered. Near the town of *Guaneo Bellia* there is a mine, which, without yielding gold or silver, may be considered as of greater value than all the rest of the district. This mine is quicksilver, of which it is supposed to contain an inexhaustible resource. The town was founded entirely on account of the quicksilver, to the working of which the inhabitants owe their whole subsistence, the coldness of the air checking the growth of grain, and every other kind of vegetables. From hence all the silver mines in *Peru* are supplied with mercury, the use of which, for aggregating the particles of silver, began in the year 1571, under the direction of *Pedro Fernandez Velasco*. As the value of the gold and silver mines depend upon the right management of the quicksilver, the mines of *Guaria Belica*, or, as some call them, *Velica*, are under the immediate direction of the viceroy of *Peru*, and never opened nor shut but by his express command. In the reign of *Philip V.* a particular governor, or superintendant, thoroughly acquainted with the nature of extracting the mineral, was appointed; and by his œconomy the mines are worked at less expence to the public, and will not be so soon exhausted. Formerly the ore was dug and purified at the expence of private persons, who were obliged to bring it to the king's warehouses under pain of perpetual slavery; but even the severity of this punishment could not prevent fraud and embezzlement.

The audience
of Charcas.

THE audience of *los Charcas*, or *la Plata*, also frequently called *Chuquifuya* by the old writers, is equal in the extent of its jurisdiction to that of *Lima*; but as many parts of it are very ill inhabited, and others over-run with forests and vast deserts, it cannot be considered as of equal value with respect to its soil and fertility. It is bounded by the audience of *Lima* on the north, by *Paraguay* on the east, by *Chili* and *Tucuman* on the south, and by the *Pacific Ocean* on the west; extending itself in a strait line about five hundred and seventy miles from east to west at its greatest breadth. The climate is various, the coast being unsufferably hot, while the inland parts are on the contrary extreme. However the soil is in many places exceedingly fruitful, being rendered so by art in the vallies, while nature doth all that is required in the mountains. Within this division were formerly included many powerful nations and *Indian* provinces subjected by the incas *Tupacqui* and his son *inca Roca*. The principal commodities of the country are silver, gold, and pimento, commonly called *Jamaica Pepper*, which produces to the inhabitants a neat return of six hundred thousand pieces of eight annually. Throughout the whole extent of the audience there are exceeding rich mines, some near the coast, several at greater distance, some lately discovered, and others which have been wrought from the time the *Spaniards* first settled in the country; but before we enter upon an account of these, we shall give a short sketch of the principal cities.

La Plata.

LA PLATA, or, as the *Indians* call it, *Chuquifuya*, is considered as the capital, receiving its *Spanish* name from the mines in its neighbourhood, which were the first wrought by the conquerors. It stands in a small plain environed with eminences, which defend it from the winds. The temperature of the air in summer is very mild; nor is there any considerable difference throughout the whole year, except that in the winter, which begins here in *September*, and continues till *March*, tempests of lightning and thunder are frequent, and the rains of long duration. The houses are rather large and commodious, than elegant; but all are rendered extremely pleasant by beautiful gardens. The scarcity of water is, however, an insurmountable difficulty; for this element, so essential to life, the inhabitants are obliged to procure with great labour and fatigue. The city is extremely populous, the inhabitants, including *Indians*, exceeding fourteen thousand. Several of the public buildings are magnificent, and the architecture and decorations of the cathedral are particularly admired. There also is an university dedicated to *St. Francis Xavier*, the choirs of which are filled indiscriminately by the laity and clergy. Here is also a tribunal of *crossade*, with a commissary, subdelegate, and other officers; likewise a court of inquisition subordinate to that of *Lima*, an office for taking charge of the effects of persons deceased intestate, or whose heirs are at a great distance.

Mines of Po-
tosi.

THE jurisdiction of *Plata* is of so great extent as to include the famous mountain of *Potosi*, that inexhaustible source of wealth to the *Spaniards*, at the foot of which stands the town of the same name. Naturally the mountain is cold, dry, barren, bare, and uncouth, producing neither fruit, grass, nor plants, except some useless shrubs. It was in the year 1545, that the treasures contained in its bowels were discovered by an incident seemingly fortuitous. An *Indian*, called *Hualpa*, pursuing some wild goats up this mountain, and coming to a steep place, laid hold of a shrub to assist his ascent, which, yielding to his weight, came up by the roots, and discovered a mass of silver. At the same time, he observed large lumps of the metal in the earth, which adhered to the roots of the plant. With these first fruits of his discovery, the *Indian*, who lived at *Porco*, hastened home, washed the silver, and made use of it, repairing, when his stock was exhausted, to his perpetual treasury. In course of time, an intimate friend of his observing the extraordinary change in his circumstances, was desirous of knowing the cause; and, urging him closely upon this head, obtained an ample discovery of the whole secret. For some time, they maintained a kind of partnership; but *Hualpa*, refusing to disclose his method of purifying the metal, so offended his comrade, that he immediately revealed the whole to his master *Villareal*, a *Spaniard*, who lived at *Porco*. The *Spaniard* immediately went to view this fortunate breach in the mountain, and the mine was without delay worked with immense advantage. The first register of the mines of *Potosi* was in the month of *April*, 1545, and *Hualpa's* mine was called *The Discoverer*, it having marked out the channel to other sources of riches in this mountain. In a few days, another, equally rich, was found, and called *The Tin Mine*. Since that time, a third has been discovered, and called *Rica*, to distinguish its superior excellency, and this was succeeded by the discovery of the mine called *Mindieta*. From these four mines chiefly is extracted the immense wealth imported into *Europe*; but there are likewise other smaller mines, crossing the mountain in all directions, but especially north and south, which are allowed to be the richest veins. On the report of these important discoveries, people flocked from all quarters to *Potosi*, especially from the city of *Plata*, which is situated about twenty-five leagues from the mountain. At present, the town of *Potosi* is remarkable, not only for its riches, but the number of noble families, who reside here

- a here on account of their concern in the mines ; infomuch that the compass of the place is now extended to above two leagues. Notwithstanding the barrenness of the country, the town is well provided with every necessary, and the traffic for the supplies of life is greater here, than in any other part of *Peru*, *Lima* alone excepted. Some provinces send the best of their grain and fruit ; others their cattle ; and a few their manufactures. Those who trade in *European* commodities resort to *Potosi*, as to a market, where they are sure of procuring an exchange of silver for merchandize. Another species of commerce is likewise carried on here by a set of people called *Aviadores*. It consists in exchanging coin, towards paying the necessary expences of the workmen, for ingots and *Pinnos*. Nor is the article of trade for quicksilver of less consequence ; but this branch the crown wholly engrosses.
- b Before longer experience had instructed the *Spaniards* in the use of this mineral, a mark of quicksilver was consumed in extracting an equal quantity of silver ; and, at present, they are reported to be inexpert in metallurgy, notwithstanding this art is of the last consequence to the revenue.

THAT the reader may be able to form a pretty accurate judgment of the immense wealth arising from the discovery of the mines of *Potosi*, we shall subjoin the following accounts from two authors, who had examined the subject with the greatest accuracy. *Alonso Barba*, who was parish-priest in the imperial town of *Potosi*, affirms in his learned treatise on metals, that, from the year 1574, when mercury was first used here in extracting the silver, the royal office of *Potosi* consumed annually three thousand two hundred and forty-nine quintals of mercury. *Gaspar de Epalona*, another writer of credit and good information, alledges that the silver annually extracted amounted in his time to forty one millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand and forty-three dollars ⁿ. Most writers agree that the king's fifth greatly exceeds a million sterling (U).

WE hear very little of the gold of this country ; yet 'tis certain, it is by no means destitute of the precious metal. On the frontiers, towards *Lima*, there is one of the richest mines in *America*, which the *Indians*, from that circumstance, call *Chuquiago*, or the *Golden Grange*. Near *la Paz*, is a mountain of remarkable height, called *Illimani*, which beyond all doubt contains immense treasures. In the year 1680, a rock from the side of this mountain was struck down by a flash of lightning, which yielded such a quantity of gold, d in the fragments, that, for some time, this metal was sold at *Paz* for eight pieces of eight per ounce. At the other extremity of the audience towards *Chili*, the country abounds with mines of gold and silver ; and there is one gold mine particularly rich in the neighbourhood of *Tarija*, in the territory of *Chocayas*.

THE city *La Paz* is considerable in extent, surrounded with mountains, and commands a fine prospect of the river. When this stream is swelled by the rains, or melting of the snow on the mountains, its current forces along huge masses of earth, and fragments of rocks, in which are found grains of gold, after the flood has subsided, that sufficiently indicate the wealth contained in the bowels of the earth in this district. In the year 1730, an *Indian*, bathing in the river, discovered a piece of pure gold, so large, that the marquis e de *Castel-Fuerto* purchased it at twelve thousand pieces of eight, and sent it to *Spain*, as a present worthy the curiosity of the sovereign ^o. The adjacent country is beautifully watered with springs, and adorned with groves of fruit-trees, and fields of maize, which add equally to the pleasure and convenience of the inhabitants.

SCARCE any of the other towns or cities of this audience deserve notice ; but the *English* reader may expect we should give some account of the sea-ports, as in these he is chiefly interested. *Atacoma* is the first place to the northward which merits the name of a port, because it communicates with the sea, by the village of *Cobija*, which stands upon the coast, and has a harbour pretty much frequented by the *Spanish* shipping. The *French* too have endeavoured to profit by the vicinity of this port to the mines of *Lipes*, and its remoteness from the king's officers, carrying on a clandestine traffic for plate, and other commodities with the *Spanish* merchants. As to the town *Atacoma*, it is of little consideration, f being neither large, populous, nor commercial.

ⁿ GAZOPHILACIO PERUBICO, p. 193.

^o ULLOA, L. I. c. 14.

(U) We shall beg leave to subjoin a few particulars, merely to gratify the more inquisitive and curious reader. The mine, called *Rica*, was opened on a small eminence, resembling the comb of a cock, about three hundred feet in length, and thirteen in thickness ; the vein of which was so extremely rich, that it yielded nearly a moiety of pure silver ; but having sunk to fifty fathom it altered for the worse. All the mines are now decreased in value, and it appears, upon undoubted authority, that the mint doth not coin a fourth

of the usual sum. There were once a hundred and twenty refining mills, now it is confidently affirmed, there are not forty kept in constant employment : yet from the wealth of the galleons, and the great number of wedges, and bars of silver, on board, we may conceive that the treasures extracted are to this day very considerable, and would be infinitely more so, were the *Spaniards* as skilful in metallurgy, as some other nations.

ARICA is, by some writers, numbered among the sea-coast towns of this audience. It is one of the ports to *Potosi*, although it stands little less than three hundred miles from the mines. Formerly, it was strong and populous; and, in 1630, the buccaneers were repulsed here by the inhabitants, as we learn from *Dampier*, who served in the expedition. About thirty years after it was destroyed by an earthquake, and now the town consists of a hundred and fifty families, including blacks, mulattoes, natives, and *Spaniards*. The immense booty taken here by Sir *Francis Drake* chiefly contributed to the decline of the opulence and trade of *Arica*. At that time, most of the silver of *Potosi* was shipped in this port for *Lima*; but since, the *Spaniards* have chiefly sent it by land, as the safest, though most difficult, conveyance.

YLO is another small port, situated in the eighteenth degree of south latitude. This town flourished towards the close of the last century; but it was so frequently attacked and plundered by the buccaneers, that it is now almost entirely deserted by the *Spaniards*, though a tolerably good and convenient harbour. Here the *French* made a settlement, in the reign of the fourteenth *Lewis*, and carried on a vast illicit commerce, which they have been since forced to relinquish. From this general view it appears, that the audience of *Los Charcas* is valuable, chiefly on account of those mines which send such immense wealth annually to *Europe*.

CONTRARY to the division made by all former writers, the intelligent *Ulloa* places *Paraguay* and *Buenos Ayres* within the jurisdiction of this audience; in which we shall follow him, as the most recent and authentic traveller. He calls *Paraguay* a government of *Los Charcas*, and the fourth bishoprick of the audience, lying south of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, and east of *Tucuman*, formerly regarded as a separate kingdom; but now reckoned a province of *Peru*, ever since it was first conquered by *Nunez de Prado* (W).

Paraguay.

THE country called *Paraguay*, was first discovered by *Sebastian Gaboto*, who passed from *Rio de la Plata* in 1526 to the river *Parana*, in small barks, and thence entered the river called *Paraguay*. Don *Pedro de Mendoza*, the first governor of *Buenos Ayres*, had given *Juan de Ayolos* a commission and a body of forces to complete the reduction of this country; but, after all, the *Jesuits* were the first who brought it into actual obedience. Nothing can exceed this country in beauty and fertility. The climate is moderate; the soil fertile, delightfully watered with springs, rivulets, and rivers, abounding with timber and fruit-trees, and producing abundance of cotton, sugar, indigo, pimento, ipecacuanha, and a variety of other drugs of great value. The plains are covered with cows, sheep, horses, mules, and the most useful quadrupeds; the woods resound with the most melodious notes of the most beautiful of the feathered creation; while the mountains contain vast treasures of gold and silver, from which, however, the *Jesuits* prudently abstain, well knowing the check which such a measure would immediately give to every kind of industry.

Soon after *Juan de Sobras* had founded the city called *Nuestra Señora de la Assumption*, a few *Jesuits* went to *Paraguay*, and converted about fifty *Indian* families, who soon induced a great many others to follow their example, on account of the peace and tranquillity they enjoyed under the direction of the fathers. They had long disdained to submit to the arms of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*; but they became willing converts to the religious tenets proposed by the *Jesuits*, who learned their language, conformed to their manners, and underwent the greatest hardships till they had an opportunity of cultivating the minds of their savage flock, improving them in the knowledge of social virtues, gaining an intire ascendant over their affections, and establishing the most solid and real authority; a dominion over the mind. Nothing could equal the address of the fathers upon this occasion, or exceed their perseverance. They began with assembling those untutored barbarians in towns, and forming

(W) Although the *Spaniards* possess only a few cities in the extensive province of *Tucuman*, they nevertheless claim the dominion of the whole. *Ulloa* expressly calls it a government within the jurisdiction of *Los Charcas*; but neither he, nor any other writer, ascertain its exact limits, or describe the country, with any degree of accuracy. It stands to the westward of *Paraguay*, and south of the river of *Plata*; but where it begins, we cannot precisely determine. According to the most recent geographers, it does not extend beyond the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude. *Ulloa* says, that it reaches from north to south above a hundred leagues. The cities possessed by the *Spaniards* are *St. Jago del Eslero*, so called from a river, on which it is situated, whose inundations greatly contribute to fertilize the adjacent lands; *St. Miguel del Tucuman*; *Nuestra Señora de Talavera*; *Cordova de la Nueva An-*

dalusia; *Rioja*; and the large village of *San Salvador*. The two first of these are the most considerable; but they too are small, and built without order or symmetry. In fact, the *Spaniards* support themselves in this country, solely from the influence gained by the *Jesuits* over the minds of the natives; and the chief design of the court of *Madrid* in maintaining settlements here, is to secure a communication between the colonies on the *South* and *North Seas*. The commodities of the country are of themselves too inconsiderable to deserve the expence of maintaining garrisons; they consist chiefly in honey, wax, sugar, cotton, woollen stuffs, manufactured by the natives; and mules much admired for their strength and agility, great droves of which are annually exported to the other provinces of *South America* (1).

(1) *Ulloa*, C. 15. L. 1.

^a them into societies, regulated by a system of civil policy, not to be paralleled in the annals of mankind, if we may credit the account of their missions lately published by the learned and ingenious *Muratori*. They engaged to protect them against the insolence of the *Spanish* soldiers, and the tyranny of the governors; and they actually kept their word with respect to the *Portuguese*, against whom they obtained leave from the court of *Spain* to arm the natives. They set about disciplining the *Paraguans*, taught them the use of fire arms; and soon rendered them able to cope with the enemy, and to drive them out of the country. The mildness of the christian yoke, the exemption from taxes and all marks of servitude, rendered them extremely attached to their fathers, and made numerous converts. At present above 340,000 families are subject to the fathers, living in an obedience and awe bordering upon ^b adoration, yet procured without any violence or restraint. There are about threescore parishes on the banks of the rivers *Paraguay* and *Panama*, not exceeding the distance of thirty miles from each other. In each of these there is a jesuit, supreme in all causes, civil, military, and ecclesiastic; who may be regarded as a petty prince, and governs not only with the sway of a sovereign, but with the influence and reputation of an oracle. He nominates the chiefs in all the different departments. The cazique holds of him; the general receives his commission and instructions from this dictatorial jesuit; and all his decisions are without appeal. The regulations established are indeed admirable; industry is universal, but riches nowhere to be found in this country. Every family hath its proportion of land and labour, of plenty and of rest. The general produce arising from agriculture and manufactures is ^c carried to the magazines of the society, from whence it is distributed to individuals as occasion requires, the surplus, amounting as is thought to four millions of pieces of eight annually, being exported to *Buenos Ayres*, and exchanged for merchandize which the country does not produce, or converted into money, and remitted to *Europe*; the chief design of which institution is, that the *Indians* may have no occasion to leave their country to be furnished with necessaries, which are now supplied by the order. By this means they are kept from the contagion of those vices, which they would naturally contract by an intercourse with strangers less pure in their manners, and perhaps be taught to fall off in their adoration of the jesuits; a point of the utmost consequence to these politic ecclesiastics.

If the civil government of *Paraguay* be admirably calculated to produce happiness, the ^d ecclesiastical is still more wisely contrived to promote the same design. Every town and village hath its particular priest, assisted by two of the same order, and six boys, who chant in the churches, and form a kind of collegiate, where the hours are regulated in the same manner, and the exercises precede each other with the same formalities, as in the great colleges of cities. This priest, who, we have already observed, presides also over the civil œconomy, visits personally the *Indian* plantations, in which he is remarkably sedulous in order to prevent the indulgence of that slothful disposition natural to the natives. He likewise attends at the slaughter-houses, where cattle are daily killed, large herds of which are kept for the publick use, and their flesh distributed by the fathers in lots, proportioned to the number of persons in each family. This reverend director also visits the sick, to see that they are duly ^e attended; and provided with every thing necessary to their recovery. He catechizes the *Indians* in his district, or rather deals them out portions of the scripture, which he explains, obliging them punctually to frequent divine service on *Sunday*. The children, says *Muratori*, repair every morning by break of day to the churches, where they take their places on opposite sides, according to their sex. There they recite alternately the morning prayer, and christian doctrine until sun-rise; then mass is celebrated, at which all the inhabitants are obliged to attend, unless a sufficient reason can be given for their absence. After mass all go to work; and, in the evening, the children assemble to be catechized, and the adults to pray, by the toll of bell. Business multiplies on the *Sunday*, when the espousals and marriages are celebrated for the greater solemnity; high mass is sung, and an exhortation to ^f the married pairs is pronounced from the pulpit; after which a list is called over to see who is absent, and penances are imposed on all trespasses committed within the parish, or *Reduction*, since the preceding *Sunday*. The effect which this regularity produces on the minds and morals of the *Indians*, is astonishing. They are punctual in their religious duties, faithful in their dealings, charitable to the distressed, humble, obedient, and industrious, beyond what could reasonably be expected from a people naturally so indolent and slothful. The excess to which they carry their contrition and delicacy of conscience, appears especially at the tribunal of penance, where they shed a torrent of tears, accusing themselves of such trivial defects, that it is sometimes a question with the fathers, whether there be sufficient matter for absolution. The church resounds with sobbings and wailings; and the proselytes, full of ^g detestation of themselves, endeavour to expiate their failings (for crimes are scarce ever heard of) with austerities and macerations, which their zeal and superstition would carry to a pitch of extravagance, if they were not restrained. These are strong instances, says the ingeni-

ous *Italian*, of the piety, devotion, and docility of the natives; we regard them, likewise, as irrefragable proofs of the policy and address of the reverend fathers.

IMAGINATION cannot paint any thing in the *Indies* more regular, neat, and decent, than the parochial churches in *Paraguay*. They are capacious, rich, elegant, and splendidly furnished for that country; gilding and painting attract the eye, and strike the imagination on every side. All the sacred utensils are of gold and silver, many of them studded with precious stones, and curiously embossed. Magnificent galleries are erected for the civil magistrates on one side the altar, while the military officers occupy the opposite; and all the vulgar are seated with the greatest order and decorum on seats, placed round the area. The palace of the spiritual prince, who may be considered as a kind of pontiff within his jurisdiction, is grand, spacious and constructed in the manner of a church, in order to strike his simple subjects with religious awe and reverence. It consists of different apartments, suited to the various functions of the father, as a civil and ecclesiastical magistrate. Every morning after prayers is devoted to hearing the complaints, and redressing the grievances of such as demand audience. At noon, he hears confessions, and grants absolutions, in which he is extremely rigid and exact, that being the basis of his power, and the main pillar of his authority. In the afternoon, he walks abroad, inspects the publick and private affairs of the *Reduccion*, and superintends the labour of his parishioners; while the evening is devoted to catechizing, discoursing on moral and religious subjects, and instructing by conversation all around him. Such at least is the idea conveyed of the behaviour of those fathers, by their own writings, and the celebrated *Muratori*, on which we must implicitly rely, for want of better documents. Fame, indeed, has treated their characters with more severity, and they may not unjustly be accused of ambition; but surely this passion was never directed to more noble and useful purposes, than in taming the savage, instructing the ignorant, enlightening the Pagan, promoting industry, and inspiring a love of order, society, temperance, frugality and every other virtue, which can humanize the mind, and conduce to temporal and eternal happiness. We cannot be surprized that such an excessive reverence as is here shewn for the fathers, should excite certain sparks of pride and haughtiness, so natural to an elevated station; yet policy even dictates that they should maintain a certain loftiness and distance of carriage; yet their manner of living simple, their diet coarse, their sleep moderate, and their vigilance indefatigable, almost without relaxation, continually instructing either by precept or example. It is affirmed, however, that they carry their authority to an excess, causing even the magistrates to be corrected before them with stripes, and suffering persons of the highest distinction, within their jurisdictions, to kiss the hems of their garments, as the greatest honour to which they can possibly arrive. To this might be added the utter abolition of all ideas of property, which, indeed, is rendered useless by the general magazines and store-houses; yet it reflects on the character of the fraternity, that they possess large property themselves, and claim the absolute disposal of the meanest effects in *Paraguay*. All manufactures are theirs; every natural commodity is brought to them; and the treasures, remitted yearly to the superior of the order, sufficiently evince that zeal for religion is not the only motive of those persevering missions, so highly extolled, and deservedly, if we refer to the effect rather than the design.

BUT, besides those provincial governments, there is a kind of supreme council, composed of an annual meeting of all the fathers, who adjust the methods necessary to be executed for promoting the common concerns of the mission; framing new laws, correcting or abolishing old ones, and adapting every thing else to circumstances. Over this council, it is reported, that neither the Catholic king, nor the pope himself, exert any controul or authority; and indeed, since the erection of *Paraguay* into a spiritual monarchy, there is great probability that the jesuits claim independency; but we can advance nothing positively upon this head, as we are destitute of authentic documents, all the stories related of king *Nicholas* being founded merely on conjecture, or formed by the malice of the enemies of the fraternity. From the armaments fitted out a few years since by *Spain* and *Portugal*, we may reasonably conjecture that those courts dreaded the growing power of the jesuits, who were suspected of designs against *Buenos Ayres* and *Brazil*; and it is confidently affirmed that one maxim is strongly inculcated by the fathers, namely the danger it is to the salvation of an *Indian* to maintain any intercourse with a subject of *Spain* or *Portugal*. The natives are restrained from learning the *Spanish* tongue, or applying themselves to any studies but such as are immediately subservient to the good of the society; and it is one of the great objects of the annual councils, to take such measures as shall effectually deprive strangers of all intelligence concerning the state of the mission^p (X). Accordingly the *Indians* are confined to just

^p MURAT. Relations des Missions de Parag. Edit. 8vo. 1760.

(X) The vigilance and jealousy which the fathers unfavourable reports. If a stranger, in despite of all express in this particular, hath given birth to many their precaution, should find his way into the country, he

a just as much knowledge as answers the purposes of the jesuits, and chiefly restrained to mechanical arts, architecture, painting, and musick ; for which they seem to have a natural genius.

ANOTHER precaution taken by the fathers for their security is the establishment of a very considerable military power. They have trained up the natives to the exercise of arms ; so that the militia of *Paraguay* is at this day such a formidable body, as may probably foil all the attempts of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, to reduce them to obedience. Every parish or reduction hath its corps of horse and foot, who are duly exercised every *Sunday*, in the manual exercise and evolutions, in the same manner as the *Swiss* militia. This force is divided into regiments, each of which is composed of six companies, with fifty men to b a company. The officers hold their commissions of the fathers, and are selected out of the body of the people for their activity, valour, and obedience. The cavalry is much on the same footing as the infantry, only the regiments are said to be less numerous. It is affirmed the Jesuits can raise a body of seventy or eighty thousand well disciplined troops, amazingly expert in the use of firelocks and bayonets ; and also in slings, with which they throw stones of four or five pounds weight, with astonishing force and wonderful dexterity. It is affirmed, they will hit the smallest mark at any proposed distance within the compass of their strength, and discharge their slings with such expedition, as terrifies the *Portuguese* more than the musquetry. Sorry we are that we cannot enlarge upon this subject ; but the authentic accounts are so general, and the particular ones so suspicious, that c we cannot possibly admit them into a history which we would endeavour to render valuable, at least, for its veracity ; and the judicious reader will, we doubt not, prefer a superficial, but true, relation to a more minute detail, that tends only to amuse and mislead. To conclude this sketch of a country, for a more accurate knowledge of which the curious have sought in vain ; we must observe that the city of *Assumption*, the capital, situated in twenty-five degrees, eleven minutes, according to the latest observations, at the conflux of the rivers *Parana* and *Paraguay*, is large, well-built, and populous.

BUENOS AIRES is also included within the jurisdiction of *Los Charcas* by *Ulloa*, and called the fifth bishoprick of that audience. This name, given from the pleasantness of the climate, is extended to all that country from the eastern and southern coast of that part of *America*, quite to *Tucuman* on the east, on the north to *Paraguay*, and on the south d to the *Terra Magellanica*, or the vertex of that triangular point of land, which composes *South America*. The country is watered by the great river *La Plata*, first discovered, in 1515, by *Juan Diaz de Solis* ; who, with his two attendants, was massacred by the natives ; and partly subdued by *Sebastian Gaboto*, who gave the great river the appellation of *La Plata*, from the abundance of the precious metals he procured from the adjacent inhabitants, imagining it was the produce of the country ; though, in fact, they brought it from *Peru*. The capital of the government, called *Nuestra Señora de Buenos Ayres*, was founded in the year 1535, under the direction of don *Pedro de Mendoza*, at that time governor. It stands on a point, called cape *Blanco*, on the south side of the *Plata*, fronting a small river, e in thirty-four degrees thirty-four minutes thirty-eight seconds of south-latitude, according to the observation of father *Feville*, a writer of extensive knowledge, and great integrity. The situation is in a fine plain, rising by a gentle ascent from the river, and truly paradisaical, whether we regard the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, or that beautiful verdure which overspreads the whole face of the country, of which the inhabitants of the city have an uninterrupted prospect as far as the eye can reach. The city of *Buenos Ayres* is very considerable in extent, containing no less than three thousand houses, inhabited by *Spaniards*, and different casts of the natives. The streets are straight, broad, and pretty equal in the height and dimensions of the buildings ; one very handsome square f adorns it, the front, corresponding to this residence of the principal citizens, being a castle, in which the governor holds his court, and presides over a garrison of three thousand able-bodied soldiers. Most of the buildings are of chalk or brick, except the cathedral, a magnificent structure, chiefly composed of stone.

No country in the world abounds more in horned cattle and horses, than *Buenos Ayres*, where the greatest expence of a horse or cow is in the catching it, and frequently at the small price of two, three, or four ryals. In such abundance are those useful animals, that the

he is immediately secured by the superior of the parish, a house assigned and every satisfaction allowed him, except his liberty. If the father should permit him to see the town, it is always in his own company, and after notice has been given to the inhabitants to keep close in their houses, where they barricade themselves, as if they dreaded the assault of a powerful enemy. As soon as the opportunity offers for his embarking at *Buenos Ayres*, where the Jesuits keep their spies, the

stranger is sent thither under a guard of *Indians*, who are entire strangers to every *European* language ; whence it is absolutely impossible for them to communicate any thing with respect to the state of the country. Besides, they have inculcated it as a point of religion, that the *Indians* answer no interrogatories either by signs or token, under pain of eternal punishments, which those ignorant barbarians are fully persuaded the Jesuits have the power to inflict.

hide alone is deemed of any value, as this constitutes a main article in the trade of the country. All rove wild in the fields, and, at present, they are more difficult of access, the terrible havock made among them obliging the cautious brutes to keep at a greater distance, and avoid their cruellest enemy. All kinds of fish are in the same abundance, and the fish called *Rexereys* is very remarkable, some exceeding half a yard in length. The fruits of every quarter of the globe grow up in the utmost perfection; and for the enjoyments of life, and the salubrity of the air, a finer country cannot be imagined.

WITHIN the government of *Buenos Ayres*, are three other cities, called *Monte Video*, *Corrientes*, and *Santa Fè*. The last stands about ninety leagues to the westward of *Buenos Ayres*, between the *Plata* and the *Salado*, which, after a long course through the province of *Tucuman*, joins the former. The city is small and meanly built; the neighbouring *Indians*, who have not yet received the doctrines of christianity, or submitted to the *Spanish* yoke, taking every opportunity of plundering the houses, and massacring the inhabitants. *La Corrientes*, situated on the eastern banks of the river *Plata*, is inferior, both in size and distinction, to *Santa Fè*; and, indeed, bears no other tokens of a city, beside the name and privileges granted to the inhabitants. The same may be alledged of *Monte Video*; yet all these cities have their corregidores, inferior magistrates, and a regular militia, who assemble on the first appearance of danger, and have frequently displayed great resolution and courage in repelling the attacks of the savage *Indians*.

Kingdom of
Chili.

THE last audience of the *Spanish* dominions in *South America*, is that of *Chili*; the conquest of which powerful and rich kingdom by *Valdivia*, we have already related, if the establishment of *Spanish* colonies, and defeat of the unsubdued warlike inhabitants, may be called a conquest. The limits of *Chili* are not exactly ascertained; some confine it within the *Spanish* jurisdiction, others extend it from the twenty-sixth to the forty-seventh degree of south-latitude, and a few include within its limits the *Terra del Fuego* and the very extremity of cape *Horn*^a. We shall, however, upon the best authority, confine the name of *Chili* to that tract of land contained within the twenty-sixth and forty fifth degrees of south-latitude, and forty-seventh and fifty-fourth degrees of west longitude. Agreeable to these limits, it is skirted by *Peru* on the north; by the *South Sea* on the west; by *Patagonia* and the *Terra Magellanica* on the south; and by the province of *La Plata* on the east: containing a space of between twelve and thirteen hundred miles in length, and about half as much in breadth, if we include the vast plains of *Chicuito*, which lie on the opposite side of the lofty ridge of the *Andes*. The country, indeed, properly called *Chili*, lies between this chain of mountains and the sea, including only a space of about ninety miles in breadth. The length of this ridge of mountains is very extraordinary, it beginning at the *Terra Magellanica*, traversing the kingdom of *Chili*, the province of *Buenos Ayres*, the empire of *Peru*, the audience of *Quito*, the vast district of *Terra Firma*; and then contracting itself, as if it were for a passage through the isthmus of *Darien*, it widens again, and passes through the provinces and kingdoms of *Nicaragua*, *Guatemala*, *Costa Rica*, *Mexico*, and others more to the northward. In *Chili*, the mountains are so high, that we are told by a variety of writers, the *Alps* are no more than hillocks to them; and that, in passing over them, the air is so extremely light and rarefied as to occasion the utmost difficulty in respiration, and sometimes an hæmorrhage of the pulmonary-vessels^r.

CHILI lying south of the equator, the seasons here are almost opposite to those in the northern hemisphere; but the face of the country is beautiful, and the climate wholesome, notwithstanding the extremity of heat and cold in the different seasons. On the east, the country is screened by the *Andes*, while from the west, the air is cooled by the most refreshing sea-breezes. In some parts, indeed, the piercing winds, which blow in the winter from the mountains are intolerably sharp; but, in general, we may deem this one of the most comfortable climates in *South America*, being the medium between the intense heat of the torrid zone, and freezing colds of those countries removed at a greater distance from the equator, and more towards the vertex of that triangle, which composes this part of the *American* continent. In the winter, a light coat of snow falls upon the vallies; but the mountains are covered with such quantities, as, in the summer, supply the country with innumerable rivulets, which produce the most extraordinary fertility, observable in any part of the world. Here *Indian* and *European* corn, wine, fruits, and all the necessities of life grow in the utmost abundance and perfection; and we learn, from the latest travellers, that in the gardens of the cities, near the sea-coast, orange trees are kept in bloom and fruit all the year. With pleasure could we dwell on the description of *Chili*, were we allowed to indulge our vein as naturalists; but as brevity is essentially necessary to a work of so universal extent as our undertaking, we must confine ourselves to a few of the most essential particulars.

a THE productions of this country, most valuable in the opinion of the *Europeans*, are those contained in the bowels of the earth. These constitute it, beyond comparison, the richest territory on the face of the globe in gold, silver, mercury, lead, sulphur, and saltpetre, if we may credit the relation of *Spaniards*; who, at the same time, confess their little acquaintance with the interior and wealthiest part of the country, which is still in the hands of the natives. Extraordinary specimens of the richness of these ores have indeed been sent into *Europe*; but with respect to the number of the mines, and the continuance of the metallic vein, all must be conjectural, as the *Chilefians* express the utmost jealousy, lest the *Spaniards* should make discoveries, that might one day subject the inhabitants to the most cruel servitude. It is reported to be an invariable maxim with the *Indians* of

b *Chili*, to punish with immediate death the discoverer of any treasure; and their power is so great, and disposition so warlike, that it would be impossible for the *Spaniards* to protect the criminal, who had thus roused the indignation of his countrymen. As matters now stand, the governor and colonists reap almost all the advantages of the *Spanish* settlements. All the precious metals procured by fraud or force from the *Chilefians*, become the perquisite of the governor, who makes no scruple of cheating the king, notwithstanding the vast charges of the government in salaries, and the maintenance of troops to support the *Spanish* interest against the attempts of the natives.

The number of inhabitants in this vast country are by no means proportioned to its extent. All the *Spaniards* in *Chili* are not computed at more than twenty thousand, and these dispersed in such a manner as gave the free *Indians* the greatest advantages in all their wars with the strangers. This was the greatest oversight in the conduct of *Valdivia*, the first invader of *Chili*, who, upon discovering gold, attempted to make so many establishments as furnished the *Indians*, whom he had treated so harshly, with an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and expelling the *Spaniards* out of the mountains. The free *Indians* are much more numerous, and all the inhabitants of *Chili*, including *Europeans*, *Mestizos*, *Mulattoes*, and *Negros*, are reputed at a hundred and fifty thousand only. Even the free *Indians* are said to acknowledge the dominion of the king of *Spain*, and to pay tribute to his governors; but the subject *Indians* belong entirely to the *Spaniards*, live among them, and serve them in the same manner as the natives of *Peru* and *Mexico*. For the better establishing of good order, and a regular police, they are divided, according to their habitations, into little lordships of a certain number of families, stiled *Commanderies*, the disposal of which is in the king, to any of the servants of the crown, whom he thinks proper to gratify. The greater part of *Chili* is possessed by the free *Indians*, who, in their last treaty, acknowledged the king for their lawful sovereign; upon condition they were suffered to continue under the protection of their own laws and government; an engagement, which it will be hazardous for the *Spaniards* to break, however; it may restrict their great design of gaining entire possession of the countries, and thereby repairing the constant decline of wealth and decay of the precious metals in their other settlements. In fact, the free *Chilefians* are rather the allies than the subjects of *Spain*. They are governed by

d their own chiefs, who claim no authority besides that of administering justice, and leading the armies; having neither courts, regal pomp, guards, or any other of the badges of sovereign authority. They preside, indeed, at all national meetings, and here only, and in the field, their power or distinction is known; but the question is determined by a plurality of voices. He can also sound the alarm, and oblige the people to arm on sound of trumpet, to repair to a place appointed, and to form themselves under the national banners.

e THE *Chilefians* are tall, robust, active, and courageous. No other *Indian* people have cost the *Spaniards* so much trouble. They are dexterous in the use of pikes, bows, arrows, and swords. Their discipline is more regular and rational than that of the other *Indians*.

f The *Chilefians* fight in squadrons, retire when broke, and rally, fortify themselves with great address, and choose their ground either to engage, attack, or defend themselves with admirable judgment; of which the reader hath already seen abundance of instances in our relation of the long war which they supported against the *Spaniards*. At present they admit *Spanish* missionaries among them, and shew an inclination to embrace the gospel doctrine, to which their greatest objection is, lest it should bring them to slavery. They enter easily into the *Spanish* manners, which gives great pleasure to the colonists, in hopes it may be possible thereby to effect by example, what has foiled their arms; though, in our opinion, the conjecture is but ill founded. The *Chilefians*, by gaining the knowledge of fire arms, and *European* discipline, may one day be enabled intirely to expel the *Spaniards*; and this even

g is rendered the more probable by past experience. During the long wars between the allied powers and *France*, for the succession to the crown of *Spain*, great inconveniencies arose in this quarter of the world, because the *Spanish* ministry was too much employed at home to bestow any attention on the conduct of governors in *America*; who, by dint of cruelty and

and oppression, drove the *Chilefians* of the plain into open rebellion, which might have proved fatal to all the *Spanifh* colonies, had the free *Indians* joined in the infurrection.

St. Jago city.

St. JAGO is the capital of all *Chili*, and stands in thirty-three degrees forty minutes fouth latitude. It was founded by *Valdivia*, in the valley of *Mapocho*, in the year 1541; and ftill remains on the identical fpot on which it was firft erected. The fituation is commodious and delightful, the furrrounding plain extending for the fpace of twenty-four leagues, watered by the meandering fream of the river *Mapocho*, from which the city is fupplied with water by conduits. St. Jago is reckoned a thoufand toifes in length, by fix hundred in breadth; befides the large fuburb called *Chimba*, on the oppofite fide of the river. In the center of the city ftands the grand piazza, which, like that of *Lima*, is fquare, with a very beautiful fountain in the middle. Here are the apartments of the prefidents, the palace of the royal audience, the town-houfe, the publick prifon, the cathedral, and a variety of other handfome publick and private buildings. The other parts of the city are divided into infulated fquares, regular, well-built, and commodious. Every houfe is provided with a court before, and a garden behind, which are abundantly fupplied with water, leading by conduits and canals from the river. By this means, the ftreets may be overflowed and cleaned at pleafure, with very little trouble, which keeps the place fweet and healthy. The *Spaniards* in St. Jago are reckoned to amount to eight thoufand, and the other inhabitants to about thirty thoufand, which fufficiently indicates the grandeur of this capital, that wants nothing befides ftone buildings to render it among the fineft cities in the *Spanifh American* dominions. The citizens are rich, fond of pleafure, and good humoured. Thofe who have acquired fortunes at *Baldivia*, *Valparaiso*, and *Conception*, repair hither to fpend the remainder of their days in eafe and enjoyment. Many have amaffed fortunes by their concerns in the gold mines of *Tilti*, and the *Lavaderos*, in the neighbourhood of the city, in which pieces of gold an ounce weight are fometimes found. A few have found the fecret of trading clandestinely with the *Indians* for gold, and they foon acquire immense wealth; but this traffic is laid under fuch reftriptions by the jealous *Chilefians*, that it requires a very intimate acquaintance with the country, and confiderable addrefs to carry it on with any degree of fafety or advantage. The royal audience refiding in St. Jago, fince its removal from *Conception*, is compofed of a prefident, four auditors, and a fical; together with an officer who bears the title of protector of the *Indians*. Though fubordinate, in fome refpects, to the viceroy of *Peru*, the determinations of this court are without appeal, except to the council of the *Indies*. The prefident is alfo governor and captain-general of the whole kingdom of *Chili*, in which quality he refides half the year in the capital, and the other half at *Conception*. The corregidor fupplies his abfence, represents his perfon, and governs not only the city but the whole audience of St. Jago.

Conception.

CONCEPTION, fituated in thirty-fix degrees, forty-three minutes, and fifteen feconds, is the oldeft *European* eftablifhment in *Chili*; and the fecond city in point of dignity. On their firft fettling in the country, the *Spaniards* had been repeatedly driven hence by the *Indians*, which obliged them to take up their refidence at St. Jago; and fince the city of *Conception* hath been destroyed by earthquakes. In the year 1730, both this city and St. Jago were laid in ruins by a dreadful fhock, the firft concuffions of which were accompanied with an unfual fwellings of the fea, that overturned the few houfes which had efaped the ravages of the earthquake. The harbour of this city is good, and pretty much frequented; for which reafon the *Spaniards* regard it as a place of confequence, as appears by the king's allowing three hundred and fifty thoufand pieces of eight *per annum*, for the fupport of a garrifon of three thoufand five hundred men; a corps that is feldom complete. None of the fortifications are confiderable; but thofe towards the land are wretched, the *Spaniards* now living in tolerable fecurity with refpect to the natives, and not conceiving the city can well be attacked on the land-fide by a foreign enemy. Indeed, if we may credit the moft pofitive affeverations of travellers, all the *Spanifh* fettlements, both here and in *Peru*, would fall an eafy conqueft, the fortifications being in ruins, and the garrifons, fcarce half the number required by the king: owing to the avarice, negligence, and fupine fecurity of the governors, who ftudy nothing more than to enrich themfelves. The city is the fee of a bifhop, which was transferred hither at the time the city *Imperial* was destroyed by the *Indians*, and here likewise refided the royal chancery, until fear of the *Indians* occafioned its being removed to St. Jago. The inhabitants are numerous, the fertility of the foil, and the excellency of the climate, having induced a great number of *Spaniards* and *Mestizos* to settle here, notwithstanding the danger to which they are expofed from the *Indians*. The peafants in the neighbourhood of *Conception* are remarkable for their addrefs in the ufe of the noofe and lance, which indeed are their principal arms. The ftories related by *Ulloa* of their dexterity are really aftonifhing. With thefe weapons, they will not only combat the fierceft bull, but render it impoffible for the moft cautious and active man to efcape their noofe, which they throw fo artfully as to lay certain hold of fome part of the body. In private quarrels, they fight

a fight with the noose and lance, all attacks from which they are taught to parry with such dexterity, that after a combat of an hour, it is no uncommon case to see the parties separated, notwithstanding both have exerted the greatest alertness. When a bull is haltered, they draw the knot, at the same time they give spurs to their horses, and hamstringing him with their lances; so that the animal is taken and disabled in the same instant: This dexterity in throwing the noose, and hamstringing the animal in an instant; while they ride full speed, cannot fail of surprising the *Europeans*, and conveying a formidable idea of those alert natives, had they once acquired a juster notion of the art of war.

HAVING now compared the two principal cities of *Peru*, we shall proceed with the rest, in the order in which they are situated. The first port on this coast is *Copiapo*, standing in the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude. The harbour, indeed, is properly called *Caldera*, but commonly known by the former name on account of its contiguity. This may justly be reckoned the richest town in the world, in point of natural situation, if we consider that its foundation is laid on a gold mine; which, however, is not wrought by the inhabitants, because a still richer mine has been discovered at the distance of six miles. We may judge of the produce of these mines from the following account, extracted from a *Flemish* writer of good intelligence and credit. The inhabitants of the town are about seven hundred; the labourers in the mine amount to a thousand. There are twelve mills constantly employed, which extract at the rate of an hundred and fifty ounces one day with another. Besides the precious metal, another valuable article of commerce is in greater abundance here than in any quarter of the world. Saltpetre lies upon the ground two feet deep in many places; and under any other government than the *Spanish*, would attract a very considerable trade. To the southward of the town are the rich lead mines of *Copiapo*, which lie neglected; yet it is the opinion of divers intelligent writers, they might be turned to more advantage than the gold, on account of the great quantities of *lapis lazuli* found on the surface.

NEXT comes the town of *Coquimbo*, properly stiled *la Serena*, standing in twenty-nine degrees, and fifty-three minutes, of south latitude, in one of the most beautiful situations in the universe. The town is neat and elegant, well watered, and rendered a perfect paradise by the enchanting groves and gardens filled with the most refreshing and delightful fruits; the perpetual verdure, which covers the face of the country, and that blessed serenity of climate, and happy temperature of the air, which dispenses good health, the most valuable gift of Providence. The surrounding valleys are filled with cattle, and the fleecy kind; and so numerous is the breed of horses, that one, which would cost thirty or forty pounds in the cheapest country in *Europe*, may be here purchased for a twentieth part of the sum. Yet, after all, the place is wretchedly poor, merely for want of that circulation of commodities, which supplies the deficiencies of one country with the superfluities of another. The whole trade of *Coquimbo* consists in sending three or four vessels annually to *Lima*, laden with flour, wine, and provisions; in exchange for which they receive all kinds of *European* commodities, transported from hence to all the other towns in *Chili*.

VALPARAISO, situated in thirty-two degrees, fifteen minutes, south latitude, is the next port of any consequence. It is, indeed, the most considerable haven in these seas, being constantly filled with ships from *Callao* and *Panama*; unfortunately the mouth of the harbour is greatly exposed in the winter to the north winds, which then blow with great violence. Considerable sums have been expended in attempts to render this a place of strength, and the *Castello Blanco* makes a formidable appearance; but the orders of the government are so much neglected, that the ramparts are scarce ever mounted with half a dozen pieces of artillery fit for service; and as to the port of *Quintero*, about five leagues to the northward, though much frequented, it is left entirely without defence: at least, such was the state of these sea ports, during the last war with *Spain*, although only one feeble attempt was made to annoy the enemy in that quarter.

THE celebrated port of *Baldivia* comes next in order. It is situated at the bottom of a fine bay, in thirty-nine degrees, thirty-six minutes of south-latitude, and takes its name from the first conqueror of this country. We may judge of the value, which the *Spaniards* put on this port, by the sum of money granted annually by the king for maintaining a garrison, and keeping the fortifications in repair, which is no less than three hundred thousand pieces of eight. It is defended by four strong castles, mounting about a hundred pieces of fine brass cannon; for which, however, there never is a sufficient number of gunners, and carriages, nor store of ammunition. Besides, what dependance can be placed on a garrison composed of transported criminals, who are sent hither, instead of being lashed to the oar on board the galleys. The governor, indeed, is always a person of quality; but, as he is promoted merely to repair his fortune, it is always expected that he should profit by the opportunity. The attack made on this place by the *Dutch*, in 1643, evinces the facility with which it might be seized by a maritime power; especially as the

very same negligence still prevails with respect to the garrison and fortifications. They soon ^a became masters of the town, and would probably have maintained their conquest against all the viceroy's power, if they had not been forced to relinquish it by sickness and famine. The inhabitants of *Baldivia* amount to about two thousand; the trade is less considerable than formerly, because the gold mines in the neighbourhood are shut up, yet ten large ships are employed in the trade between this port and *Lima*, which chiefly consists in gold, corn, hides, and salt-provision, exchanged for slaves, sugar, chocolate, and *European* commodities and manufactures. This is the last settlement of any consideration, which the *Spaniards* have in *Chili*, unless we except *Aranca*, where they maintain a garrison of five or six hundred men, and the beautiful little island of *Cbiloa*, at the most southern extremity of the province. ^b

UPON the whole, it appears, that the possessions of the crown of *Spain* on the continent of *America* are sufficient to raise that monarchy to the highest pitch of grandeur, were the true interest both of the mother-country and colonies rightly understood. The wealth yearly brought into *Spain* is immense; but that treasure is soon dissipated among the other more industrious and ingenious nations of *Europe*, in exchange for those manufactures and necessaries of life, which the *Spaniards* have either too much pride or too little policy to work up at home, in quantities sufficient for their colonies. Thus they may properly be called the miners and labourers of the other states, whose ingenuity is more than a compensation for the want of those stores of the precious metals, reserved for the *Spaniards* in the bowels of the earth. By supplying her colonies with those articles now purchased from ^c other countries with the gold and silver of *Peru* and *Mexico*, *Spain* would not only have acquired great internal strength, but have become the most formidable maritime power in the universe, by so active a commerce. Instead of these infallible maxims, so obvious to common sense, happily for her neighbours, this monarchy has had recourse to a more refined policy, which consisted in fixing her commerce by constraint, and establishing her power by the sword. Grasping at universal monarchy, and monopolizing the wealth of the *Indies*, were causes alone sufficient to have brought the *Spaniards* to their present languishing condition. For a series of years, a war was maintained in *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, and *Italy*, almost against the combined powers of *Europe*, by mere dint of the *American* treasures, which were soon exhausted without any care taken to establish a commerce of a more durable nature with the colonies. This infatuation in the *Spanish* councils produced the natural effects; the rest of *Europe* was enriched, and enabled to push a trade both to the *East* and *West Indies*, while *Spain* was impoverished. Had not *Philip* oppressed the *Hollanders*, and disturbed the *English*, both might have still remained inconsiderable by sea. To this, the former owe their liberty, and the latter their plantations, with the vast consequent extension of their manufactures. Hence it is, that, under the appearance of the wealthiest people in *Europe*, the *Spaniards* are nothing more than factors; the common people want bread, the rich are tantalized with just the sight of money, the publick is distressed, and equally destitute of cash and credit. On the accession of his present Catholic majesty, the court of *Madrid* seemed to be roused from that lethargy, in which it had been lulled for ^d the space of two centuries, and awakened into a sense of the benefits deducible from an active commerce; but this was no more than a dream, which vanished before the enchanting arts of the court of *Versailles*. Several excellent commercial regulations were instituted; but before the effects became visible, the *Spaniards* are again plunged in a war with *Great-Britain*, the issue of which does not promise them any great advantage; since, however fortunate, it cannot possibly compensate the suspension of those salutary measures projected at the accession of the present king (Y). ^e

(Y) There is one remark of a more abstract nature, which, nevertheless, irrefragably demonstrates that the comparative wealth of *Spain*, while she relies on the riches of *America*, must daily diminish. The specie of *Europe* was more than doubled by the conquest of *Mexico* and *Peru*, as appears by the doubled price of commodities. Thus the *Spaniards*, who purchased the merchandize of other nations, became nothing the

richer for *America*; and, admitting they have every year the same quantity of silver imported, it becomes proportionably of lesser value; by which progression, their power will, in time, be annihilated. The value of specie is now thirty-two to one of what it was at the discovery of *America*: so that the decline of *Spain* in wealth must be nearly in the same proportion.

S E C T. XV.

Containing a description of the Terra Magellanica, Brasil, the country of the Amazons, and the European settlements in Guiana, which is all that remains undescribed of the southern coast of the peninsula.

^a **T**O complete the history of *South America*, we shall annex a short account of *Patagonia*, ^{Patagonia.} or the *Terra Magellanica*; *Brasil*; the country of the *Amazons*, and *Guiana*; which

is all that remains to be described of the vast peninsula contained between *Cape Horn*, the extremity and the isthmus of *Darien*, either towards the northern or southern coast. So little, indeed, is known of that vast tract contained between *Chili* and *Cape Horn*, that we shall be able to relate all that is authentic in a very short compass. All the country extending from *Chili* and *Paraguay* to the utmost extremity of *South America*, is either denominated the *Land of Magellan*, or *Patagonia*; that is from the thirty-fifth almost to the fifty-fourth degree of south latitude, it being surrounded by the countries just mentioned, the *South* and *North Seas*, and the *Straits of Magellan*, that separate it from the island called

^b *Terra del Fuego*, which forms the very point of the peninsula. It was discovered in the year 1519, by *Ferdinand Magellan*, a resolute experienced *Portuguese* officer in the service of the catholic king; who is reported to have sailed through those straits, which bear his name, from the *North Sea* to the *Pacific Ocean*. For a series of years, the passage from south to north was deemed impracticable, on account of a strong current to the southward; but the experience of divers buccaneers, and especially of a *French* mariner, who returned to *Europe* through the straits of *la Maire*, as late as the year 1747, has removed this error. The observations made by *Magellan* and future adventurers, with respect to this country and its inhabitants, are extremely imperfect and defective. The people are reported to be of a gigantic stature, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the climate, to go naked.

^c That they are barbarous is evinced by their treatment of the few unfortunate *Europeans* who fell into their hands. They differ indeed in manners, as they are divided into a great variety of nations; towards the straits they are said to be perfectly savage; on the frontiers of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* settlements, they greatly resemble the *Chileans*.

SEPARATED in the middle by the vast mountains of the *Andes*, the country differs as widely as the inhabitants. The whole country to the northward of *La Plata* is covered with wood, and stored with an inexhaustible fund of large timber; whereas to the southward of that river, the eye cannot discover a single tree or shrub fit for any mechanical purpose.

Yet even this seemingly barren country produces good pasture; and numerous droves of wild horned cattle and horses, may be seen in every district. They were first brought hither

^d by the *Spaniards*, and the incredible numbers which now cover the face of the country demonstrates how congenial the soil and climate are to their nature. Perhaps the scarcity of fresh water may be an insupportable obstruction to the planting colonies in *Patagonia*, should that measure ever be thought adviseable; yet, admitting the truth of the assertion, we cannot see how the present inhabitants, and the prodigious flocks of cattle described, could exist under this inconvenience, and destitute of an element so essential to the being of most land animals. Nothing is related concerning the productions of the earth, and the reader who has consulted all that has been written by voyagers will find little to gratify his curiosity or instruct his understanding. Nor is there any thing more satisfactory written concerning the large island, called *Terra del Fuego* or *Fago*, separated from the continent by the straits.

^e We are even not certainly informed whether it be inhabited, though some writers assert that it is, and probability favours the allegation. The appellation of *Fuego* or *Fogo* it acquired from the first discoverers on account of some volcanos, which disgorged great quantities of fire and smok, at the time it was first beheld by those adventurers. The country extends from fifty-two degrees and an half to fifty-six degrees, lengthways from east to west, and is near half as much in breadth from north to south. The land is rough and mountainous; but frequently divided into beautiful fertile valleys, and pastures watered with a variety of fine springs, which come tumbling down the mountains. It is reported, that the inhabitants are naturally as fair as the *Europeans*, but that they go naked, and paint their bodies with the most gorgeous colours. Those on the south side are said to be uncivilized, treacherous, and barbarous; while those on the opposite side are simple, affable, and perfectly

^f harmless. The skins of wild animals are sometimes used to cover their bodies, upon occasions of extraordinary pomp; and their tents are made of poles disposed in a conical form, covered with skins, or the bark or leaves of trees. Round the point of the peninsula, and in the *Straits of Magellan* and *le Maire*, are a great variety of islands, of which scarce any thing more is known than the names imposed by the early navigators and first discoverers.

Brasil.

We now quit the *Spanish* dominions, to give some account of the settlements of the other *European* powers in *South America*; and first of the *Portuguese* colonies in *Brasil*, one of the most extensive and opulent countries in the universe, upon which depends the very existence of the *Portuguese* monarchy. This subject is the more interesting to an *English* reader, on account of the large sums of *American* gold drawn into this kingdom by means of the valuable commerce carried on with our near allies the *Portuguese*; who are no less sensible of the benefits they derive from the countenance and assistance of *Great Britain*, as appears by their late spirited conduct at the instance of the *British* ministry. All that tract of country stretching along the sea-coast from the mouth of the river *La Plata*, in the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude, to the great river of *Amazon* under the Equator, is denominated *Brasil*, and subject to the crown of *Portugal*. It is reported to extend in breadth from east to west about nine hundred miles, though the *Portuguese* have not established settlements in the interior country. *Pedro Alvarez Capralis*, a *Portuguese* admiral bound for the *East-Indies*, was the accidental discoverer, in the year 1501, though the *Spaniards* dispute this claim, as hath already been mentioned. In the year 1549, the *Portuguese* built the city of *St. Salvador*, which was the first settlement made in *Brasil*. The *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch* have successively endeavoured to render themselves masters of a country, the source of inexhaustible wealth to the crown of *Portugal*; but without success. The latter, indeed, stood fair for the entire reduction of *Brasil*, when the good fortune of the *Portuguese* at length prevailed, and left them in the unmolested possession of their valuable colonies. This subject the reader hath already seen explicitly handled in our History of the *United Provinces*.

THE first aspect of the country from the sea is rather unfavourable, as it appears high, rough, and unequal; but on a more narrow inspection, nothing can be more delightful, the eminencies being covered with woods, and the valleys and savannahs with the most refreshing verdure. Within land, indeed, the *Brasils* are separated from the *Spanish* province of *La Plata*, which we have called *Buenos Ayres*, by lofty mountains (Z). In so vast a tract of land, it will not be imagined that the climate is equal, or the seasons uniform; they must necessarily differ under the Equator, and above thirty degrees beyond the Line. Thus the northern provinces are subject to heavy rains and variable winds, like other countries under the same parallels. Tornadoes, storms, and the utmost fury of the elements, wreak their vengeance here; while the southerly regions are blessed with all the comforts which a fine fertile soil and temperate climate can afford. In some of the provinces, the heat of the climate is thought to prove favourable to the generation of a great variety of noxious poisonous insects and reptiles: certain it is, that no country produces a greater variety of snakes of immense size; some of which, as the *Liboya* or *Roebuck* snake, extend to the incredible length of thirty feet, measuring two or three yards in circumference. The rattle-snake, and other reptiles of the same species, grow likewise to an enormous size; and the serpent called *Ibibaboka* is affirmed to be seven yards long, and half a yard in circumference, possessed too of a poison instantaneously fatal to the human kind. These are inconveniences with which Providence hath thought fit to alloy the manifold advantages of this invaluable country, in order to dispense her blessings more equally among the inhabitants of the earth in general. Here are scorpions, ant-bears, tygers, or madilloes, porcupines, janonveras, and an animal called *Tapirasson*, which is the production of a bull and ass, having a great resemblance to both.

No country on earth affords a greater number of beautiful birds, nor variety of the most exquisite fruits; but the chief commodities are *Brasil* wood, ebony, dying woods, ambergrease, rosin, balsams, indigo, sweetmeats, sugar, tobacco, gold, diamonds, beautiful pebbles, chrysal, emeralds, jasper, and other precious stones; in all which the *Portuguese* carry on such an amazing trade, as may justly be reputed the support, and indeed the vital fountain of the mother-country (A.) The mines of gold and diamonds are but

(Z) In calling *La Plata* by the appellation of *Buenos Ayres*, we have dissented from most writers: but as the *Spanish* settlements are confined to the country strictly called by the latter appellation, we chose to avoid minute divisions, which serve no other purpose than burthening the memory. It is, in fact, a lesser contained in a greater district.

(A) The court of *Portugal* hath found it necessary to restrain the importation of diamonds, to prevent a diminution of their value; but with respect to every other article of commerce, it is improved with the utmost industry. The crown-revenue arising from this colony amounts to two millions sterling in gold, if we may credit some late writers, besides the duties and customs on merchandize imported from that quarter. This, indeed, is more than a fifth of the precious me-

tal produced by the mines; but every other consequent advantage considered, it probably does not much exceed the truth. The excessive confluence of people to the *Brasil* colonies, as well from other countries as from *Portugal*, not only enlarges the imports of gold, but what is of infinitely more importance to *Europe* in general, the exportation of the manufactures of this hemisphere, of which the principal are the following. *Great Britain* sends woollen manufactures; such as fine broad *Medley* cloths, fine *Spanish* cloths, scarlet and black cloths; serges, duroys, druggets, sagathies, shalloons, camblets, and *Norwich* stuffs; black *Colchester* bays; seys and perpetuanas, called long ells; hats, stockings, and gloves. *Holland*, *Germany*, and *France*, chiefly export fine hollands, bone lace, and fine thread; silk manufactures, pepper, lead, block tin

- a a recent discovery ; they were first opened in the year 1681, and have since yielded above five millions sterling annually, of which sum a fifth belongs to the crown. The diamond mines are farmed at about thirty thousand pounds yearly, which is thought to be scarce a fifth of what they actually produce ; from which and the other articles imported we may justly infer, that the annual *Brasil* fleet is certainly the richest which comes into *Europe* and *West-Indies*. Such, indeed, is the growth of industry and trade in *Brasil*, that it is confidently reported they send above forty thousand negroes annually to that country, from their extensive settlements on the coast of *Africa* ; a source for slaves which, in time, must be exhausted by the continual drain made by all the maritime powers, and that renders it
- b expedient to suggest some scheme of population in the colonies, whereby commerce may be carried on without this inhuman resource. Indeed we may safely affirm, by the policy of the *Portuguese* court in winking at the exportation of *Brasil* gold, notwithstanding the general prohibition, that kingdom deduces greater advantage from this single colony, than *Spain* does from all her vast possessions in *South America*.

To give the reader a more distinct idea of the state of the country, it will be necessary to enter upon the particular divisions of *Brasil*, by which the strength, wealth, policy, and utility of the colony will appear more obviously. For the better regulation of government, the *Portuguese* have parcelled out the *Brasils* into fifteen smaller provinces, which they call *capitanias*, or captainries ; the whole being a principality, which gives title to the presumptive heir to the crown of *Portugal*. Of these eight only are annexed to the crown, the rest being fiefs made over to some of the nobility, in reward of their extraordinary services, who do little more than acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of *Portugal*, and his representative the viceroy of *Peru*. This minister, who acts both in a civil and military capacity, maintains the state and court of a sovereign prince, in the city of *St. Salvador* in the captainry of *Bahia de Todos los Santos*. To proceed regularly with these captainries, we shall begin with *Paria*, the most northerly, and describe them southerly, according to their situation and contiguity. This province derives its name from the river *Para*, which runs through it from south to north, and discharges itself into the mouth of the river of *Amazons*, which bounds the province towards the north. The capital is *Belem*, frequently called *Para*, situated about the first degree of south latitude, in the mouth of the river of *Amazons*, not far from the confluence of the two rivers. The place is tolerably well built, and fortified. It contains about three hundred white families, besides a multitude of slaves, whose principal occupation is the planting and preparing sugar and tobacco. In this captainship are other settlements of some consideration ; but we must confine ourselves to a general view of the country.

THE next division is the captainry of *Maragnano*, so called from an island of that name contiguous to *Paria*. This, like all the other provinces, is watered by fine rivers, and a variety of purling rivulets, which serve to beautify and fertilize the country. The island *Maragnano* lies at the mouths of the three great rivers *Maraca*, *Mony*, and *Topocora*, is near one hundred and thirty-five miles in circuit, fertile, rich, and populous ; which induced the *French* to attack it, in the year 1612, to render themselves masters of it, and to endeavour establishing themselves in their conquest by erecting the city and fortification of *St. Lewis de Maragnan* ; of which, however, they were soon deprived by the *Portuguese*, who have ever since remained in the undisturbed possession. This town is small but strong, being defended not only by walls and bastions, but by a castle situated upon a rock almost inaccessible ; and so highly is it prized by the *Portuguese*, that a constant large garrison is maintained here, and the fortifications kept in the best repair ; yet certain it is, there would be no great difficulty in the reduction, as the works are badly constructed, after the method of fortifying which prevailed before the celebrated *Vauban* and *Coehorn* had led the way to

tin, and other articles are also sent from different countries. Besides the particulars specified, *England* likewise trades with *Portugal* for the use of the *Brasils* in copper and brass, wrought and unwrought pewter, and all kinds of hardware ; all which articles have so enlarged the *Portuguese* trade, that instead of twelve ships, usually employed in the *Brasil* commerce, there are now never fewer than a hundred sail of large vessels constantly going and returning to those colonies. To all this may be added, the vast slave-trade carried on with the coast of *Africa* for the use of the *Brasil* colonies, which we may believe employs a great number of shipping, from the multitude of slaves, which are annually transported. Indeed, the commerce of *Brasil* alone is sufficient to raise *Portugal* to a considerable height of naval power, as it maintains a constant nur-

fery of seamen ; yet a certain infatuation in the policy of the country has prevented that effect, even amidst all these extraordinary advantages. All the ships employed in this trade being under the direction of the government, have their appointed seasons of going and returning, under convoy of a certain number of men of war ; nor can a single ship clear out or go, except with the fleet, but by a special licence from the king, which is seldom granted ; though it is easily determined, that such restrictions can prove no way beneficial to the general commerce, though possibly the crown revenue may be better guarded thereby. The fleets sail in the following order, and at the following stated periods : That to *Rio de Janeiro* sets sail in *January* ; the fleet to *Bahia*, or the *Bay of All Saints*, in *February* ; and the third fleet to *Fernambuco*, in the month of *March*. (1.)

(1.) *Hist. Gen. Commer. par M. Savary, sub verb. Bras.*

improvements in that art. The town of *Cuma*, situated on the continent opposite to *Alaragano*, carries on a very considerable trade, and is considered as of great importance.

Siara. ADVANCING farther southward, we meet with the captainry of *Siara*, taking its name from a river which has its source far in the interior country. Here the *Portuguese* are limited to a very small territory, the bulk of the province being in the hands of the natives. The town of *Siara* and fort of *St. Luke* are the principal *European* settlements; the former of which stands at the mouth of the river, in two degrees thirty-five minutes of south-latitude. This place is populous, but of less consideration than the capital of the preceding province.

Rio Grande. THE fourth division as we proceed to the southward is *Rio Grande*, situated indeed directly to the east of *Siara*, but winding itself along the sea-coast to the south, where it is skirted by *Paraiba*. The *Great River*, whence the captainship takes its name, discharges itself in five degrees and a half of south-latitude; but notwithstanding its pompous appellation, is only navigable by large vessels at the entrance. This district is poorly inhabited, and thought of so little consideration by the *Portuguese*, that they have only the settlement of *Figueres*, some few plantations, and two forts for the protection of their possessions.

Paraiba. VERY different is the province of *Paraiba*, divided into two equal parts by a river of the same appellation, which falls into the ocean in six degrees twenty-four minutes south-latitude. Here the *Portuguese* possess numerous settlements, and a fine capital of the name of the captainry, well-built, populous, surrounded with ramparts, defended by several strong forts, and provided with so excellent a port, that large vessels can ascend the river quite to the fortifications. Besides, the port of *Lucena*, which is deemed an excellent harbour, is distant only about two leagues. We may justly reckon this among the most valuable provinces in *Brasil*, as it produces all the precious articles of commerce, and abounds in the conveniencies of life, cotton, corn, and the most exquisite fruits.

Tamarica. NEXT follows the captainry of *Tamarica*, taking its name from a fine island on the coast, situated in the mouth of the river *Tamaric*, which is likewise extremely valuable to the *Portuguese*, though less populous and cultivated than the former. The capital is called *Tamora*, or *Tamarica*, by the natives, but generally distinguished by the *Spaniards* by the name of *Neustra Senora da Canccizao*. It is situated at the entrance of the river, and is defended by a small castle, with a redoubt to command the avenues. Sugar is the principal commodity in *Tamarica*; and this valuable article is so happily cultivated, that the *Portuguese* have not less than thirty mills continually employed in this single province.

Fernambuco. ONE of the most considerable captainries in *Brasil* is the province of *Pernambuco*, *Fernambuco*, or *Fernambucca*, which is divided into eleven smaller districts, each of which takes its name from the capital town. This province abounds with variety of fruits, pastures, and cattle, and produces a prodigious quantity of sugar, an astonishing multitude of slaves being employed in that service. The capital of the whole province is *Olinda*, situated near the harbour of *Arrarife*, in eight degrees ten minutes of south-latitude. Hither the greatest part of the produce of *North Brasil* used formerly to be conveyed, in order to be transported to *Portugal*; but its unfortunate situation among hills, which so intirely surround the city as to render it incapable of defence, occasioned it to be neglected. It became an easy prey to the *Dutch*, who ruined the fortification; since which time it has never recovered its former splendor, notwithstanding it continues to be inhabited by persons of the best fashion, and is still regarded as the first city, in point of dignity, in the province. All the commercial advantages are, however, transferred to *Fernambuco*; which likewise enjoys the privileges of a city, and is, in fact, the capital both in wealth and the number of inhabitants. It was built originally by the *Dutch* in the island of *St. Antonio de Vaz*, and then bore the name of *Maurice*, in compliment to that celebrated captain of the *United Provinces*, who had so near established the dominion of the states-general in *Brasil*. *Fernambuco* is likewise called *Rerief*, or *Arrarife*, from a neighbouring harbour of that name, composed of a peninsula and several small islands at the entrance, which render the port secure, but somewhat difficult of access. The *Dutch* had this point strongly fortified, and joined to the town by a bridge. It is now the strongest harbour in all *Brasil*, a variety of forts being erected around, and the situation itself being extremely formidable, on account of the concealed rocks at the entrance; to avoid which requires a skilful pilot. For this reason it is frequently called *Inferno-Boco*, or, The mouth of hell.

Seregippe. THE next most contiguous province derives its name from the river *Seregippe*, which separates it almost in the middle, and disembogues itself in the ocean. The *Portuguese* plantations of sugar and tobacco are numerous. The captainry is laid out in a variety of smaller districts; but the capital of the whole is *Del Rey*, or *Villa de bon Sucesso*, also called *St. Christophers* by some *English* writers. As this city is now on the decline, it will be sufficient to mention, that it is situated on the north-side of the river *Pazabaris*, in eleven degrees fifteen minutes of south-latitude.

NEXT

a NEXT in order comes *Bahia de Todos los Santos*, the richest and most important province Bahia. in *Brasil*; the capital of which is the residence of the viceroy, and the see of an archbishop. Unhappily, the air and climate do not correspond with the other natural advantages; yet so fertile is the province in sugar and other commercial articles, that all the *Portuguese* flock hither, as the seat not only of pleasure and grandeur, but the scene for acquiring affluence. *St. Salvador*, called *Ciudad de Bahia*, the capital, is populous, magnificent, and beyond comparison the most gay and opulent city in all *Brasil*. It stands on a bay in twelve degrees eleven minutes of south latitude, is strong by nature, well fortified, and always defended by a numerous garrison. The trade carried on here is prodigious, and the manners of the gentry polished; but the vulgar who have acquired wealth are, as in all other countries, intolerably insolent and brutal. In *Bahia* are no less than twelve or fourteen thousand *Portuguese*, with three times that number of negroes, besides nations who chuse to reside in the city: from this circumstance we may judge of the wealth and populousness of the province, which abounds with opulent cities, and noble plantations of sugar, tobacco, and indico.

PORTO SEGURO is the province immediately nearest to the southward. It has a capital of the same name, and the remains of two cities, *Santa Cruz* and *St. Amaro*, which were formerly very considerable. The capital stands on a high rock, at the entrance of a small river, contains above six hundred families, and is deemed rather a place of strength than of consequence.

c KEEPING on our course, we arrive at the captainship of *Espirito Santo*, the capital of which bears the same name; and is situated on a bay, three leagues from the sea, in twenty degrees and a half of south latitude. The town, though the only one in the province, is not considerable; and yet this district is reported to be fertile in the necessaries of life, and abundant in a variety of commercial articles.

RIO DE JANEIRO, the next captainship, takes its name from a river of that appellation. The capital city bears the same name, but is sometimes called *St. Sebastian*, and is deemed rich and populous. It stands in the bay of *St. Salvador*, two leagues from the sea, and has an admirable port, which receives an annual fleet from *Europe*. In this province are the diamond mines, together with such rich plantations of indico, sugar-canes, tobacco, and other valuable articles of trade, that it vies with *Bahia* in opulence and importance.

VERY different from the preceding is the captainship of *Angra de los Reyes*, the next province on the south, which, except the capital *St. Salvador*, is almost wholly inhabited by *Indians*, who indeed live in great subjection to the *Portuguese*, but neither cultivate the country, nor exert so commercial a spirit as the *Europeans*.

ONE of the most extensive provinces in the whole territory of *Brasil*, is that of *St. Vincent*. *cent*; but its value is not proportionable. The capital bears the same name, and is a pretty town, situated in a fine bay of the *Atlantic*, at the confluence of three fine rivers. The gold mines, discovered in the mountains near this capital, are alone sufficient to render it of the last importance to the *Portuguese*; but with respect to beauty, merchandize, and the conveniencies of life, the province is no way comparable to many of the former.

THE last province of *Brasil* is that called *Del Rey*, or the royal captainship, extending from the river *St. Francisco*, northward, quite to the *La Plata*, southward. This captainry merits its title of eminence, from the great abundance which it yields of the precious metal. It has been laid down by a variety of geographers, as a province of *Paraguay*; but nothing can be more certain than that the *Portuguese* number it among their *Brasilian* settlements, and possess a great variety of strong forts along the *Rio de la Plata* for the security of a colony so important to the mother-country, and inviting to the enemies of *Portugal*.—Besides their settlements in the above-mentioned provinces of the continent, the *Portuguese* have established a regular colony on the island of *St. Catharine*, which now flourishes extremely; although it was originally peopled by the convicts and outlaws transported from *Brasil* and *Portugal*. The island is above twenty miles in length, six in breadth, stands in twenty-seven degrees thirty-five minutes south latitude, and is, in fact, one of the most beautiful, temperate, and fertile spots in the universe. Upon the whole, we may judge, from this short survey, of the importance of the *Brasilian* colonies, which would inevitably raise the mother-country to a great height of affluence and commercial power, were a few political errors remedied.

BEFORE we quit the subject, it will be necessary to touch upon a few peculiarities in the inhabitants, by which they are distinguished from the other *Americans*. On the first arrival of the *Portuguese* in the country, the natives were divided into contending states and factions, which enabled the invaders to render the whole an easy prey by balancing cautiously between the different interests. To justify these conquests, the *Brasilians* have been represented as a savage people, devoid of all principles of religion, cruel in war, and cannibals, or devourers of human flesh; yet the buccaneers, who penetrated into different parts of the country,

Peculiar customs and opinions of the Brasilians.

country, deny this last circumstance, and affirm, that no such practice prevailed even among the *Caribbees*, the most barbarous of all the *American* nations. *Knivet* indeed alledges, that being left sick on shore by captain *Cavendish* in 1592, and, with twelve *Portuguese*, taken prisoners by the *Indians*, they broiled and eat the flesh of his companions, but saved his life, because they took him to be a *Frenchman*. In *Purchas* we meet with a minute relation of the ceremony previous to the bloody festival; but as it savours strongly of fiction, we shall think it sufficient to refer the curious reader to the passage^a. What credit can be given to a writer who affirms, that the inhabitants of *Tucuman* are pigmies; and that at the *Straits of Magellan*, he met with another nation of dwarfs, whose stature did not exceed five spans, whose mouths reached from ear to ear, and who had other marks of deformity scarce to be met with in individuals of the human species, much less characteristical of whole nations. b

THE same *Knivet*, whose monstrous falsities have been so carefully recorded by *Purchas*, acquaints us, that he knew divers *Brazilians* possessed by devils, and some who were killed by evil spirits. He once heard an *Indian* expostulating with the devil, and threatening to turn Christian if the spirit did not cease to torment him. But the *Portuguese* will not allow that those *Indians* are at all tinctured with the notion of any religion, and yet they confess they have priests, and admit of a state of reward and punishments, as the deserts of cowardice or valour. The prevailing notion among them, that after death they shall visit their ancestors dwelling beyond the *Andes*, evidently proves, that they entertain sentiments of religion, however gross and absurd they may appear to us who are blessed with the light of the Gospel; and whatever the *Portuguese* may think, that without images there can be no religion, we must confess ourselves fully of opinion the *Brazilians* believed in certain invisible beings, the disposers of good and evil, the rewarders or punishers of vice and virtue, in which consists religious belief. As to their having no temples, it may arise from their profound reverence for the Deity; who is not to be circumscribed by time or place, or worshipped in the mean trifling houses erected by human labour, but under that glorious canopy of the heavens spread out by his own hands. c

NOR is the other notion propagated by travellers, that the *Brazilians* live without any regard to government, more consonant to truth. Even those writers who deny they have any policy, speak of their kings, generals, and caziques; and they even admit that there is a scale of subordination among them, from the meanest slave to the greatest monarch; which can be nothing else than a social institution, though perhaps less refined than in *European* countries, where all proceeds according to explicit written laws. If one man injures another in *Brazil*, he is obliged to make him satisfaction in kind, the *lex talionis* being the fundamental principle of justice among the *Indians*. There are persons whose special business it is to administer justice to the people, in the name of the king or chief; and commonly the prince sits in person at the board of equity. No people on earth display more hospitality and civility to strangers, than the *Brazilians*; and this is acknowledged by the *Portuguese* writers themselves, while they are endeavouring to stigmatize those generous savages with the odious appellation of cannibals. The rites observed at funerals, is a farther proof of their belief of a future state. The friends and relations of the deceased set up a lamentable howl, and praise alternately the beauty, strength, talents, and virtues of the departed relation, crying out, in the most melancholy voice, they shall never see him more until they dance with him beyond the mountains. When these wailings have lasted for the space of six hours, preparation is made for burying the corpse in a sitting posture, with a dome erected over by way of vault, in which is deposited all manner of provisions, to support the departed spirit on his tedious journey. As to the master of the family, he is usually honoured with a tomb in the middle of his own house, that he may be the better attended; and his monument is generally adorned with the most beautiful feathers and other ornaments. d

WITH respect to the knowledge of the *Brazilians* in the art of war, it consisted only in the use of bows, arrows, wooden clubs or swords, and shields. Singly, they fought with great address and agility; but when they attacked in a body, all was confusion and tumult. The *Brazilians* had no idea of separating great bodies of men into smaller corps, or of charging or sustaining an assault in lines and ranks; they rushed on precipitately, and overthrew themselves with their eagerness. Their marches and retreats were rapid beyond measure, as they never encumbered themselves with baggage; and their principal security consisted in the exceeding velocity of their movements, which could not fail to disconcert a regular enemy. They would march day and night without halting, make their attack upon a quarter where they were least expected, disappear again in an instant, and by this means elude the vengeance which they could not withstand. They had no fortifications or walls to their towns, which exposed them extremely to the ravages and sudden incursions of a hostile neighbour; but as the advantage was mutual, until the arrival of the *Europeans*, the inconvenience arising from their open situation was not perceived.—Such were the an- e

^a Vol. iv. p. 1217. v. v. p. 914.

a cient *Brasilians*, according to the most authentic relations ; with respect to the modern race, they are nearly the same in the interior countries, where the manners of the *Portuguese* and multitudes of imported negroes have not yet mixed themselves with the original customs.

Republic of
St. Paul.

NORTH of the province of *St Vincent*, and at the distance of thirty miles from the interior frontier, is the little republic of *St Paul*, surrounded by inaccessible mountains and almost impervious forests. This state was composed of outlaws from all the colonies; *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *Creoles*, *Mestizoes*, *Mulattoes*, *Negroes*, who took refuge on this spot, and lived at first without order, society, faith, honour, or religion ; preying upon each other, and subsisting by mutual rapine and the plunder of their neighbours. The inconveniences of this kind of life, and the necessity of amity among themselves, in order to resist or attack with more vigour, soon drove them into confederacies, which gradually subsided in a regular democratical society, in which they preside alternately over public affairs. Were they more numerous, they would be formidable to the *Portuguese* colonies : but as they are not reputed above four thousand in number ; as they are deprived of fire-arms, and are now less troublesome than formerly, they give no apprehension, and consequently no attempts are made to reduce the *Paulists* to the dominion of the crown of *Portugal*. At present, the little community claims intire independence, though they pay an annual sum to the king out of their gold mines, rather to preserve certain commercial benefits, than to acknowledge his sovereignty. The capital town is called *St. Paul* ; it is reported to be neat, well built, and opulent, the mines of the republic being exceedingly rich : however, as the people express great jealousy of strangers, nothing certain hath transpired, all the accounts we have being taken from the relation of negro-slaves who found means to desert the service.

THE interior country towards the west is almost utterly unknown to the *Europeans*, except just along the banks of the river of *Amazons* and the western frontiers of the *Portuguese* colonies in *Brasil*. This vast tract of country, separated by the Equator from *Terra firma* on the north, skirted by *Brasil* and the *Atlantic Ocean* on the east, and hemmed in by the river *La Plata* towards the south, derives its name from a supposed nation of female warriors, reported by the first *European* adventurers to inhabit both banks of the river called *Amazon*. Voyages were made by divers *Spaniards* down this great river, which has its source in the province of *Quito*, and traverses in a winding course the whole continent of *South America*. The celebrated *M. Condamine* not many years since made a voyage down the river of *Amazons*, and has published a very judicious and entertaining journal of that adventure, to which we must refer the reader, as it would greatly exceed our limits to epitomize it in such a manner as to render the abstract useful or entertaining. In general it is agreed among travellers, that the temperature of the air is more moderate in this country, than could well be expected from its near situation to the Equator. This is ascribed to the heavy rains, which almost deluge the lands at certain seasons, and occasion the rivers to overflow their banks, cool the air, and fertilize the soil ; and the brisk easterly gales which blow from the *Atlantic* across the country so strong, that vessels are enabled to perform the voyage up the stream, as readily as down the river of *Amazons*. The face of the country is beautifully covered with herbage and fruit-trees, which display the bloom of spring and the ripeness of autumn at the same time. The commodities of the country are iron wood, so called from its weight and density, logwood, canela, or spurious cinnamon, and several drugs and dying woods. It also produces maize and cassavi root in great abundance, of which the natives make bread ; tobacco, cotton, sugar, and all the articles of commerce specified in our description of *Brasil*. The natives are, like almost all the *Americans*, of good stature, have handsome features, long black hair, and copper complexion, differing wholly from the natives of *Africa* in the very same latitude, on the opposite side of the *Atlantic*. They are reported to have a taste for the imitative arts, especially sculpture and painting, and frequently excel in mechanical professions, considering the scanty opportunity they have for improvement. As to the *Amazonian* race, if ever such a people existed, except in the fruitful imagination of the relators, it is wholly extinct ; and probably the notion arose from the activity and courage which the females of this country exerted, in the defence of their privileges, against the encroachments of foreigners. Both sides the river are inhabited by distinct nations, governed by their chiefs or caziques ; for it is observable, that a monarchical state of government prevails universally among barbarians, as requiring a less refined policy than a republican system. As the Jesuits are reported to have found their way into this country, we may soon expect to hear of extraordinary alterations, and possibly of a similar policy with that established in *Paraguay*, to compensate the late decline of their power since the defeat of their army by the united forces of *Spain* and *Portugal* ; an event of which no authentic account hath yet transpired.

Country of the
Amazons.

THE last country which we have to describe in our course along the coast of this vast peninsula, is the province of *Guiana*, or *Caribiana*, properly a part of *Terra firma*, bounded by the river *Oronoko* and the *Northern* or *Atlantic Ocean* on the north and east, by the country of the *Amazons* on the south, and the provinces of *Grenada* and *New Andalusia* on the west.

Guiana.

The extent of the province is above twelve hundred miles from east to west ; that is, from the mouth of the river *Orocoko* under the Equator, to the mouth of the river of *Amazons* ; and six hundred miles from north to south, from the frontiers of *New Grenada* and *Andalusia* to the *Atlantic Ocean*. Most geographers divide this country into two parts, which have different names, although the same appellation has been given in a general view to the whole country. The coast along the *Atlantic* is distinguished by the name of *Caribean Proper*, and the interior country called *Guiana Proper*, or *El Dorado*, by the *Spaniards*, on account of the immense quantity of gold supposed to be lodged in the bowels of the earth within this district. The *Portuguese*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have all settlements along the coast ; and that part of the country south of *Cape North*, has of late years been wholly ceded to the *Portuguese*, and it is included among the *Brasil* colonies ; but the natives are possessed of the whole interior country. They are numerous, divided into a variety of different nations, and reported to be governed by a regular system of polity, with the same manners, customs, and religion established in *Peru*, and to possess a number of handsome, populous, and flourishing cities. Yet this is directly contradicted by some writers, who affirm, that nothing is to be met with in the interior parts besides a few straggling villages, composed of wretched huts, which the inhabitants frequently desert, leading a vagrant unsettled life, in the manner of the wild *Arabs* and *Tartars*. Their furniture consists of little more than the hammocks they sleep in, sometimes fastened to the ridge poles of their huts, and frequently to trees, under no other cover than the heavens ; and a few earthen pots, gourds, and calabashes. To reconcile relations so exceedingly different, is more than we can presume ; we cannot, however, avoid remarking, that it is very extraordinary there should be such imperfect accounts of a country so long frequented by the *Europeans*.

ALONG the coast the land is low, marshy, and subject to inundations from a multitude of rivers, which run precipitately in the rainy season from the inland mountains. Hence it is that the atmosphere is suffocating, hot, moist, and unhealthful ; especially where the woods have not been cleared away. Indeed the *Europeans* are forced, on account of their commerce, to live in the most disagreeable situations, and fix their colonies at the mouths of rivers, amidst stinking marshes, and the putrid ooze of salt-morasses, for the conveniency of exportation and importation. In their persons, the natives resemble the inhabitants of the more southern parts of *Terra firma*. Their stature is nearly the same ; but their complexions of a darker copper colour, arising probably from their dwelling under a vertical sun. There is nothing either gigantic or diminutive to be met with, as was affirmed by the first discoverers ; but every thing analogous to the rest of the creation. The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the *Europeans* have imitated some of their customs, and now cover their bodies with a kind of clothing, for the sake of decency, of which formerly they had no idea. In ornaments they differ but little from all the other *Americans*, who delight in strings of beads and shells suspended round their necks, plates of gold or silver in their noses, and large ear-rings of the same metal.

FROM the river of *Amazons* to *Cape d'Orange* is wholly possessed by the *Indians* ; containing two hundred and forty miles of a coast extremely dangerous, on account of the high tide and vast surges which lash the shore. This likewise is one of the most unwholesome parts of the country, as is experienced by the *European* shipping, whenever their affairs oblige them to touch upon the coast ; even the natives are subject to endemial distempers, arising partly from the foulness of the atmosphere, constantly loaded with putrid exhalations, and also from the nature of the soil, which is so marshy as scarce to afford a dry spot for building their mean huts and wretched villages. Hence it is, that they frequently build in the trees, more in the manner of the feathered kind than of human beings. The chief trade carried on here is for seals and other sea-animals, found in great abundance between *Cape d'Orange* and the river of *Amazons*. Some writers distinguish this tract of maritime country by the appellation of *Indian Guiana*, a name more properly given to the country behind the *European* settlements.

Cayenne.

THE next district is called *French Guiana*, or *Old Cayenne*, which some choose to distinguish by the name of *Equinoctial France*, because it extends so near the equator from the eastern banks of the river *Marani* in six degrees twenty-five minutes of south, to four degrees ten minutes of north latitude ; the whole containing a space of above two hundred miles stretching along the coast. The chief settlement of the *French* nation is on the island of *Cayenne*, situated at the entrance of a river of the same name, about an hundred miles north-west of *Cape d'Orange*. The island of *Cayenne* is not reckoned above sixteen or eighteen leagues in circumference : the greater part of the coast being washed by the sea, and the rest surrounded by the waters of two branches of the river. It is well wooded and watered, admirably cultivated, and extremely fertile in sugar, tobacco, maize, herbage, and the necessaries of life ; but the *French* fort, at the bottom of the harbour, is wholly supplied with fresh water by rain, which is preserved in large cisterns. Close by the walls of the fort is secure anchorage for a great number of shipping in all seasons of the year, whence

- whence this place is of the greatest importance to that nation. Near fort *St. Lewis* is a very considerable town, containing above two hundred houses, occupied by mechanics and tradesmen. The garrison is strong, and the fort well defended with cannon, and provided against any sudden attack. In the year 1635, the *French* first established themselves on this island, and on the opposite continent, under the conduct of *M. Bretigny*, who lost his life by the hands of the natives, which his accident reduced the colony to the utmost distress; but they bravely defended themselves against numerous armies of *Indians*, until the arrival of a reinforcement. They afterwards abandoned it, and the *English* took possession of the island only to make way for the *French*, who were expelled by the *Dutch* in 1646, under the command of admiral *Einks*. The *Dutch* held their conquest but a short time; they were driven out by the count *d'Estrees*, the *French* admiral, the same year, since which time it has been held by *France*; though the *Hollanders* have made repeated attempts to recover their loss.

In *Cayenne* there are several populous villages, some of which are chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, who carry on a great trade, and add considerably to the wealth of the island, for which reason chiefly they are tolerated. As the colonists were desirous of extending their influence on the continent, they have built a redoubt on the side of the river to defend its entrance, and have taken other precautions to secure their establishment against the attacks and insults of the maritime powers. Within land they have the fort of *Sinararay*, which answers the purpose of an advanced post; there a hundred men are kept constantly in garrison under the command of two or three officers.

- c THE last division is *Dutch Guiana*, which extends along the coast from the entrance of the river *Marani*, in six degrees twenty minutes north-latitude, to the ninth degree, on the mouth of the river *Oronooko*. The chief settlement is at *Surinam*, a town built within the river of the same name, in six degrees sixteen minutes of north-latitude; and this name now extends to the adjacent country for above an hundred miles round. Of this district, the *Hollanders* regard themselves the sovereigns, and behave with the haughtiness peculiar to that nation wherever they have gained a superiority; a conduct by no means agreeable to the natural phlegm of the people, or the wisdom of the constitution, since by gaining the detestation of the natives, they furnish the easy means to any enterprising *European* power to supplant them here, as they have been in *Brasil* by the *Portuguese*, d and *New York* by the *English*. The climate is rendered much more wholesome by the industry of the *Dutch*, who have cut avenues through the woods, and made passages for currents of air, that carry off all the unwholesome exhalation which proved fatal to the first colonists. The planters and traders of this place take the name of the *Society of Surinam*, because the settlement is the joint property of the *Dutch West India* company, the city of *Amsterdam* and the proprietary of *Samelsdyck*; but in what manner their different rights arose, or how they are formed, we cannot inform the reader. The colony is now in the most flourishing situation, and a prodigious trade is carried on not only with *Europe*, but the *West India* islands; especially the *British*. The river of *Surinam* facilitates commerce, being navigable for thirty leagues up the country; and the *Dutch* have been careful to improve e the natural situation by all that art and industry could bestow. They have a fort called *Zelandia*, built with bricks, about two leagues from the entrance, and also a small town called *Paramairambo*, containing about four hundred houses, at a little distance from the fort. There are no less than seven or eight inland towns, all of which are rich, populous, and commercial; which evidently proves the flourishing state of the colony, and the assiduity with which this nation improves every advantage, which they have once obtained. The number of plantations belonging to *Dutch* traders are affirmed to exceed four hundred in number, and the families of this nation to amount to a thousand. The colony is governed by a board of ten directors at *Amsterdam*, five of whom are elected by the magistrates of the city, four by the *West India* company, and one by the proprietary lord of *Samelsdyck*; but the governor f must be approved by the states-general, and take an oath to them, as well as to the directors. The principal trade of the colony consists in sugar, tobacco, gums, dying drugs, and woods, coffee, cotton, flax, and skins, which are sent to *Holland* in exchange for the commodities of *Europe*, or carried off by the *English*, *French*, and *Spanish* traders of the *West Indies*. To promote commerce is the first care of the government; the interest of religion is but a secondary purpose. Accordingly there are but four places of worship in the whole district of *Surinam*, and no pains at all is taken to convert the natives; a neglect for which the *Hollanders* are severely treated by the more rigid and superstitious catholic writers. With respect to the government abroad, it is composed of a governor and political council, who charge themselves with all the business of the colony, and are answerable for their conduct to the board of directors, and even to the states-general. The whole district is parcelled g out into eight parts, each division being obliged to maintain a company of soldiers, besides the garrisons, all of whom are under the command of the governor; who is also head of the council as well in quality of a military officer, as of a civil magistrate.

S E C T. XVI.

Containing a history of the first establishment and progress of the British settlements in North America.

HAVING fully discussed the subject of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* colonies on the continent of *America*, in the most natural historical, and geographical order; we now proceed to the *British* and *French* settlements North of the equator, which have been the source of manifold blessings and calamities to both nations; and contributed to raise the northern countries to a height of naval power, never before known in *Europe*, while they involved them in tedious bloody wars, attended with the consumption of immense treasures, and the loss of their bravest subjects. We begin with the *British* colonies, not only as they are immediately contiguous to the *Spanish* province of *Florida*, but the most important and extensive, more especially since the reduction of *Canada*; running in a direct line along the coast of the *Atlantic Ocean*, from the thirty-second almost to the fiftieth degree of North latitude. The great extent to which our labours have necessarily swelled obliges us to brevity; the reader must therefore only expect we should touch upon such particulars as are essential to our purpose of exhibiting a distinct historical, political, and geographical view of the northern continent of *America* (A).

First expedition of the British nation to North America.

To *Sebastian Cabot*, son to a *Venetian* pilot, but a subject and native of *England*, we owe the discovery of the north-east part of the *American* continent. In the year 1497, he was employed by the seventh *Henry* to discover a north-west passage to *China*; an enterprize in which he failed, although it was attended with happier consequences than were foreseen when the expedition was projected. Thus, if priority of discovery without continued occupancy or possession can communicate right, the *English* have an indisputable claim to the whole country, extending along the coast from the gulph of *Florida* quite to *Labrador*. For the space of a century after the discovery, the *English* neither navigated the coast nor attempted to establish colonies, which will appear the less extraordinary to the intelligent reader, who reflects on the circumstances of the reigns of the eighth *Henry*, the sixth *Edward*, and the bigotted *Mary*; reigns peculiarly averse to the extension of industry, trade, and navigation. It was late, even in the reign of *Elizabeth*, before that politic princess found leisure to cast her eyes on the colonization of *North America*, so deeply was she engaged in supporting the oppressed protestants of *France* and the *Netherlands*, and curbing the exorbitant pride and power of the house of *Austria*. The success of the *Spaniards* in *Mexico* and *Peru*, as well as their invasion of *Florida*, pointed out the way to other adventurers; yet did *Elizabeth* for many years confine her measures to distressing the commerce of the enemy, plundering the ships, and ravaging the colonies of *Philip*, without a thought of laying the basis of an empire on this continent. A singular advantage, however, arose from these enterprizes; the *English* seamen became acquainted with the navigation of *America*, and obtained several useful hints, not only relative to the *Spanish* colonies, but to countries hitherto unsubdued and uninvaded. Mr. *Raleigh*, afterwards Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a gentleman of good family, a liberal education, enterprising genius, and fine talents, first schemed the project for discovering lands and planting colonies in such parts of *North America* as were not actually possessed by other Christian powers. In the year 1584, he obtained a patent from the queen to discover, plant, enjoy, hold, and occupy, to him and his heirs for ever, such remote and heathen barbarous countries, on the continent of *America*, as were not possessed by any other *European* potentate, reserving to the crown a fifth of the gold and silver, which would be discovered. No sooner was he vested with this grant, than Mr. *Raleigh* formed an association of his friends, who contributed considerable sums towards the adventure, and enabled him to fit out two ships under the command of the captains *Philip Amidas*, and *Arthur Barlow*. From the tenor of this patent, it is perceivable that the main object of the adventurers was the discovery of gold and silver mines, their views not reaching so far as other commercial advantages, more precious than the richest mines (B).

Mr. Raleigh projects a colony.

A. D. 1584.

(A) By the late peace, the province of *Florida* is ceded to the crown of *Great Britain*.

(B) In *Purchas's* collection, we meet with an account of voyages made in the reign of *Henry VIII.* by Mess. *Thorn* and *Elliot* to *Norembegua*, the antient name of all the coast, afterwards called *Virginia*, northward of forty

degrees north latitude. They only went merely to trade with the natives; but it is asserted, that one Mr. *Horn* attempted a settlement, which proved extremely unfortunate, most of the adventurers having been massacred by the natives (1).

(1) Vid. *Brit. Emp. in Amer.* Vol. i. p. 2. *Doug. Hist. of Amer.* Vol. i. p. 112.

a ALL things being in readiness for the voyage, the two captains set sail from *Plymouth* in the month of *April*, the same year: arrived at the *Canaries* on the tenth of the month following; and steered directly for the *Caribbee* islands, which at that time was the usual tedious rout to the continent of *America*, from a mistaken notion, that the current set so powerfully to the northward on the coasts of *Florida* and *Norumbegua*, as to require this circuit or above a thousand leagues. Some writers speak as if Mr. *Raleigh* went in person on this expedition; but the most authentic and explicit documents only alledge that the captains *Amidas* and *Barlow* arrived at the island of *Roanoke*, near the mouth of the river *Albermarle* in *North Carolina*, of which they took formal possession in the queen's name; carried on an intercourse with the natives of the island and neighbouring continent; b exchanged trinkets for furs, pearls, and coral; met with great civilities from the inhabitants; and then returned to *England*, with two of the natives, without having attempted to settle a colony. The cargo imported consisted chiefly of the articles just mentioned, of saffrass, cedar, and a little tobacco; and sold to so much advantage, that the society were encouraged to make fresh efforts. Accordingly, a fleet of seven vessels under the conduct of Sir *Richard Grenville* was equipped the following year by Mr. *Raleigh*, and his associates, who had now tasted the first fruits of their public spirit.

On the ninth day of *April*, *Grenville* sailed from *Plymouth*, and arrived at the island of *Wokokon*, where the admiral's ship was lost in attempting to enter the harbour. Hence he went, attended by a number of his officers, to the continent, and came to the town of *Scroton*, where he was hospitably received by the inhabitants; but some of them having pilfered a silver cup from the *English*, of which no restitution was made, the admiral gave loose to an imprudent revenge, plundered one of the *Indian* towns, and destroyed their corn fields, and was forced to avoid the rage of the natives by immediate embarkation. He steered for *Cape Hatteras*, was visited by the chief of the country, entered into a friendly intercourse with the natives, and then passed to the island of *Roanoke*, where he remained for the space of six weeks; during which time, he took a survey of the adjacent continent, and made several experiments on the quality of the soil, by sowing different kinds of grain. Every thing corresponded so exactly to his wishes, that he left a colony upon the island of one hundred and eight men, under the command of captain *Lane*, and then d returned to *England*. The captain, charged with the care of the colony, proved equally diligent and enterprising. Immediately on the departure of the admiral, he made preparation for discovering the continent; and, with this view, proceeded in his boats along the coast to *Cape Henry*, at the entrance of the bay of *Chesapeake*, without the least obstruction or molestation from the natives. His success encouraged him to make the same discoveries to the westward; but in this design he met with opposition. The inhabitants, seized with jealousy, lest the intention of the strangers was to render themselves masters of the country, set fire to their corn fields and habitations, and retired with their families from the banks of the river *Morotock*. It was now apparent, that the design of the *English* to establish a footing in the country was suspected by the *Indians*; yet *Lane* was not discouraged. e He relied on the advice and assistance of *Wingina*, a petty sovereign, who had professed the greatest friendship for him, in order to betray the colonists into such measures as he hoped would prove fatal to their projects. This artful barbarian persuaded the captain, that near the source of the river *Morotock*, he would meet with great quantities of gold, not above forty days journey to the westward; and find a passage, a short distance from the head of that river, to a great ocean, on the coast of which were astonishing quantities of pearls of immense value. Flattered with this fallacious hope, *Lane* pursued his course in boats up the *Morotock*, and imagining he should be supplied with provision by the natives on each bank, neglected taking any, in consequence of which he was reduced to extreme f difficulties. After rowing four days against a strong current, he found the country wholly deserted and laid waste by the inhabitants; but, in hopes of better fortune, he pursued his course under the auspices of the guides furnished by the treacherous prince, until at length his crew had nothing to subsist on but the flesh of two large dogs; which wearied out his perseverance, and obliged him to return much chagrined to the island. The insidious *Wingina* pretended great sorrow for the captain's disappointment, and counterfeited so well, that *Lane* again received him into his friendship, and thereby furnished him with the opportunity of setting on foot fresh machinations. The *Indian* entered into private confederacies with the other *Indian* nations, and clandestinely prohibited his own subjects from supplying the *English* with provision, which, he knew would oblige them to divide into small parties in search of subsistence, when they might be attacked with safety. Happily the conspiracy was discovered, and the prince taken prisoner; but the issue must nevertheless have proved fatal to the colonists, as they were now involved in open war with the natives, had not Sir *Francis Drake* seasonably arrived on the coast with a fleet of ships under his command. He had

A. D. 1585:
Second expedition.

had be endirected to afford the new colony all manner of assistance; which their situation might require, and to leave a ship and a sufficient number of seamen, to enable the adventurers to make fresh discoveries on the continent; but, finding them quite dispirited with losses, disappointments, and hardships, and to a man desirous of returning to their native country, he took the whole colony on board, and abandoned this settlement, which at first bore the most prosperous aspect.

Corporation
town of
Raleigh.

SIR *Francis Drake* had quitted the island of *Roanoke* but a few days, when a vessel loaded with arms, ammunition, provision, and every other necessary arrived there for the use of the colonists; but, not finding the least vestige of an *European*, it was concluded that all the adventurers had been massacred by the natives. Some days after this last ship had quitted the island, Sir *Richard Grenville* arrived there in person with three ships, and notwithstanding he could form no conjecture what became of the former colony, he ventured to leave fifteen men to plant a new settlement on the island, and supplied them with provision, and every necessary to support them comfortably for two years. Early in the year 1587, *Raleigh* equipped three more ships, on board which he put an hundred and fifty adventurers, besides mariners; incorporating them by the name of the borough of *Raleigh*, in *Virginia*. Captain *White* was made governor of the colony, and was assisted by twelve persons, who formed a council, in which was vested the legislative power, and whole direction of the settlement and proposed conquests and acquisitions. This little squadron, after escaping a variety of dangers and subduing considerable difficulties, arrived safe at the island of *Roanoke*, and governor *White* immediately debarked his people, in hopes of meeting with the small colony lately planted by *Grenville*; but not the least vestige remained, except the bones of one man, who, it was supposed, had been murdered, and perhaps devoured by the savage inhabitants. A house built by the first planters was found in tolerable order, which proved some inducement to winter on the island, contrary to *Raleigh's* instructions, which required them to advance northward to the bay of *Cheeseapeak*, and there fix the colony. They had been but a few days on the island, when Mr. *Howe*, a gentleman of the court of assistants, was attacked and barbarously murdered by the natives, as he happened to stroll about at a little distance from the fort which the new planters had erected.

A few days after, a party was sent under the command of captain *Stafford* to *Croaton*, accompanied with one of the *Indians* brought over to *England* in the first expedition. At first, the natives seemed determined to oppose the captain's debarkation; but the persuasions of their countryman, who had conceived the strongest friendship for the *English*, made them alter their resolution, lay down their arms, and enter into an alliance against the *Indians* of *Scroton* on the continent. Upon this occasion it was they were informed of the fate of the little colony left by *Grenville*. Seven were killed by the *Indians* of *Scroton*, who fell upon them by surprise, and set fire to their houses in the night; while the remaining eight escaped to the water-side, went over to a little island near cape *Hatteras*, and were never since heard of. In consequence of this intelligence, it was resolved to fall upon the *Scrotons*; upon which expedition the governor set out in person, attended by twenty-eight select soldiers, well armed. Being informed of the situation of the principal town, he attacked it in the night, broke in with the greatest impetuosity, and was astonished to find that he had killed and wounded several of his allies, the *Croatons*, who had taken possession of the place, when it was evacuated by the enemy, upon suspicion of an attack from the *English* settlement to revenge the death of Mr. *Howe*, and the ruin of *Grenville's* little colony.

It was now found expedient to detach Mr. *White*, the governor, to solicit supplies from *England*, the extension of the colony's connections rendering a greater force necessary; accordingly, he quitted *Roanoke*, but met with the utmost difficulty in executing his commission. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was either too much engaged in other projects to attend to the views of his infant colony, or his interest with the court and influence upon his friends was on the decline. Two years elapsed before a step was taken for the relief of the new corporation, by which the adventurers were reduced to the necessity of evacuating the island; burying their effects, and removing, for their greater security and convenience, to the island of *Croaton*. At length, a slender reinforcement was procured, with which governor *White* set sail for *Roanoke*; but, meeting with a storm, the fleet put back to *England*, and left the colonists to shift for themselves. The result was, that this promising settlement was entirely ruined; all the adventurers having perished either by famine, or the sword of the *Indians*: not an individual ever returning to *England*.

Captain Gil-
bert's expedi-
tion.

A. D. 1602.

FROM this time to the year 1602, all expeditions to *America* were neglected, and schemes on which the most sanguine expectations were founded, seemed to be wholly abandoned. The first revival of the enterprize was under the captains *Gilbert* and *Gesnold*, who set sail from *Plymouth*, in the month of *March*, with thirty-two mariners and other adventurers; arrived

a arrived at that part of *Virginia*, now called *New-England*, in the forty-second degree of north latitude; sailed thence to the promontory, since distinguished by the name of *Gilbert Point*; and built a fort on a little uninhabited island, which they called *Elizabeth*, about four miles from the continent, in forty one degrees, north latitude. For some time, they corresponded in the most friendly manner with the inhabitants of the opposite coast, who came over to them in boats and canoes; but some little differences arising which threatened a war, the adventurers were discouraged from carrying their plan into execution, and returned to *England* with a cargo of sassafras, cedar, deer and beaver skins, with some other commodities of the country, which indemnified the charges of the expedition.

b THE year following, a scheme was set on foot by the reverend Mr. *Hacluit*, prebendary of the cathedral of *Bristol*, for sending a small fleet on the same voyage; but, lest the project might interfere with the patent granted to *Raleigh*, application was made to that gentleman for leave to trade and plant a colony within his jurisdiction, which was readily obtained. Mr. *Hacluit* offered to embark in person on the enterprize, and, by his credit, formed a little association to trade to *Virginia*, and plant a colony, if circumstances favoured the design; however, it was thought adviseable not to hazard a large capital at first, and only two small vessels were sent out under the command of captain *Pringe*, who made a successful voyage, but returned to *England*, without attempting to establish a settlement.

A. D. 1603.
Pringe's expedition.

c Two years after a ship was equipped by two enterprising public-spirited noblemen, the lords *Southampton* and *Arundel*, to prosecute discoveries, the conduct of which was entrusted to captain *Weymouth*. This adventurer set sail in the month of *March*, and arrived the following *Whitsunday* at the mouth of *Hudson's* river, on the continent of *North-America*, to which, for this reason, he gave the name of *Pentecost* harbour. At first his voyage was successful, he traded with the natives for furs, and obtained a considerable cargo; but his men kidnapping some of the *Indians*, he was forced to quit the coast abruptly, to avoid the effects of their resentment, and take his departure for *England*.

A. D. 1605.
Weymouth's expedition.

d NOTHING hitherto had been successfully attempted towards planting colonies on the continent of *North America*; yet, the voyages, made with so much profit to that coast, evinced all the mercantile part of the nation of the public utility of the measure. For a long time gold and silver were the only objects deemed of importance; but now it was perceived, that other commodities imported from *America* were equal in value to the precious metals; and, when manufactured at home, would not fail of causing a perpetual efflux of riches from the treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*, as well as from every kingdom of *Europe*. A sense of this induced a body of gentlemen and merchants to solicit his majesty to grant them a patent for raising a joint stock, in order to plant colonies in *Virginia*, the grant made to Sir *Walter Raleigh* being void by his attainder. Accordingly a patent was issued on the tenth day of *April*, empowering Sir *Thomas Yates*, Sir *George Summers*, the above-mentioned reverend gentleman, and divers others, specified in the patent, to divide themselves into two companies, consisting of the adventurers of the city of *London*, who were desirous of settling between the thirty-fourth and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude; and the adventurers of *Bristol*, *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*, who solicited to settle on the *Virginia* coast, between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of the same latitude. They were further enabled to establish settlements within any part of the above limits, but in such a manner, that the colonies of each company should be distant a hundred miles from those of the other; to enjoy all lands, ports, rivers, fishing, and other property and privilege, in the same manner granted to *Raleigh's* colony; to establish a council, composed of thirteen persons, in whom the government should reside, but limited by certain articles under the privy-seal; to dig mines within and beyond their respective limits to the westward, paying the crown a fifth of the gold, and a fifteenth of the copper ore, they should discover and work; to coin money, raise troops for their defence; and lastly, to seize upon all ships, vessels, and traders, who should encroach on the terms of their patent (C). In consequence, three vessels were immediately equipped, and put under the command of captain *Newport*. An hundred and ten adventurers, besides the seamen, embarked, and all manner of implements for building, agriculture, and defence, were shipped; but the orders for the government of the colony, and the names of the gentlemen, who were to compose the council, were sealed up, with directions not to be opened, until the whole were safely landed. On the twenty-ninth day of the month of *April*, the little squadron had the good fortune, after a very tedious voyage, to make the bay of *Cheeseapeak*, into which they were driven by a storm; the troops landed on cape *Henry*, in thirty-seven degrees, and soon came to action with the *Indians*, who lay for them in ambush; but dispersed themselves on the

A. D. 1606.
Companies of London and Bristol.

A. D. 1607.

(C) At the head of the West Country company, were Sir *J. Popham*, chief-justice, and *Ferdinand Gorges*, governor of *Plymouth*.

first discharge of the fire arms. Next day, they came with the tokens of peace and friendship, threw down their bows and arrows, invited the *English* to their town, and entertained them with the utmost hospitality. a

James-Town
built.

THE first business of the new colony was to break open the seal of their instructions, upon which it appeared that the following gentlemen were appointed of the council; namely, *Bartholomew Gesnold*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *John Smith*, *John Ratcliff*, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*. *Wingfield* was elected president, and Mr. *Smith* intirely left out of the council by his colleagues, who appear to have been jealous of his superior talents, and the confidence reposed in his discretion and abilities by the managers in *England*; at least, this is the reason insinuated by *Purchas*, and it is rendered probable by the circumstance of his having been detained a prisoner, since the departure of the squadron b from the *Downs*, and afterwards vested with the chief administration, when the affairs of the colony fell into disorder. One of the council was immediately appointed to treat with the chiefs of different *Indian* tribes, with whom he entered into alliance, having obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient spot, fifty miles from the entrance of the river *Pow-* *hatan*, by the *English* called *James* river. Here a slight fort, barricadoed with trunks of trees, and a number of little huts, were erected, to which they gave the name of *James* town. The situation was on the point of a peninsula, secured on each side by navigable rivers, and, in the rainy season, formed into a perfect island, which was deemed a sufficient defence against the natives; yet it soon appeared that stronger fortifications were required, as all the friendly professions of the *Indians* were designed only to cover their trea- c chery. In the night, their canoes surrounded the peninsula, but, finding the *English* on their guard, they retreated without making any attempt; and, by this shew of hostility, put the colonists on their guard. Accordingly the plan of the fort was amended and enlarged, and, by the fifteenth of *June*, it was finished of a triangular form, with three bastions, each mounted with five pieces of artillery. After sowing corn, and providing the colony with every necessary, captain *Newport* returned with the fleet to *England*, leaving an hundred and four effective men in *James-Town*, who soon felt all the inconveniencies of wanting vessels, and were reduced to live chiefly upon the fruits and roots of the country. Disease was the consequence; all were seized with fluxes and fevers, and many perished; among whom d was *Gesnold*, one of the council, and several other gentlemen of consideration. More were cut off by the natives, as they wandered about in the woods in search of subsistence, and the poor remains of the colony were closely besieged in the fort. This wretched situation forced them to have recourse to captain *Smith*, whose abilities only promised any prospect of deliverance from their present misery. He took upon him the administration, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the *Indians* in the first skirmish, and doomed as a sacrifice to their vengeance, when his life was providentially saved by the interposition of a lady, daughter to one of the *Indian* chiefs. Soon after she obtained his liberty by the strongest intercession to her father, and continued to give the captain minute information of all the machinations and stratagems of her countrymen against the *English*; by which means he e was enabled to defeat their designs, and gain many signal advantages, insomuch that he sustained the colony from sinking, until the arrival of captain *Newport* with supplies from *England*. Now again the colony rose to a flourishing pitch, but was scarce arrived at the summit of prosperity, when misconduct and discord again plunged them in the deepest adversity. A war broke out with the *Indians*, which reduced the adventurers to such difficulties, that they were frequently on the point of abandoning the settlement. Many were the vicissitudes of fortune in the course of a few years; *James-town* was destroyed by fire, and again rebuilt by captain *Smith*; the *Indians* had been repeatedly defeated by this gentleman, but they were not subdued; and supplies were frequently sent from *England*, but they were embezzled by the villany of the agents, or destroyed by the machinations of the *Indians*; who, upon this occasion, seemed to have a great advantage over the *Euro-* f *peans* in subtilty, address, and unanimity. Some blamed the company at home, others the managers abroad, for the miscarriage of the undertaking; at last, the company obtained a new patent, empowering them to appoint a governor with more ample authority than was allowed by the former grant, and prevailed on the lord *Delaware* to accept of the government of the new colony, who appointed Sir *Thomas Yates*, Sir *George Summers*, and captain *Newport* his deputies, to take into their hands the administration until his arrival. With these forces, the three deputy-governors set sail for *James-Town*, in the year 1609, and were unfortunately shipwrecked on the islands of *Bermudas*, from which accident they have since been called the *Summer Islands*. The whole fleet consisted of nine ships, eight of which got safe to *Virginia*, with a reinforcement of near five hundred men; a force g that might have retrieved the affairs of the colony, had not discord blighted the most promising hopes. Faction became so violent, that every measure of defence and safety was forgot;

Lord Dela-
war made go-
vernor.

a forgot; sickness and famine prevailed, which, together with the sword, reduced the whole number to about fourscore men able to carry arms.

In this wretched situation was the colony on the arrival of the deputy-governors, who had been cast away on the *Bermudas*, where they made shift to build two vessels out of the wreck and timber found on the islands. The state of anarchy and confusion, in which they found the plantation, left them little hopes of establishing order and restoring discipline; they therefore resolved to embark for *England*, and were actually sailing out of the bay, when they were met by the lord *Delaware*, their governor, who obliged them all to return to *James-Town*, severely reprimanding them for their idleness, dissoluteness, discord, and want of resolution and public spirit. He recommended a change of manners, and alteration of behaviour, to prevent the necessity of exerting the power with which he was vested, and drawing the sword of justice to correct and punish the vices of those, whom he had much rather protect with the last drop of his blood. To encourage them, he said he had brought such abundance of provision, as could not but be sufficient for their ample maintenance, if they were not wanting to themselves in cultivating the earth, and providing for their future subsistence. Then he proceeded to appoint a council, composed of Sir *Thomas Yates*, his lieutenant-general; Sir *George Summers*, his admiral; the hon. *George Percy*, one of his captains; Sir *Ferdinando Weinman*, his master of the ordnance; and *Christopher Newport*, his vice-admiral: to all of whom he administered oaths of obedience and allegiance to the government. Such was the vigour and activity of his lordship's administration, that he soon restored the affairs of the colony; and, by a few well-timed acts of resolution, made himself feared by the neighbouring *Indians*, and respected by his own people. He dispatched his lieutenant, Sir *Thomas Yates*, to *England*, to lay before the company an account of the state of the colony, and returned part of the fleet freighted with cedar, plank walnut, and iron ore; commodities which were not thought equal to the expences of the undertaking. However, they were kept in good humour by Sir *Thomas's* report, that if persons skilful in extracting pitch and tar, and cultivating hemp, flax, and silk, were sent over, they might easily supply *Great Britain* with abundance of the most valuable articles of commerce. He affirmed the soil was exceeding fruitful, and produced the greatest plenty of grass, corn, fruits, and roots; that *European* cattle multiplied exceedingly, and that the abundance of fish, poultry and venison, with which the inland and coasts abounded, must always preserve the colony in the utmost plenty, as soon as they were properly supplied with the materials of hunting, fishing, and husbandry. Instead of being a charge to the company, he asserted the plantation would soon yield returns, far beyond their most sanguine expectations. Flattered with this prospect, they resolved to proceed with alacrity in improving the *Virginian* settlement, and they were confirmed, in these sentiments by lord *Delaware*, who returned this year to *England* for the recovery of his health, which had sustained a violent shock from the change of climate, and the diligence and activity which he exerted in promoting the interest of his constituents. His lordship acquainted the company that he had no intention to desert their service, but to recover his health, in order to promote their affairs with redoubled diligence. In his absence he appointed the honourable captain *Percy* his deputy, a person in whose abilities and integrity they might place the utmost confidence. Three additional forts were erected for the further security of the colony; several fields were cultivated, and afforded a prospect of a plentiful harvest; most of the *Indian* tribes respected the *English*, and captain *Argol* established an advantageous traffic with several of the principal and leading personages in the country.

A. D. 1610.

So favourable a report, founded upon undoubted authority, inspired the new company with high expectations; they resolved now not to suffer an ill-timed penury to obstruct the execution of so plausible a project, and accordingly dispatched captain *Dale* with three ships, and supplies of provisions, live cattle, arms, ammunition, and all the requisite implements of industry. In the month of *August*, Sir *Thomas Yates* arrived with six ships in *Virginia*, taking upon him the administration of affairs, in quality of deputy to lord *Delaware*. Immediately he entered upon the vigorous execution of his duty; planted and fortified *Henrico* county to the westward of the settlement; drew lines and secured them with palisadoes to prevent the irruptions of the *Indians*, who seized every opportunity of carrying off the *English* cattle. What contributed greatly to forward the affairs of the colony was the marriage of captain *Relf* with the princess *Pacabunca*, daughter to the great chief *Powhatoc*, who could never before this event be brought into a cordial amity with the *English*; but softened by the kind treatment which his daughter met with at *James-Town*, he, at last, entered into a sincere alliance with the colony. The influence of this prince extended beyond his own dominions; other nations were induced to follow his example, and, for some time, a very profitable trade was driven with the *Indians*, and discoveries were made far beyond the limits of the charter. The tobacco plant was now cultivated with success,

A. D. 1611.

and the profits, arising from this commodity, soon afforded the happiest presages of the flourishing state of the settlement. In the year 1618, his lordship embarked a second time to resume the government, carrying with him a reinforcement of two hundred men, and supplies for the colony; but he unfortunately breathed his last in the passage, together with forty of his attendants. At this time, the administration was in the hands of Mr. *Argol*, who was indefatigable in making discoveries on the coast of *New England*, *Nova Scotia*, and *Acadia*; from whence he had driven some parties of *French* who had attempted to make settlements; claiming all this coast, as the right of the crown of *England*, and part of the country called by the general name of *Virginia*. It being represented that Mr. *Argol* bent his whole application to the discovery of new countries, without making the proper advantage of those already in possession, he was recalled, leaving the government in the hands of Mr. *Powel*, until the arrival of Sir *George Yardly*, lately knighted by king *James*, and appointed his successor in the government by the company. To this gentleman was owing the cultivation of tobacco, and the new modelling of the government, which he was desirous should resemble the *British* constitution composed of two houses of parliament, and a sovereign. The number of the council was increased, intending this body should represent the house of lords; while the house of commons was composed of burgesses, assembled from every plantation and settlement in the country. The first session of this assembly was in 1620, at *James-Town*; both sate in the same house, but they soon after separated, and composed two different departments with distinct privileges.

THIS was the origin of our first settlement on the continent of *North America*, from which numberless other branches shot forth along the coast; which, in a short time, raised the *British* colonies to a powerful empire. The success of *James-Town* plantation animated divers other adventurers to similar enterprizes. Some, from religious motives, desired a retreat, where they might freely exercise the dictates of conscience; others were impelled by avarice or ambition to the most daring attempts; many were driven by necessity to try their fortune; and thus, from different causes, and with different intentions, multitudes transported themselves annually to the continent of *America*, where they formed a balance to the *Spanish* power on the opposite side. We shall now enter upon the history and description of the several provinces subject to the crown of *Great Britain*, from the gulph of *Florida*, stretching along the coast quite to the fiftieth degree of north latitude; and that the account of the establishment of the plantations may agree as nearly as possible with chronological order, we shall begin with *Newfoundland*, the most northern colony, and proceed southward to *Georgia*, the latest *English* settlement on this coast; though contrary to the geographical disposition observed when we described the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* conquests and dominions. This, although an island, we shall venture to begin with, on account of its contiguity to the continent, and importance to the *British* colonies and marine, because of the cod-fishery on its coasts, and the opportunity it affords of carrying on to advantage that valuable branch of commerce.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Account of the discovery of Newfoundland and the establishment of a colony on the island.

THIS island, discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*, in the year 1497, is of a triangular form, about three hundred leagues in circuit, divided by a narrow channel from *Nova Scotia* to the South, and *Canada* to the North, and situated between forty-six and fifty-one degrees of North latitude. The *French* pretend a prior discovery, alledging that the fishermen of *Biscay* frequented the banks of *Newfoundland* before the voyages of *Columbus*; but, this assertion being confirmed by no kind of authentic proof or testimony, they rest their claim to the country on a later discovery, made by *Verazzan*, a *Florentine* adventurer, in the service of *Francis I.* Admitting, however, the truth of this ideal adventure, it conveys no right to the *French* nation, as *Cabot* confessedly touched upon that coast several years before, and took formal possession of this island, and *Norembegua*, from whence he carried off three of the natives. But not to insist upon pretensions, now justly precluded by repeated subsequent treaties, we shall proceed to relate the first voyages made by the *English* to *Newfoundland*, either for the purposes of commerce, or with intention to settle a colony on the island.

In the reign of *Henry VIII.* Mr. *Elliot* and Mr. *Thorn*, two enterprising adventurers, traded thither with leave from the crown, and to such advantage, that Mr. *Hare*, a gentleman of eminence in the mercantile way, proposed the scheme of making a settlement, and persuaded several of his friends to assist him in the execution. The expedition was extremely unfortunate; the adventurers were reduced to such wretchedness, thro' famine, that they are reported to have devoured each other, and to feed upon putrid human carcases. For some years all thoughts of prosecuting the discovery were relinquished by the *English*, by which means, the *French* and *Portuguese* contrived to gain a footing on the island,

a island, and to carry on a profitable trade in fish and furs. In 1579, Mr. Cotton, a merchant of *Southampton*, employed captain *Whitburn*, in a ship of three hundred tons to fish for cods on the *great bank*, but the excess of cold obliged him to put into *Trinity* harbour, where he employed himself so diligently, that, with fish and other commodities, he cleared the expences of the voyage. The same officer was again employed by Mr. Crook, a merchant of *Southampton*, to repeat the voyage; and, during his residence in *Newfoundland*, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* arrived, with a small squadron of two ships and a pinnace, with a commission from queen *Elizabeth* to take possession of the island for the crown. In the year 1585, a voyage was made to *Newfoundland* by Sir *Bernard Drake*, another *Devonshire* knight, who seized upon several *Portuguese* vessels, laden with fish, oil, and furs.

b THE war with *Spain* now gave interruption to trade and navigation. The spirit of discovery, and an active commerce, were rising fast; but the dread of the *Spanish Armada* for a time checked the ardor of the *British* nation; and, for the space of fourteen years, we meet with no account of any other voyage to this island. Mr. Guy, a merchant of *Bristol*, was the first, who again revived the spirit of conquest and trade, by several sensible treatises, which he wrote upon the subject of colonization and commerce. Animated by the exhortations, and convinced by the arguments of this gentleman, Sir *Laurence Tanfield*, lord chief baron, Sir *John Doddridge*, king's sergeant, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, then solicitor-general, afterwards high-chancellor, and lord *Verulam*; with several other persons of distinction, applied to the king for a grant of all that part of the island, contained between the capes *Bonavista* and *St. Mary's*, which they readily obtained, with all the privileges required. They sent a colony thither, under the direction of Mr. Guy; who landing his men at *Conception Bay*, immediately raised huts, and established an intercourse with the natives, whose esteem he engaged by the most courteous and humane behaviour. After residing for two years on the island, with little advantage, he returned to *England*; leaving some of his people to lay the first foundation of a colony. The fishing, however, was the great object of the *English*. With this view, captain *Whitburn* and others made several voyages, that gentleman carrying with him, in 1614, a commission from the admiralty to impanel juries, and make enquiry upon oath of divers abuses and disorders committed amongst the fishermen on the coast. Hence it appears, that the trade was confined to the *English*, for the admiralty would hardly take upon themselves the cognizance of crimes and abuses committed by the subjects of another prince. Empowered by this commission, the captain held a court of admiralty immediately on his arrival, and received the complaints of an hundred and seventy masters of *English* vessels, of injuries committed in trade and navigation; from which circumstance we may sufficiently collect the flourishing state of the *English* cod-fishery, even at this early period.

A. D. 1616.

NEXT year, doctor *Vaughan* purchased a grant from the patentees of part of the country included in their patent; settled a little colony at *Cambriol*, in the southermost part of the island, now called *Little Britain*; appointed *Whitburn* governor; but made no great progress in extending colonies, and clearing plantations. About the same time, Sir *George Vaughan*, a *Roman catholic*, petitioned the king for a grant of that part of island lying between the bay of *Bulls* to the eastward, and *Cape St. Mary* to the southward, in order that he might enjoy that freedom of conscience in this retreat, which was denied him in his own country; a request made at the same time by the *Puritans*, who were removing in crowds to *New England*. *James* granted the petition; but how this was managed so as to avoid invading the property of the company, is what we cannot pretend to determine. Before his departure from *England*, Sir *George* sent captain *Edward Wynne*, with a small colony, to *Newfoundland*, to prepare every thing necessary for his reception; and, in the mean time, employed his whole fortune and interest in securing the success of his enterprize.

Doctor
Vaughan
and Sir G.
Calvert settle
in Newfoundland.

A. D. 1621.

f *Wynne* bore the commission of governor, he seated himself at *Ferry Land*, built the largest house ever yet seen on the island, erected granaries and storehouses, and accommodated his people in the best manner possible; while he likewise endeavoured to establish an intercourse and trade with the natives. The following year he was reinforced with a number of men, and supplied with stores and implements by captain *Powel*; and soon after the colony was in so flourishing a condition, that he writes to his superior Sir *George Calvert*, in the following terms: "We have wheat, barley, oats, and beans, eared and codded; and though the late sowing of them, in *May* or the beginning of *June*, might occasion the contrary, yet they ripen so fast, that we have all the appearance of an approaching plentiful harvest." In the same strain he speaks of his garden, which flourished with all kinds of culinary vegetables. Captain *Powel* confirms this account by a similar letter, in which he acquaints Sir *George* of the excellency of the soil and pasture, the commodiousness of the governor's house, the quantity of pasture and arable ground, cleared since their arrival, and the numerous herds of cattle, which they had already reared and collected. A salt work was erected by Mr. *Wynne*, and brought to great perfection by Mr. *Kickson*, and so

August 17.

so delighted was the proprietor, now created lord *Baltimore*, with the flourishing state of the colony, that he removed thither with his family, built a fine house and strong fort at *Ferryland*, and resided many years on the island.

MEAN time the plantations in *Newfoundland* received a considerable accession from *Ireland*, a colony being sent from that kingdom by the lord *Faulkland*, at that time lord-lieutenant; but there they sustained more than an equivalent loss by the departure of lord *Baltimore*, who returned to *England*, to obtain a grant on the continent of that country, since called *Maryland*. Still, however, he retained the property of *Avaton*, and governed the little colony at *Ferryland* by his deputies. In the year 1654, Sir *David Kirk* obtained a kind of grant from the parliament of certain lands in *Newfoundland*, and immediately repaired thither in hopes of patching up his broken fortune. He treated with lord *Baltimore* for the purchase of his lands, but could never prevail on this family to dispose of their property. Whether it was before or after his arrival on the island, that he obtained lands in *Canada*, on the banks of the river *St. Laurence*, we cannot presume to ascertain; but that he did possess lands in that country is probable, as the *English* nation has founded its claim to the province upon the grant made to Sir *David*. In the space of a few years, settlements were made in fifteen different parts of the island, the chief of which were *St. John's-Town*, *Ferryland*, and *Kittavitty*, the whole amounting to about three hundred families, notwithstanding the molestation given by the *French*, who settled a colony at *Placentia*, and once bid extremely fair for the whole possession of the fisheries. Now the *English* are sole masters of the whole island, though both *French* and *Spaniards* have long claimed the privilege of fishing upon the banks; a claim, the justice of which it belongs to political writers to discuss. It is beyond dispute, that the *French* were once possessed of the south and south-west parts of the island; but as these possessions were conquered in open war, and confirmed to the possessors by treaty, all pretensions founded upon such a right must be absurd and ridiculous.

As to the historical events of the island, since the above colonies were planted, they are of too trivial a nature to deserve place in our general labours. From the time the *French* established themselves at *Placentia*, constant bickerings happened between them and the *English*; and, after the revolution, the latter made a formal attack on the principal settlement of the enemy. The *English* commodore with three ships of war fell upon *Placentia*, and was repulsed. Some years after the *French* retaliated; entered the *Bay of Bulls*, attacked and destroyed an *English* frigate, commanded by captain *Cleasby*, who made a glorious defence; and demolished all the settlements except those at *St. John's*, *Bonavista*, and *Carbonier* harbour. Next year, a squadron under admiral *Nevil*, with a body of fifteen hundred land forces, commanded by Sir *John Gibson*, was sent to revenge and recover the late losses; but the ignorance of the one of these officers, and the cowardice of the other, rendered the expedition fruitless. *Nevil*, with a superior force, declined engaging *Ponti*, the *French* admiral. He pretended to have lost time in a fog, and returned to *England*, without either recovering any of the settlements that were seized, or securing those which remained. At last, the peace of *Ryswyck* interposed for the safety of the *Newfoundland* colonies; nevertheless, king *William* judged it necessary to send a squadron thither, under the command of captain, afterwards admiral, Sir *John Norris*, to restore all things to order, and oblige the *French* to observe their stipulations, and for the better encouragement of this beneficial trade, an act passed in parliament, "That no alien, or " stranger whatsoever, not residing within the kingdom of *England*, dominion of *Wales*, or " town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, use any sort of trade or fishing whatsoever in *Newfoundland*, " or any of the adjacent islands." This excluded the *French* from *Cape Breton* and the other smaller islands, until queen *Anne* was persuaded by the new ministry to surrender them at the treaty of *Utrecht*. We omit the siege of *St. John's*, and other hostile transactions previous to this treaty, because none of them proved decisive. What the fate of *Newfoundland* and *Cape Breton*, as well as of the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, may now be, since the late mutual conquests of *France* and *England* in that part of the world, time only can determine. Certain we are, that no terms of pacification, which will relinquish the advantages of the fisheries, or leave room for farther altercation, will be agreeable to the *British* nation, whatever equivalent the enemy may propose.

Description of
the country.

HAVING finished this succinct historical detail, we proceed to describe the situation, climate, produce, inhabitants, and government of *Newfoundland*. The whole coast of this island is furnished with a variety of fine bays and harbours, of which the principal are *Bonavista*, *Trinity*, *Conception*, *Torbay*, *Capelin*, *St. John's Harbour*, the bay of *Bulls*, *Fresh water Bay*, and some others. The heads of these bays approach so near each other, that they form a very easy communication between the different parts of the country, and would prove the greatest convenience to trade, were the island capable of internal commerce. *Trinity Bay*, large enough to contain any number of shipping, is one of the most beautiful and

a and secure harbours in *North America*; but we do not find that our fleets have yet thought it safe to winter there.

WITH respect to the climate of *Newfoundland*, it is intensely hot in summer, and insupportably cold in winter, from the very nature of the situation and a variety of natural causes. For four or five months in the winter, the ground is covered with snow frozen as hard as chrystal; and so rigorous are the seasons, that the *English*, upon their first visiting the country, were driven to the woods for the more convenience of firing.

NOTWITHSTANDING the flattering accounts sent over by governor *Wynne* and others, of the excellency of the soil and climate of this island, it is certain the inhabitants would be in the utmost distress for bread, and half the necessaries of subsistence, but for the exports b thither from *England*. Except fish, venison, and wild fowl, every thing else is procured from the mother-country, or the continent of *America*. The island is full of mountains and impenetrable forests; the meadows produce nothing besides a kind of moss instead of grass: and the soil is a barren mixture of stones, sand, and gravel. Yet *M. Deboet*, a writer of credit, and many of the first planters, declare *Newfoundland* to be a kind of paradise, with a view possibly of enhancing the value of a country sufficiently important, upon other accounts, without these advantages. Every species of timber grows here in the utmost perfection, and the firs are as fit for masts as those of *Norway*. Deer, hares, foxes, squirrels, bears, beavers, wolves, otters, and other quadrupeds, are found here in the greatest abundance for subsistence, pleasure, or traffic. The sea is plentifully stocked with different kinds of delicious fish, besides cod, the staple commodity of the country. Fowl for food c and game is equally abundant, and proves the greatest convenience to the planters, as well as the mariners and fishermen; but these particulars alone would scarce merit regard, or answer the purposes of adventurers, though they are subservient to their convenience. The cod is the magnet which attracts, and constitutes one of the most beneficial articles of the *British* commerce; yet hath it been shamefully neglected, and the fairest opportunity given the *French* not only of pursuing the fishery to advantage, but of establishing themselves on the island, whence they were driven not without expence, hazard, and difficulty. We need not expatiate upon this subject, so generally understood at a period when the late successes of our enemies in that quarter, have at length awaked us to a sense of the importance of d the island of *Newfoundland* to the trade and navigation of the mother-country, and when party-zeal too magnifies the loss, in order to promote the purposes of self-interest, prejudice, and faction (D).

WE shall close this account of the island with a short description of the natives, who have had a much more intimate intercourse with the *French* inhabitants of *Canada* than with the *English*; a proof of the superior policy of the former. All agree that the *Indians* of *Newfoundland* are a gentle, mild, tractable people, easily gained by civility and good usage. They paint their bodies, but are sometimes covered with skins and furs, especially round the waist, as if they entertained some notion of natural decency. Their stature is small, but muscular and robust, their chests full, and their faces broad to a degree of deformity. e No inhabitant of this island is ever found with a beard, which is generally ascribed to a prevailing custom among the natives to pluck out the roots the moment a hair begins to appear; an operation in which they are very dexterous. A custom nearly similar was observed among the natives of *New England*, where the meaner were distinguished from their superiors by letting a small beard grow upon the point of the chin. Pilfering, cunning, duplicity, are the characteristics of these islanders; but they are never ashamed of detection, nor provoked to resent the necessity of restitution. They are reported to be more rational in their religious opinions than the *Indians* on the continent; to have carried some arts, particularly the potter's, to great perfection; and to distinguish the seeds of genius capable of great improvement by due cultivation. This is all we chuse to advance upon f a subject where scarce two writers perfectly agree, as if their intention was only to confound and mislead the reader.

NOVA SCOTIA, or NEW SCOTLAND.

PROCEEDING to the southward, the next *British* province we meet with is *Nova Scotia*, so called by Sir *William Alexander*, secretary to king *James I.* and to this day distinguished by the name of *Acadia* by the *French* nation. This country, extending from the gulph of *St. Lawrence* to the river *St. Croix*, on the frontier of *New Hampshire*, the *English* have always claimed as a part of *Norumbegua*, or *Virginia*, while the *French* found g pretensions to it on the discovery of the *Florentine* pilot *Verazzon*, and the repeated at-

(D) Since the above paragraph was written, the *English* settlements here are happily reconquered; and by the late definitive treaty, the rights of fishing amply secured to *Great Britain*.

tempts to establish themselves in the province. We have already observed, that the right ^a derived from discovery or pre-occupancy is in itself ridiculous, after it has been once annihilated by subsequent conquests and treaties; we shall, therefore, wave a dispute now entirely silenced by the late reduction of *Canada* and all the *French* settlements on that side the river *Mississipi*; and endeavour to engage the reader's attention to particulars better ascertained, and more essential at a juncture when we may reasonably expect the whole territory in dispute, and much more that has been since conquered, shall henceforwards remain the property of *Great Britain*. *New Scotland*, in which we comprehend *Acadia*, is bounded by the ocean to the east; by the same *Atlantic Ocean* and the bay of *Fundy* to the south; by the river *St. Lawrence* on the north-east and north-west; and by part of *Canada* and *New England* on the west and south-west. The coast stretches from the forty-third to the ^b fifty-first degree of north latitude, including a space of between five and six hundred miles, mostly desert, uninhabited, and incapable of cultivation.

We have already touched upon the expeditions of governor *Argol* against the *French* who were settled in this country, because he regarded all *Nova Scotia* as an appendage of *Virginia*, and part of the discovery of *Sebastian Cabot*. In the year 1618, when he was governor of the colony at *James-town* in *Virginia*, he made a kind of cruising voyage as far as *Cape Cod*, where he received advice from the *Indians*, that some white people had made settlements to the northward at *St. Croix*. This intelligence whetted his curiosity, and determined him to proceed to the place specified, where he found a little colony of *Frenchmen*, a small fort, and a ship riding at anchor close to the settlement. He began with attacking the ship with so much vigour, that she soon struck; and then debarking his men, ^c advanced against the fort, and summoned the garrison. The enemy desired time to weigh the proposal, and in the mean time seized the opportunity of evacuating the fort, and retiring with their most valuable effects to the adjacent woods; whence they returned next day, submitted at discretion to the *English* governor, and cancelled the patents granted by the *French* king for their settlement. Those of the prisoners who were disposed to return to *Europe*, were provided with vessels; the rest were transported to *Virginia*, where they became useful subjects to his *Britannic* majesty. Here the governor had intimation given him of another *French* settlement at *Port Royale*, standing on a bay towards the south-west coast of the territory, distinguished by the particular name of *Acadia*. The reduction of ^d this place was attended with as little difficulty as the former enterprize; the *French* submitted on his first appearance, and were transported to *Canada*, where they probably began to found colonies, though some writers imagine this was the origin of the formidable power of *France* in that province. In 1622, Sir *William Alexander*, at the instigation of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, obtained a patent to plant colonies in this country; and accordingly sent a ship full of passengers to settle in *Nova Scotia*. The ship being late in her voyage, wintered in *Newfoundland*, an island now extremely well known, and next spring set sail, and made the promontory at the north space of *Cape Breton* island. These adventurers coasted along *Acadia*, entered several fine bays and creeks, wrote home the most picturesque and flattering descriptions of the beauty and fertility of the country, and by every ^e art in their power endeavoured to engage others to share in their fortune. They settled in *Nova Scotia*, but were dispossessed in consequence of a treaty between the first *Charles*, of unfortunate memory, and the *French* king, on the family-alliance between these princes.

From the patent of *Charles I.* to Sir *David Kirk* it is plain, that not only this country, but the whole territory of *Canada*, was regarded as the property of the crown of *England*; for the king bestowed on that gentleman, as proprietor and governor, all the lands to the north of the river; the south side being given to Sir *William Alexander*. Thus it appears, that the king then pretended a right, which he conveyed to the two above gentlemen, and then relinquished it entirely to *France* by a treaty in 1632; bestowing, as his own, a ^f right which had already been vested in the *British* adventurers, who had been at all the labour and expence of planting colonies and cultivating the country. At the close of the civil war, *Cromwel* took upon himself the cognizance of this affair, and determined to redress the injury done to the *English* adventurers. Major *Sedgwick* was sent to retake *Canada*; but the *French* pretended they had purchased the *English* right at the price of five thousand pounds; a price which most certainly was never paid, admitting there was an agreement to this purpose. The colonel executed his commission, reduced the whole country, and obliged the *French* to submit at discretion; accordingly, it was confirmed to *England* by the treaty which took place the year following. The purchase of *Canada* was supposed to be made by M. *Claude de la Tour D'Aunay*, whose son and heir, M. *St. Estierac*, ^g now came to the court of *London* to solicit his right. He made out his claim, and had the property surrendered to him, which he soon conveyed by sale to Sir *Thomas Temple*, an *Englishman*; who kept possession till the year 1662, when it was delivered by *Charles II.* to the

A. D. 1654.

a the *French* king, an equivalent of one thousand pounds being made, or rather promised, to Sir *Thomas*. Such were the vicissitudes of *Nova Scotia*, confirmed to the *French* by the treaty of *Breda*, who now appointed M. *Marival* governor, and built a fort at *Port Royale*, upon a baion of salt-water, at the distance of nine miles from the bay of *Fundy*. It was confirmed to M. *La Tour* as his property, by the court of *France*, on his renouncing the Protestant religion. He built a fort at *St. John's River*, which being deemed an encroachment on the royal prerogative by M. *Donneè*, the *French* governor of *Acadia*, was reduced, and the wife and family of *La Tour* were cruelly butchered, during his absence in *France*. The vicissitudes of fortune brought this proprietary to poverty; he borrowed money of M. *Betijbe*, a rich merchant, and great trader to *North America*, assigning over b to him for his payment half his property in *Nova Scotia*; and thus the lordship again changed its master.

THE *French* became such troublesome neighbours to the *English*, after they had formed alliances with the natives, and instructed them in the art of war, that it was thought essentially necessary, for the safety of the *English* colonies, to check their progress, and redress a variety of insults and injuries sustained from the incursions of the natives. Accordingly, in the year 1690, an armament of seven hundred men and a considerable fleet was let on foot by the province of *New England*, and the command given to colonel *Phipps*; who arrived on the eleventh day of *May* before *Port Royale*, at that time a pitiful defenceless place, fortified only with single pallisadoes. *Marival*, the governor, finding himself so ill provided to resist a regular attack, capitulated, and was conveyed to *Canada*, while the *French* inhabitants took an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Great Britain*. The fruits, however, of this conquest were yielded up at the peace of *Ryswick*, and so was the fort of *St. John*, likewise reduced, upon this occasion, by the same armament. Major *Church*, at the head of a body of five hundred volunteers, visited several parts of this coast in the year 1704, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Port Royale*; and about three years after, another expedition was undertaken by colonel *March* against the same place. This enterprize was supported by the ministry; and a man of war was ordered to attend the transports from *New England*, and facilitate, by every possible means, the operations of the land-forces: however, the design miscarried, and the blame was charged on d the sea-officers.

IN 1709, application was made to the court of *Great Britain* by colonel *Nicolson* and captain *Vetch*, for a proper force to reduce the *French* settlements in *Canada*; but this being an object too great for a ministry which began to fall into confusion and factions, leave only was granted to attempt the intire reduction of *Nova Scotia*. Orders were accordingly issued, to all the governors of the *British* settlements in *America*, to promote the enterprize with their utmost ability. *Nicolson* was appointed commander in chief, and the commission of adjutant-general was granted to *Vetch*. Four men of war and a bomb-ketch were ordered as convoy; and the armament, consisting of twenty-six sail, including transports, weighed from *Boston* in *New England* on the eighteenth of *September*; and, arriving in six days at *Port Royale*, landed the troops with little opposition, and soon obliged e the *French* governor *Subercasse* to capitulate. The terms granted were, That all the inhabitants within the *Banlieu*, or three miles of the fort, should be entitled to the privileges of *British* subjects, on their swearing allegiance to her majesty: That the garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers, should march out with the honours of war, six cannon, and two mortars: That they should be transported to *Rochelle* in *Old France*, at the expence of *Great Britain*: That such of the inhabitants as chose to retire to *Canada*, or *France*, should be sent thither in the most convenient manner; and that they should have all their effects preserved to them free from the pillage of the *English* soldiers. The name of *Annapolis Royal* was given to the new conquest, which was garrisoned with a body f of four hundred soldiers; such was the issue of an expedition that cost the *American* provinces about twenty-three thousand pounds, which was afterwards repaid by the government.

A. D. 1710.

THE reduction of this place was of very essential service to the *American* colonies, by forming a barrier to *New England*, and depriving the *French* of a situation which was a nest for their privateers, and might be called the *Dunkirk* of this part of the world; but it did not altogether answer expectation. The inhabitants without the *Banlieu* had been declared neutrals by the capitulation; notwithstanding which they continued hostilities, in conjunction with the *Indians*, and kept the garrison of *Annapolis* in perpetual alarm. Upon this, the *English* seized the *French* missionary and five of the principal inhabitants, g whom they detained as pledges of the actual performance of the treaty, and good behaviour of their countrymen; notwithstanding which a party of sixty men, from the garrison, sent up the river for timber to repair the fort, was surprized and cut off by the *French* and *Indians*.

By the twelfth article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, all the province of *Nova Scotia*, or *L'Acadie*, with all its ancient boundaries; also the city of *Port Royale*, now called *Annapolis Royal*, with all its dependencies in land, islands, and other particulars, together with the dominion, property, and possession of the said islands, lands, and other rights, by treaty or otherwise obtained, was ceded in perpetuity to the crown of *Great Britain*. To this was subjoined an exclusion of the subjects of *France* from fishing on the coast of *Nova Scotia*, or within thirty leagues, beginning from *Cape Sable*, and stretching along to the south-west; but the *French*, who knew that neither *Newfoundland* nor *Nova Scotia* were of any value but on account of the fisheries, and the security they afforded our colonies, retained the right of fishing on the coast of *Cape Breton*, and in the gulph and bay of *St. Lawrence*; a privilege of which they might easily have been divested at this juncture, had proper regard been paid by the administration to the interests of the colonies, of navigation, and of commerce. The cession of *Nova Scotia*, and the most solemn treaties, could not, however, restrain the *French*. They excited the *Indians* to repeated acts of hostility; and, in the year 1721, captain *Blin*, a trader of *Nova Scotia*, and Mr. *Newton*, collector of the province, were made prisoners by the *Indians* of *Lasamaquady*; but released, when reprisals were made by the governor of *Annapolis*, and twenty-two of the savages brought in prisoners to the fort. But though this spirited act procured the liberty of the *English* captives, it did not restrain the enemy within the limitations of the treaty of *Utrecht*. By means of the *Indians*, they insulted the *British* fishing-vessels on the *Cape Sable* coast, took some, and killed or captivated the crews; insomuch that governor *Philips* at *Canso* was reduced to the necessity of equipping two armed sloops, attacking the *Indians*, and forcing them, by the rigors of war, to pay a more religious regard to treaties. Soon after they nevertheless resumed their hostilities, killed captain *Watkins*, two other *European* men, and a woman and child, in *Durell's* island, and even ventured to attack *Annapolis*, but were repulsed. From this time to the year 1744, mutual injuries were daily committed, while *Nova Scotia* was equally neglected by the *British* government and *American* colonies. At the beginning of the last war with *France*, the fort was in the most wretched condition; the garrison not exceeding eighty effective men, and the fortifications being in so deplorable a state, that the cattle crossed the ditch, and mounted the ramparts at pleasure. Every other settlement within the *English* jurisdiction was in a similar situation; and the *French* at *Louisbourg* having earlier intelligence of the declaration of war than the *English*, took the opportunity of seizing *Canso*, making the garrison, which consisted of four incomplete companies, prisoners, taking a man of war tender, and then destroying the little settlement. Privateers annoyed *St. Peter's* and the small settlements in *Newfoundland*, and even threatened *Placentia* itself, though defended by a fort and garrison. In the month of *June* one *Luttre*, a *French* missionary, made an attempt on *Annapolis*, at the head of three hundred *Cape Sable* and *St. John's* *Indians*, destroyed some houses and cattle, killed two men, summoned the garrison to surrender, and, on their refusal, denounced vengeance as soon as a party of *French* arrived from *Louisbourg*. However, the arrival of a privateer from *Boston* with a company of militia to the assistance of the garrison, obliged *Luttre* to decamp without waiting to be reinforced by his countrymen; which did not so intirely remove the fears of the inhabitants of *Annapolis*, but that they sent their families and most valuable effects to *Boston*.

LUTTRE had not long relinquished the enterprize, when *Du Vivier* joined him with sixty regular forces and seven hundred militia and *Indians* trained to arms, both encamping at *Minas*, from whence they sent divers messages to the officers of the garrison of *Annapolis*, endeavouring to intimidate them with boastings of the large armament which he daily expected from *Louisbourg*, and persuading them to embrace the present favourable moment of obtaining moderate conditions. The garrison, suspecting the truth of his allegations, replied, it would be soon enough to demand terms when the expected armament was actually arrived; at which *Du Vivier* was so much chagrined, that he broke up his camp, retired first to *Bay Vert*, then to *Canada*, and from thence to *Old France*, where he was censured for precipitately alarming the *English* colonies by his sham-hostilities, before the *French* colonies were in a situation to support the consequences of a war; and likewise for his not marching immediately after the reduction of *Canso* to *Annapolis*, when that place must inevitably have fallen for want of a sufficient garrison.

MEAN time the government of *Massachusetts Bay* declared war upon the *Indians* of *Cape Sable* and *St. John's* for persisting in hostilities against the subjects of *Great Britain*, and joining the *French* in the late attempt on *Annapolis*, forbidding all the nations of allied *Indians* to hold any communication or intercourse with them, and ordering præmiums for scalps; a cruel policy, that only can be justified by the necessity of retaliation: but these orders were ill obeyed, the *French* having artfully drawn many of the *Indians* from their allegiance to *Great Britain*, which obliged the government to extend the præmium. Yet could

A.D. 1745.

- a could not all these precautions prevent M. Marin, a subaltern officer in *Canada*, from assembling above a thousand *Indian* rangers and other troops, with whom he laid siege to *Annapolis*; but with the same fortune as the last attempt, he being called away to the relief of *Louisbourg*, at that time besieged by the *British* army and fleet. Next year the enterprize was resumed by M. de Ramsay, who had collected an army of sixteen hundred men, composed of regular forces, *Canadian* militia, and *Coueurs des Bois*, with which body he marched to *Minas*, expecting to be soon joined by the duke D'Anville from *France*; but, disappointed in this expectation, he was constrained, by the severity of the approaching winter, to return to *Canada*, and relinquish the enterprize. Just after his departure, the *French* succours arrived in *Chebueto*, and D'Anville detached couriers to recal Ramsay;
- b but he had disbanded most of his forces, and could bring back no more than four hundred regulars and militia, with which, and the *French* armament, he resumed his designs, and laid siege to *Annapolis*. However, there being two *English* men of war in the basin of the town, and the *French* fleet returning home before the dangerous season came on, he was again forced to undergo the mortification of abandoning a second time an enterprize on which he had fixed his heart, resolving, however, to quarter at *Minas* and *Chiconiëto* during the winter, and join the fleet and land-forces which were expected to reduce *Annapolis*. This design furnished Mr. Masurani, who commanded as governor in *Annapolis*, with an opportunity of countermining the enemy. He reasonably imagined that a reinforcement of a thousand men from *New England*, in conjunction with the three companies of volunteers arrived from *Boston* in the autumn preceding, would be able to dislodge the *French* quartered at *Minas*, keep the *Indians* in their allegiance, and consume the magazines they had formed, so as to render any future attempts impracticable. This scheme he proposed to the government of *Massachusetts*, and accordingly five hundred men were immediately voted for the service by the assembly, to which body were added three hundred men from *Rhode Island*, and two hundred from *New Hampshire*. All entertained the greatest hopes of seeing our colonies secured against all future hostilities, and the *French* driven from that part of *Nova Scotia*; but the event disappointed expectation. The supply from *Rhode Island* was shipwrecked; that from *New Hampshire* put back on some frivolous pretence; and only the reinforcement from *Boston* arrived at the appointed rendezvous, after having sustained great hardships and considerable losses from the enemy, who attacked them in small parties on their march. The return of this party was still more unfortunate, most of the troops falling into the hands of the enemy, and several of the best officers being killed.
- c
- d

It would be unnecessary to recapitulate the infractions subsequent to the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, by which *Nova Scotia* was again confirmed to *Great Britain*, but with such indefinite limits, as left an opening for farther prevarication; these facts, which gave birth to the late war, are too recent, and too generally understood, to need any relation. We shall therefore proceed to the description of a country, which has occasioned the effusion of so much blood, and consumption of more treasure than all our dominions in *North America* are worth; were every thing to be estimated by real utility, and nothing due to the honour and security of the nation, and to her colonies. This province having been long the property of *France*, the bulk of the inhabitants are the descendants of *Frenchmen*, educated in the religion, political principles, and language of their ancestors. Since the treaty of *Utrecht*, they have sworn allegiance to *Great Britain*; but their partiality to their native country is very perceivable, whenever a rupture happens between the two crowns; an inconvenience, which can be remedied in none of our conquests so effectually any other way, as by making it their interest to continue the subjects of *Great Britain*, and by gradually changing their religion, language, and principles, by certain rewards and encouragements. After the peace of *Utrecht*, the crown reserved the power of bestowing the non-appropriated lands upon protestant subjects; but the governors *Philips* and *Armstrong* are accused of having assigned these lands indiscriminately, though the intention was to give extraordinary encouragement to those who embraced the established religion of the constitution; by which means, the *French* were left without any inducement to alter either their faith or language. The former of these gentlemen took upon him the government in 1717, and was empowered to form a council for the management of the civil affairs of the province. Accordingly, in the year 1720, a council was formed, consisting of twelve members, who, by the fifth instruction, were prohibited from being absent above a twelvemonth from the province, without leave from the governor, for more than two years, without the king's special permission, under the penalty of vacating their seats in the assembly.

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With respect to the boundaries of *Nova Scotia*, it is plain from the rise of the late war, they were never clearly ascertained, nor is it now of consequence to draw the exact line between it and *Canada*, since both countries, it is more than probable, will ever remain

the property of *Great Britain*. Hitherto, it continues undivided into lesser districts, which alone sufficiently indicates how poorly it is cultivated (D). *Annapolis* and *Canso* are the only towns that deserve to be mentioned. The former is the capital, but a very inconsiderable place; except for the excellency of the harbour, which is capable of containing a thousand vessels at anchor in the utmost security. *Canso*, situated on the eastern shore of *Acadia*, may, in time, become a place of importance, on account of the excellent fishery in its neighbourhood, especially as the *French* will now have no opportunity, as formerly, of disturbing the fisheries, and encroaching on the territories of this province; more particularly since the demolition of *Louisbourg*. The most valuable appendage of *Nova Scotia* is the *Cape Sable* coast, along which is one continued range of cod-fishing banks, and excellent harbours; though the impenetrable fogs, which, for one part of the year, obscure this country, render it of less utility to commerce and navigation. The communication which the bay and river of *Chebueto* have with all parts of the province, either by land carriage or navigable rivers, makes it probable that the seat of government may one day be translated thither from *Annapolis*, which is devoid of every convenience besides a harbour.

THE island of *Sables*, lately well known to the public, as having been demanded by M. *Buffy* for the convenience of the *French* nation for curing and drying fish, must be deemed within the jurisdiction of the province of *Nova Scotia*, as it lies the nearest to that coast, though at a considerable distance; which is also implied by the *British* exclusive line of fishery, stipulated at the treaty of *Utrecht*, which begins at this island. It can indeed prove of no other advantage to the *British* nation, than that of depriving our rivals in trade of a place so serviceable to their fisheries, which may justly be regarded as a very considerable negative advantage.

THE largest island in the gulph of *St. Laurence* is *Cape Breton*, memorable chiefly on account of the strong fortification of *Louisbourg*, demolished since the last reduction of that place, by order of the *British* government. This island lies from forty-five to forty-seven degrees of north latitude, and is, from the nature of its situation, of the utmost consequence to the *British* colonies and fisheries in *North America*. How it came to be restored to the *French* at the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, with the fortifications intire, is what we cannot pretend to determine; certain we are, that true politics will always dictate a

(D) Since the above was written, we learn on further enquiry, that the province of *Nova Scotia* is actually divided into twelve districts; each of which annually elects a deputy, who must be approved by the governor and council at *Annapolis*. This deputy is regarded as a kind of agent or solicitor for the district, who reports its situation from time to time to the government. They enjoy no legislative or executive capacity. It is affirmed, that *French* missionaries are not appointed by the bishop of *Quebec*, under his direction, but that they act as civil magistrates, and justices of the peace, in divers districts, as a reproach and scandal to the *British* government. However, appeals may be made to the governor and council at *Annapolis*. There is no agreement among geographers about the limits of *Nova Scotia*; even *de Lisle*, one of the most celebrated geographers in *Europe*, differs not only from others, but from himself, in this particular. In his map of *Canada*, published in 1703, *L'Accadie* comprehends the country of the *Eschemins*, or *Ischemins*, placed by the bulk of our map-makers on the west side of the bay of *Fundy*, and a part of the continent larger than the peninsula; whereas in M. *de Lisle's* general map of *America*, engraved in 1722, *L'Accadie* is confined within the peninsula, and bounded on the north-west by the country of the *Gaspessons*. Father *Charlevoix* makes it two hundred and fifty leagues in compass, and Mr. *Bellin*, engineer and hydrographer to the marine office, reckons it by *French* computation from *Cape Canso* on the east, to *Cape Sable* on the west, about eighty leagues. M. *la Houton*, another *French* writer of credit many years resident in the country, gives it a much larger extent than *de Lisle's* map of *Canada*, for he includes in it a great part of what that geographer gives to *Canada* and *Gaspesia*. According to him, it is three hundred leagues along the coast from *Kennebeck*, the frontier river of *New England*, to the *isle Perce*, towards the mouth of

the river *St. Laurence*, including the bays of *Fundy* and *Challeurs*.

WRITERS differ no less about the quality than the extent of the country; some describing it as scarce fit for the residence of the most barbarous nations, while others extol its fertility. *La Houton's* account is, that *Nova Scotia* abounds with little rivers, the entrance of which affords anchorage for the largest vessels; that they abound in salmon; and that most of the gulphs and rivers, with which they communicate, produce great plenty of cod. He further observes, that almost every part of *Acadia* yields corn, fruit, pease, and other pulse; that the four seasons of the year are easily distinguished; that the winter is very severe for three months; that the country produces excellent timber for masts, and upon occasion for building any kind of shipping. The baron affirms, that *Nova Scotia* is admirable for hunting, and speaks of it in general as a fine country; the air pure and salubrious, the climate tolerably moderate, and the water light and pellucid. With this gentleman the intelligent *Charlevoix* agrees, alledging, it abounds with all the necessaries of life, and that the inhabitants may live very comfortably without much fatigue. Here is abundance of feathered game, such as partridges, ducks, teal, widgeon, and bustard; the latter flock in such crowds to the banks of the rivers and all the ponds in the month of *April*, that their eggs alone are sufficient to subsist the inhabitants for that season; and yet notwithstanding the extraordinary consumption of these eggs, it is not perceivable that the species is diminished. At the close of *March*, the fish begin to spawn, when they enter the rivers in such shoals as are incredible. Here also are multitudes of beavers, otters, and some other quadrupeds, chiefly valued for their furs; yet after all, the security which this province affords to the *British* fisheries and plantations, is its principal utility (1).

(1) *Vid. de la Hout. De Lisle, Charlev. l. 6.*

a proper regard to the establishment of the *French* in an island, which, in a manner, commands the fisheries in the bay of *St. Laurence*, and, by affording shelter for the fleets of *France*, can give great disturbance to our *Newfoundland* trade and navigation. We say nothing of *St. John's* island, which is not of consideration enough to merit notice in a general history.

N E W E N G L A N D.

WE have already, in the introductory discourse on the *British* settlements in *North America*, given a general view of the first establishment of the *English* in this country, and the grants made to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the *Plymouth* and *London* companies, and to others; for at that time *Virginia* or *Norembegua* comprehended a vast tract of coast now divided into separate governments, and distinguished by particular names. According to captain *Smith's* map, which was approved by the government, *New England* originally extended from twenty miles beyond *Hudson's* river to the east, and northward to the river *St. Croix*, or perhaps to the gulph of *St. Laurence*; by which it included *Nova Scotia*, a grant to which effect had actually been made. When *James II.* bestowed the government on Sir *Edmund Andrews*, his commission expressed the limits of his authority; namely, over the late colonies of *Massachusetts Bay*, *Plymouth*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode-Island*. These were called the limits of *New England*; but the same gentleman was also made governor of *New York*, and *Sagadahoc*; *New Hampshire*, and the province of *Maine*, being then of so little importance as to go as an appendage to *Massachusetts Bay*.

In *New England*, the summer season is warm, but of short duration. For the space of two months, the sky continues perfectly clear, which renders the country so healthy, that it is reported to agree better with *British* constitutions than any other of the *American* provinces. The winters are long and severe, the wind often boisterous, and the air extremely sharp, but not intolerable. Naturalists ascribe the early approach, the length, and the severity of the winter season, to the large fresh water lakes lying to the north west of *New England*, which, being constantly frozen over from the beginning of *November* for at least two thirds of the year, occasion those piercing winds that prove so fatal to mariners on this coast. Towards the sea, the land is generally low, and frequently marshy; but, as you approach the interior country, it rises into hills, and on the north-east becomes altogether rocky and mountainous. Round *Massachusetts Bay*, the soil is black, and rich as in any part of *England*; and the first planters found the grass above a yard high, but rank for want of mowing. The uplands are less fruitful, being for the most part a mixture of sand and gravel, inclining to clay; though even here there is a sufficient quantity of corn, and culinary vegetables, produced for the subsistence of the inhabitants.

Few countries are better watered with rivers and lakes than *New England*, though the latter are not so considerable as those to the west and northward. Seven of the rivers are navigable, all abound in fish, and many of them answer every purpose of commerce. *Connecticut* river, in particular, may be navigated a great way by the largest vessels. It rises in the northern frontier of the province, and runs directly south through the district of its own name, until it discharges itself between the towns of *Saybrook* and *Line*, after a course of two hundred miles. The other most considerable streams are the *Thames*, *Piscataqua*, *Merimech*, *Saca*, *Kennebec*, *Patuxet*, *Cusco*, and a few others; and to the convenience of so many fine rivers, may we ascribe the great number of large and populous towns in this province. Besides river fish, the coast abounds with cod; and formerly there was a whale-fishery between *New England* and *New York*, which is now entirely engrossed by the *Newfoundlanders*. The cod taken here are salted and exported, not only to the sugar colonies, but likewise to *Europe*, constituting a very considerable article in the trade of the province.

WE have already observed that the country is fruitful in all kinds of esculent plants, pulse, and corn; but *Indian* corn, or maize, which the natives call *Weachin*, is the most cultivated, and was alone known here on the first arrival of the *Europeans*. The following is the account of it communicated to the royal society by Mr. *Winstrop*, and judged worthy of being inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions*. "The ear is a span long, composed of eight or more rows of grain, according to the quality of the soil, and about thirty grains in each row; so that each ear at a medium produces about two hundred and forty grains, which is an astonishing increase. It is of various colours, red, white, yellow, black, green, &c. and the diversity frequently appears not only in the same field, but in the very same ear of corn; though white and yellow be the most common. Strong thick husks shield the tender ear from cold and storms; and in many of the provinces in *North America*, the stalk grows seven or eight feet high, and proportionably strong and thick. It is observable, that the maize dwindles the farther you advance to the northward, whence

whence it appears that warm climates are more congenial to its nature; and indeed its luxuriance in the hottest climes on the coast of *Africa* sufficiently evince the *Indian* corn to be a native of the more southern latitudes. The stalk is jointed like a cane, is supplied with a juice as sweet as that of the sugar cane; but from the experiments that have been made, it appears to be incapable of being rendered useful. Every joint is marked with a long leaf or flag, and, at the top, shoots a branch of flowers, like rye blossoms. The usual time of sowing, or, as it is here called, of planting, is from the middle of *April* to the middle of *May*; but, in the northern countries, the corn is not put in the ground before *June*; yet the harvest is ripe in due season, owing to the extreme warmth of the summer months. This corn the *Indians* boil till it is tender, and eat with fish, fowl, or flesh, as bread. Sometimes they bruise it in mortars, and then boil it; but the most usual method is to dry the corn high, without burning, to sift and beat it in mortars into fine meal, which the *Indians* either eat dry, or mixed with water. The *English* bake it into bread in the same manner as flour; but the best food made from it is called *Samfi*, the corn being steeped in water for half an hour, beat in a mortar until it is thoroughly cleared of the husk, then sifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and sugar, like rice; which is not only an agreeable, but a wholesome strengthening diet." The *English* brew good strong beer from it, and their method of malting it green points out an experiment, which might possibly be improved to advantage by the masters of *Great Britain*. The saccharine rich juice of green corn appears to us capable of yielding a due fermentation, and sufficient body for beer, without the expensive process of malting.

No country in the world produces a greater abundance and variety of fowl than *New England*; as geese, ducks, turkeys, hens, partridges, widgeon, swans, herons, heath-cocks, pigeons, &c. Nor is the feathered kind in greater plenty than the quadrupeds more immediately necessary to human subsistence and convenience. All kinds of *European* cattle thrive here, and multiply exceedingly; the horses of the province are hardy, mettlesome and serviceable, but small. Here also are elks, deer, hares, rabbits, squirrels, beavers, otters, monkeys, racoons, fables, bears, wolves, foxes, ounces, and a variety of other tame and wild quadrupeds; some of which are imported into *Great Britain*, as foreign curiosities. But the most extraordinary of these animals is the *Moose*, which is thus described by Mr. *Jesselyn*, in his rarities of *New England*.—We describe the animal entirely upon the authority of this writer, who has obtained some reputation.—“The *Moose* is about twelve feet high, with four horns, and broad palms, some distant near twelve feet from the tip of one horn to the other. His body is about the size of a bull, his neck resembles a stag's; his tail is somewhat longer, and his flesh extremely grateful.” Our author describes the manner of hunting the *Moose*; but, as we believe this diversion is now pretty well over, we shall not extend an extract, which many writers may ascribe to credulity (F). The rattle-snake is another natural curiosity of this country, though not peculiar to *New England*. The account given of this venomous animal is, that nature has wisely provided it should give warning of its motions by a rattle of twenty loose hard cartilaginous rings in the tail, which shake and beat as it moves, without any voluntary exertion. Some, indeed, alledge it only makes a noise when the animal apprehends itself in danger, and calls out for assistance. In length, this snake is commonly about four or five feet, is less hazardous than other snakes, but seldom attacks any human creature without provocation; is provided like the viper with a poisonous bag, at the root of a hollow forked tooth, which, being compressed as the animal fixes its jaws, pours out a strong poison on the wound, that is mortal in a few hours, unless proper remedies are applied. Descriptions, however, of all the animals in *North* and *South America*, have so often been exhibited to publick view by voyagers, travellers, and writers of natural history, that it is almost superfluous to transcribe what has been so frequently repeated, though our intirely omitting such particulars might possibly be attributed to neglect or to ignorance.

(F) We do not intend that the reader should entertain any doubt of the real existence of the *Moose*, but of the extraordinary height which Mr. *Jesselyn* gives the animal. We are told, indeed, by other writers, that the black *Moose*, or *Moose*, as the natives pronounce it, is exceeding large, and sometimes the height of fourteen spans, reckoning nine inches to a span, a quarter of his venison weighing two hundred weight. The flesh is less delicate in the opinion of many men, than our venison; while others think it richer and more substantial. It will bear salting, and was often used as ship beef by the buccaneers. The

light-coloured *Moose*, called *Wampoose* by the *Indians*, is of a smaller stature, is more gregarious, and indeed more frequently met with. The black are seldom found above four or five together. They calve every year, generally produce two together, bring forth their young standing, without any apparent pain or labour; while the young fall upon their feet, and run about the moment they have breathed the air, and touched the earth. Such is the strength of this animal, that after he is unharboured, he will run a course of thirty or forty miles without halting, but with less swiftness than a stag (1).

(1) *Neal's Hist. Brit. Emp.* Dudley.

a *NEW ENGLAND* abounds in excellent timber, oak, ash, pine, fir, cedar, elm, cy-
press, beech, walnut, chestnut, hazel, sassafras, samach, and other woods used in dying, or
in the forests, that a law passed to prevent the waste of woods, by inflicting penalties on
those who cut down trees of a certain kind, before they were arrived at specified growth
and age. The pines are equal to those of *Norway* in growth and straitness; and it is cer-
tain, *Great Britain* might be provided from this country with all the materials of ship-
building, at present purchased in the northern kingdoms, at the expence of a considerable
sum of ready money to the nation. The oak, indeed, is reported to be inferior in quality
to that of *England*, but as the forests of *Great Britain* are on the decline, it is certainly
b politick to be careful of this valuable commodity.

THE seas round *New England*, as well as its rivers, abound with most of the fish that
is common in *Europe*; and even whales, we are told, were formerly taken between *New*
England and *New York*. They are of several kinds, viz. the whale bone whale, the sper-
ma ceti whale, which yields ambergrease, the fin-back'd whale, the scrag whale, and the
bunch whale; and each species has a separate property. Those whales are said to have
something remarkable in their manner of generation, and the female is supposed to go with
her young nine or ten months; but to be pregnant only every other year. The sagacity
and affection of those animals, in nourishing and bringing up their young, is incredible.
The bone of the *New England* whale is however too brittle, and not so serviceable as that
c of the *Greenland*. A terrible creature called the *Whale-killer*, which is from twenty to thirty
feet long, with strong teeth and jaws, persecutes the whale in these seas; but, afraid of his
monstrous strength, those killers seldom attack a full-grown whale, or indeed a young one,
but in companies of ten or twelve.

THE province of *New England* seems to have been neglected by the original discoverers *Discovery of*
of our *American* colonies; for, though it is more than probable that *Sebastian Cabot* disco- *New England.*
vered it, and though it is certain that the adventurers under Sir *Walter Raleigh* and Sir
Francis Drake knew of this country, yet we have no satisfactory account of it till 1602,
when captain *Gesnold* performed his voyage to this province. He had received a hint from
Sir *Francis Drake* of the advantages that might arise from a settlement here, and for that
d purpose he and his sailors and passengers, who amounted in the whole to thirty-two, car-
ried out with them seed corn to sow the ground. After touching at various places, he at
last made a settlement on a place which he named *Martha's Vineyard*, where his planters
sowed their corn, and found it answer; and to protect them from the natives who lived
in the neighbourhood, he here raised a small fort, and mounted six guns on a platform.
It was not long before he and his little colony traded with the savages, whom they per-
ceived to be an hospitable inoffensive people, and whom they found, by the dress and ac-
coutrements of some of them, to have before traded with *Europeans*. In general, how-
ever, they were dressed with deer-skins upon their shoulders, and seal skins about their
waists. Their hair was long, and tied up in a knot behind; and, though all over paint-
e ed, their natural complexion appeared to be the same with that of the other savages on
the same continent. The commerce of the *English* with them was so profitable, in furs,
skins, and sweet wood, which they exchanged for toys, that the merchants who employed
him, who were most of them *Plymouth* men, obtained a grant from *James I.* authorizing
them to plant where they should think fit and convenient, between thirty-eight and forty-
five degrees of northern latitude. The country thus described was then called *North*
Virginia; and the grantees held it under the title of the council of *Plymouth*. The chief
of these grantees were the lord chief-justice *Popham*; Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*; *Thomas Han-*
ham, Esq; *Raleigh Gilbert*, Esq; son of the famous navigator Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*; *Wil-*
liam Parke, Esq; and *George Popham*, Esq; These gentlemen, with the other grantees,
f in 1606, sent a ship commanded by Mr *Henry Chalons* to *North Virginia*; but he and his
crew, consisting of about thirty persons, were taken by the *Spaniards*, and sent prison-
ers to *Spain*. Lord chief-justice *Popham* was so public-spirited as not to be discouraged
by this accident; and, at his own expence, fitted out another ship, the command of
which was given to captain *Hanham*, whose report of the country was so encouraging,
that captain *Popham* and captain *Gilbert* carried thither two ships, with one hundred men,
and proportionable stores for a settlement, which they began to make at the mouth of *Sa-*
gadabock river.

It appears from the general history of the *English* settlements in *America*, that the chief *Difficulties of*
discouragement of the planters settled there arose from the difficulties they were under of *planting it.*
g subsisting themselves all the year through. As to the trade itself, it was evidently gain-
ful; and notwithstanding what had happened, captain *Rawden*, captain *Langham*, Mr.
Buliy, and Mr. *Skelton*, fitted out two ships for *North Virginia*, giving the command of
one of them to captain *John Smith*, who had acted as president of *South Virginia*, and of the
Mod. Hist. VOL. XIV. 6 M other

other to *Thomas Hunt*. On their arrival, *Smith*, taking eight of his crew along with him, went up the country, and made a map of it, which he shewed to *Charles* prince of *Wales*; afterwards *Charles* I. and his royal highness gave it the name of *New England*. As to *Hunt*, the other commander, he behaved most infamously, for he kidnapped between thirty and forty of the natives, and carried them to *Malaga*, where he sold them to the *Spaniards*. This perfidious action was resented by the *Indians*, and revenged upon the *English*, particularly upon captain *Hobson*. *Smith*, who had made a very gainful voyage, having put 1500*l.* in his own pocket, besides indemnifying his owners, sailed with two ships in 1615 once more to *New England*; but being dismasted, he returned to *Plymouth* with his own ship. When he attempted to renew the voyage he was taken by the *French*, while his other ship made a very gainful voyage, and returned safe to *England*. *Hunt's* villainous action, however, had rendered the natives so irreconcilable to the *English*, that the latter were unable to continue their settlement, though the trade was carried on to very beneficial purposes by other adventurers.

Original of
the colony,

which consists
of dissenters.

New Ply-
mouth found-
ed.

NEW ENGLAND, at last, owed its settlement and prosperity to the noblest of all principles, a generous disdain of civil and religious tyranny. Our histories are full of the impolitic persecutions of the dissenters under the two first princes of the *Stuart* race, who sat upon the throne of *England*. Many of them had been driven into foreign countries, particularly to *Holland*, where the complaisance of the government for that of *England*, rendered them unsafe in the exercise of their religion. Sir *Robert Naunton* was then one of the secretaries of state, and the exiled puritans, as they were then called, knew him to be their friend. Some of them were men of substance as well as sense, and they had formed themselves into a congregation at *Leyden*, of which Mr. *John Robinson* was the pastor, and one Mr. *John Brewster*, a person of about sixty years of age, the ruling elder. From this congregation the noble hint of retiring to *New England*, where they could have the free exercise of their religion without being persecuted by bigots and churchmen, arose. They applied to *Naunton* for leave to settle in those inhospitable wilds, where the *Indians*, savage as they were, were more desirable neighbours than the tyrants from whom they fled. *Naunton* had the address to persuade *James* I. that it was bad policy to unpeople his own kingdoms for the benefit of his neighbours; and that whatever exception he might have, he could have none in granting them liberty of conscience, where they would still continue to be his subjects, and where they might extend his dominion. His majesty's answer was, that it was a good and honest proposal, and liberty was accordingly granted. After various schemes and disappointments, the new adventurers, many of whom had sold their estates, and generously thrown the produce into a common bank for carrying on their undertaking, hired a ship of 180 tons, called the *May flower*, and another ship called the *Speedwell* of 60 tons, on board of which they put all their necessary implements, and sailed from *Plymouth* the 6th of *September*. Their intention was to have made a settlement under the sanction of *Gesnold's* patent, being one hundred and twenty persons on board, besides thirty seamen; and after arriving at *Cape Cod*, being betrayed, as is said, by *Jones*, the master of the *Speedwell*, who was bribed by the *Dutch*, they were obliged to land there; and here they associated themselves by a formal instrument, as subjects of *England*, and engaged to submit to the laws that should from time to time be made for the good of the colony. This association, though made with a very good intention, was really void in itself, as the place they took possession of was not included in *Gesnold's* grant. They pretended, however, that they treated with the cacique, or lord, and other principal natives of the country, from whom they purchased a right of settlement on their lands. About forty substantial planters, and some of them gentlemen of fortune, but all of them dissenters, were at the head of this undertaking. They chose for their governor for one year Mr. *John Carver*, who with sixteen men landed on what is now called *Barnstable County* to search for a convenient situation to settle on; but though they saw evident tracts of an inhabited country, they could find none, and returned; another detachment was sent out for the same purpose, and in search of a harbour. They ranged about the *Patuxet County*, and at last on *Christmas Day*, having found a spot, which they thought would answer their purpose, but not before they had a slight skirmish with the natives, they returned to their ship, made their report, landed their goods, stores, and utensils, erected a kind of storehouse, and agreed to call their infant settlement *New Plymouth*. Here they remained without seeing any *Indians* all the winter, which proved so severe that half their number died. About the middle of *March*, a *Segamore*, one of the petty lords who lived to the northward, but who had been so much conversant with the *English* that he had picked up a little of the language, came to *New Plymouth*, and was so well satisfied with his reception, that he brought several others of the natives to visit their country, till at last their great sachem or king, *Massasoit*, with his brother and sixty attendants, did the new colony the same honour. A native, who understood *English*, served

a as interpreter on this occasion, and the governor, with the gentlemen of the colony, received their visitors in great state. The visit, however, seems to have been somewhat unreasonable, for the colony began to be distressed for provisions, and their visitors eat and drank most enormously. It was on this occasion, if we are not mistaken, that *Massasoit* made a present to the settlers, their heirs, and successors for ever, of the spot on which *New Plymouth* was built, and all the adjacent lands. Upon the death of *Carver*, *William Bradford*, Esq; was chosen governor, and he sent two of the principal gentlemen of the colony to repay *Massasoit's* visit; but though their excellencies were received with much savage politeness, yet they were in great danger of being famished for want of victuals and drink, so miserably was this court provided for their reception.

b Soon after some of the savage *segamores*, who could not be reconciled to the *English*, having been guilty of some hostilities, captain *Standish* was sent with fourteen men from *New Plymouth* to *Namasket* to demand satisfaction. This had so good an effect, that the neighbouring sachems and *segamores* made their submissions, and according to the historians of *New England*², they subscribed the following instrument.

War with the Indians.

"Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the legal subjects of king *James*, king of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimony of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth, *Obquamchud*, *Caw-nacome*, *Obbatinua*, *Nattamawbunt*, *Coubatant*, *Chillaback*, *Quadaquina*, *Huttamoiden*, *Apadnow*."

A grant.

c NOTWITHSTANDING the good opinion we have of the *British* title to *New England*, we must entertain great doubts as to the authenticity of this submission; for, though such a paper may be produced, it may be questioned whether the subscribers knew what they were signing; and, to this day, the *American* savages, notwithstanding their connections with the *Europeans*, seem to have few ideas of deeds in writing. Be this as it will, the planters found that, with a little support from *England*, they should be able to make good their undertaking; and, in the spring of the year 1621, the *May-flower* was dispatched to *England*. In May following, Mr. *Weston*, one of the original *Plymouth* adventurers, sent a ship with seven passengers to *New Plymouth*, and soon after sixty more arrived; but,

Progress of the colony.

d bringing no provisions with them, they served but to encrease the mouths, and consequently the distresses, of the colony, which had been unfortunate in its harvest. More passengers arriving soon after, a famine must have ensued, had not a small trading vessel touched on the coast, provided with *English* toys, such as beads, scissars, and knives, which the colony bought up; and, by exchanging them for the native peltries, they soon procured themselves a comfortable subsistence. By this time, *Weston* broke off from the colony, and produced a patent for establishing a settlement upon part of *Massachusetts Bay*, at a place called *Wasagusquaset*, under pretence of propagating the church of *England* worship (G). During the residence of *Weston's* men in *New Plymouth*, we cannot suppose there was any good understanding between them and the planters, not only on account of religion, but because the latter did not think they held their possessions and properties from the crown of *England*, though they acknowledged themselves to be its subjects. The strictness of the lives of the puritans disgusted *Weston* and his men; whom the original planters accused of being guilty of all manner of vice and wickedness. We cannot say what might have been in this charge, nor can we affirm that the old colonists spirited up the natives against them; but it is certain, that *Weston* and his men were scarcely arrived at their new settlement, when the savages entered into a conspiracy for cutting them all off. The *New England* historians attribute this conspiracy to *Weston's* men's riotous way of living, which gave scandal to the savages, and obliged the new planters to consume their stock, and to barter away their goods, even to their cloaths and bedding, to procure subsistence. If the truth was known, their distresses, perhaps, would be found to arise from the prepossessions the savages had conceived against them, so as, by not trading with them, to force them into those desperate circumstances.

Dissentions amongst themselves.

f THE conspiracy we have mentioned was discovered and prevented in the following manner. Governor *Bradford*, being informed that his friend *Massasoit* was sick, again sent Mr. *Winslow* and Mr. *Hopkins*, his former ambassadors, to visit him. They found him very weak, and, in gratitude for some relief that Mr. *Winslow* administered to him, he discovered to him the conspiracy, which was instantly suppressed by captain *Standish*, at the head of no more than eight men. If there is any truth in this conspiracy, the *New Plymouthers*

² NEAL. MATHER. British Empire in America. System of Geography.

(G) We are to read this part of the *New England* history with great caution, as the writers were violent puritans, and opposers, even to enthusiasm, of the church of *England*.

behaved very nobly, for they not only saved *Weston's* men, but offered them a retreat in their own settlement; and when that was declined, they victualled a vessel to go in quest of their head, who was trading to the eastward. It appears, however, that the sachem of the *Massachusetts* savages disowned the execrable conspiracy; but a plague soon swept him and all his people off.

The colony flourishes.

FROM the year 1623, the industry of the *New Plymouthers* and their associates in *New England* rendered this a flourishing colony. Its reputation increased every day in its mother-country, and it became the refuge of all who were oppressed by the bigots, either of the church or the state. It grew at last to be such an eye-sore to both, that attempts were made to introduce into the colony episcopacy. For this purpose, Mr. *Gorges*, son to Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, arrived with several families, besides a church of *England* clergyman; and, as is said, with a commission to be governor of *New England*: but the *New Plymouthers* stood so firmly to their principles and their consciences, that *Gorges* and his people soon left the country. All this while, the *New Plymouthers* held their possession under agreement with the council of *Plymouth*, whose patent comprehended the continent of *America* from *New Scotland* to *Carolina*; so greatly, however, did the planters thrive, that in seven years time they offered to buy out the patentees, to take the whole property into their own hands, and to indemnify the patentees for their expences in the adventure. The patentees, as such, had been no great gainers by the prosperity of the colony, and they willingly gave an ear to the proposal. The colonists' agent, at first, was one *Pierre*; but, discovering that he wanted to betray them, they sent over Mr. *Winslow*, who obtained the patent they wanted in the name of governor *Bradford*, and he, upon demand, surrendered it to the general council. Thus did those industrious colonists find means to erect themselves into a republic, even though they held their possessions under the sanction of an original patent from the crown of *England*; a case that is rare in history, and can be effected only by that perseverance, which the true spirit of liberty inspires.

New constitution of its government.

THE governor's assistants were now increased to five; for though those planters had no reason to distrust him, yet they were willing that as little power as possible should be vested in one of their own body, and the number of the council was now seven. It is a memorable æra in the history of *New England*, that in the year 1624, upon Mr. *Winslow's* return to *New Plymouth*, amongst other articles of a considerable supply he brought along with him, there was that of three heifers and a bull, the first ever seen in that country, together with hogs, goats, and poultry, all which increased incredibly. But while we mention the thriving condition of the colony at this period, the reader is not to carry with him the idea of an *European* state; and yet any infant state in *Europe*, if any such we can suppose, might profit by the wise and humane policy of those planters. The town of *New Plymouth*, at the time we speak of, contained only an hundred and eighty persons, living in thirty-two houses. Though each head of a family had his separate portion of land, yet the whole produce was paid into one common stock, from whence it was dealt out to the families, in quantities proportioned to the number each contained. The town itself was about half a mile in circumference, and paled in, and a kind of watch-tower was erected upon an eminence in the middle. We are not, however, to imagine that all the strength and riches of the colony were contained in this town; for large quantities of lands had been cleared, sown, and enclosed in the country by settlers, who lived there on their own plantations.

Disturbed by a mutiny of Morton.

THE thriving condition of the *New England* colony served only to increase the desire of the government of *Old England* to send over fresh planters to settle on *Massachusetts's Bay*. With this view, one captain *Woolaston*, with some gentlemen of fortune, in 1626, came over thither, and settled at a place called *Mount Woolaston*, since changed into that of *Braintree*. *Woolaston* soon found his scheme impracticable, went to *Virginia*; and, his men mutinying in his absence, chose one *Morton* for their head. They are accused by the *New England* historians of the same crimes as *Weston's* men, particularly drunkenness, and perhaps, for the same reasons, their deriding the sober plain manners of the puritans, in contempt of whom they are said to have danced round a may-pole. But another charge was brought against them, which, if true, was highly punishable; and that was, that they instructed the savages in the use of fire-arms. The government of *New Plymouth*, finding their remonstrances on this head had no effect upon *Morton*, sent against him captain *Standish*, which service this sober puritan performed in a most gallant manner, by disarming *Morton* with his own hand, and carrying him and all his men prisoners to *New Plymouth*, from whence *Morton* was sent to *England* to be prosecuted by the *New England* council, who took no notice of their complaint; so jealous were they become of those colonists.

^f Vide ubi supra.

Rise of the
Massachusetts
company.

Names of the
first planters.

Governors, and
clergy.

A schism.

Winthrop gov-
ernor.

2 THIS second settlement projected at *Massachuset* failing, the puritans, who continued to be most miserably harrassed in *England*, very sensibly thought that they could not do better than to make a settlement there of their own body. Mr. *John White*, the puritan minister of *Dorchester*, was at the head of this noble design, which he seems to have long had in view. He sent over one *Connant* and some others as forerunners, and he managed with such prudence and zeal, that he procured a patent from the council of *Plymouth*, or *New England*, to Sir *Henry Roswell*, Sir *John Young*, *Thomas Southcot*, Esq; *John Humphreys*, Esq; *John Endicot*, Esq; and *Simon Whetcomb*, Esq; for all that part of the country that lies three miles north of the river *Merrimack*, which falls into the sea near *Salisbury*; and three miles south of *Charles* river, which falls into the sea near *Boston*, at the bottom of *Massachuset Bay*. Those patentees, being sensible of the former failures of this project, resolved to associate with themselves a number of gentlemen of their own principles, but well acquainted with trade and commerce; the following gentlemen therefore were taken into the patent, viz. Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esq; *Samuel Adderly*, Esq; *John Ven*, Esq; *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; *George Hammond*, Esq; *Increase Nowel*, Esq; *Richard Perry*, Esq; *Richard Bellingham*, Esq; *Nathaniel Wright*, Esq; *Samuel Vassal*, Esq; *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; *Thomas Goff*, Esq; *Thomas Adams*, Esq; *John Browne*, Esq; *Samuel Browne*, Esq; *Thomas Hutchins*, Esq; *William Vassels*, Esq; *William Pinchon*, Esq; and *George Foxcraft*, Esq. Some of those gentlemen's names occur in the general histories of *England*, particularly that of Mr. *Samuel Vassal*, who was one of those patriots that made the noble stand in favour of public liberty under *Charles I.* The addition of so many new patentees, I perceive, obliged Mr. *White* and his friends to take out a new patent, dated *March 4, 1628*, by which they were incorporated by the name of the governor and company of *Massachuset Bay*, in *New England*; impowered to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, and to make plantation-laws, provided they were not repugnant to those of *England*; and liberty of conscience was granted to all who should settle there. To give this grant all the validity possible, a patent was obtained from *Charles I.* 1627, to hold the said lands (contained in the patent from the *Plymouth* company) as of his manor of *East Greenwich* in common soccage, yielding and paying to his majesty one-fifth of such gold or silver ore, as should be found from time to time within the said limits.

d THE first governor elected under this new company was *Matthew Craddock*, Esq; whose deputy was *John Endicot*, Esq; Mr. *White* had with some difficulty prevailed with Mr. *Connant* and his friends to remain in *Massachuset*, till the new charter could be expedited; and Mr. *Endicot* was immediately dispatched to join them with a fresh reinforcement. He found them at *Neumkeak*, now called *Salem*; but his numbers before and at the time of his landing were greatly diminished by the scurvy and other infectious diseases, and more must have perished, had it not been for the great skill of Dr. *Fuller*, a physician of *New Plymouth*, who recovered them. In the mean while, the new adventurers were making great preparations for carrying their scheme into execution. The following ships were prepared, viz. the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty guns; the *Talbot*, of twenty guns; the *Lion's Whelp*, of eight guns; the *May-flower*, of fourteen guns; the *Four Sisters*, of fourteen guns; and the *Pilgrim*, of four guns. The passengers on board this flotilla were about three hundred and fifty, men, women, and children; about a hundred and fifteen head of cattle, viz. horses, mares, bulls, and cows; six pieces of cannon; proper stores of ammunition of all kinds, with every thing that could be required for such a settlement, not forgetting even goats and conies. Our new colonists were upon their passage from the first of *May* till the twenty-fourth of *June*. The reader is to observe, that the colony of *New Plymouth* had got such credit with the natives, that they were of infinite use to the *Massachuset* adventurers; but upon the express condition, that the latter should exclude all forms of worship but that of the puritans. It soon appeared how little men may profit by persecution, and how apt they are to exercise the rod under which they themselves have smarted. The two brothers, *Browne*, were joined with some others in making use of the church of *England* worship; but so far were they from being indulged in this, though both of them were patentees, that Mr. *Endicot* sent them back to *England*, though, as we have already seen, one of the clauses of the company's charter provided for liberty of conscience. This indefensible conduct very probably procured peace to the colony, which, in a short time, made a most surprising progress.

In the year 1630, the governor, Mr. *Craddock*, being too old to go over in person, the company chose for their governor *John Winthrop*, Esq; a gentleman bred to the law, and one who had sold an estate of about 700 l. a year, to raise money for the uses of the colony. His deputy was *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; who at first had been bred a soldier, but became afterwards a violent puritan. Under those two gentlemen, a fleet of no fewer than

System of Geography, vol. II. p. 667.

ten ships, with stores and provisions in proportion, set sail this year for *New England*. Before they arrived, the noxious qualities of an uncleared country appeared in the deaths, during one winter, of one hundred of the colonists, carried over by Mr. *Endicot*. This second fleet, on board of which were some persons of distinction, and about two hundred passengers, all of them voluntary exiles for religion, besides many others, who went thither for the purposes of commerce, and were a kind of occasional conformists, had but a very indifferent passage, and arrived in *July* at *Salem* in a sickly condition. Those new emigrants divided into two bodies, of which one settled in *Charles-Town*, so called from its being built on the banks of the river *Charles*; and the other at a place called *Dorchester*, at the bottom of *Massachuset* bay. The inhabitants of *Charles-Town* soon perceived the superior advantages of the spot where *Boston* is now built, and, removing thither, they there founded that metropolis of *New England*. It is to the honour of the puritan ministers, that they were highly instrumental not only in forming the manners, but in promoting the interests of this promising colony. The chief of them were *Wilson*, *Warcham*, *Hooker*, and *Elliot*, which last is deservedly stiled the apostle of *America*. The colony now prospered, and was encreased to a degree that rendered it formidable to the natives, so that the colonists were obliged to live perpetually upon their guard; but the apprehensions of the latter were removed by a calamity, which an *European* can scarce have an idea of, but was not uncommon in that country among the savages; for the small pox all of a sudden swept off nine parts in ten of the natives, and the despicable remainder fled to new and distant habitations.

History of
Gardiner.

In 1632, *Winthrop*, the new governor of *Massachuset Bay*, and *Wilson*, the minister of *Boston*, travelled for forty miles through the woods to settle a regular correspondence with the colony of *New Plymouth*. About this time, a new phenomenon appeared in the *American* world. One Sir *Christopher Gardiner*, having run through a capricious round of pleasures, pretending to be a puritan, though he is said to have been a papist in his heart, settled with a lady he carried along with him amongst the *Indians*, in the neighbourhood of *Boston*, intending, as he pretended, to pass the remainder of his life in retirement. It was not, it seems, so perfectly regular as to impose upon the governor of *New Plymouth*, who promised the *Indians* a reward, if they could take him alive, which they did; but not till after a gallant resistance, in which he was wounded. Being carried to *New Plymouth*, his wounds were cured, and he was from thence sent to *Old England*, where he exclaimed against the injustice that had been done him, and joined with the enemies of the *New Plymouth* colony, who were numerous and powerful. As no particulars of this gentleman's offences are either specified or proved, we suspect that he was guilty only of a behaviour, which the puritans there looked upon as the worst of crimes. *Gardiner*, on his arrival in *England*, was joined by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and the chief of the *New England* council, in a petition which they presented to the privy council of *England* against the colony; but in this they had no success. Next year, some of the heads of the puritan ministers then settled in *New England* arrived in *Old England* to solicit farther supplies for their colony. The good sense, the policy, and the great national advantages accruing from it, got the better of *Laud* and his brethren of the established church, all-powerful as they were with their misled master. Some of the members of the council-board, sensible of the national advantages arising from the colony, patronized them; and all the puritans in *England*, who were then a formidable body, favoured them, as did most men of sense even of the established religion.

Murder of two
Englishmen.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that some of the colonists settled in *New England* did not behave with proper moderation, even in temporal affairs. They had no ideas of the right which the natives had to their own country; and whatever may be pretended of the puritans having purchased it from the *Indians*, the latter were often treated with an impolitic barbarity. Pity it was, that they had no other means of testifying their resentment, but by actions reciprocally barbarous. The *Pequots* was an *Indian* nation, lying in the neighbourhood of *New Plymouth*. Two *English* gentlemen, captain *Stone* and captain *Morton*, were incautious enough to set out in a small bark from *New England* towards *Virginia*, and to force two of the natives, whom they seized, to pilot them up *Connecticut* river. The *Pequots*, suspecting that this was done with a design to seize on their lands on the borders of that river, both the gentlemen, with six men attending them, were surprized and put to death; their bark blowing up after it had been plundered by the savages. This, in the main, seems to have been the truth, and, though the *Indians* endeavoured to excuse themselves by pretending that the bark blew up by accident, yet they never could be prevailed upon to restore the plunder they had seized.

The colony per-
secute Wil-
liams.

In a society primarily founded upon religious principles, it is not surprising that religion had there a great influence. One Mr. *Williams*, the minister of *Salem*, had broached several wrong-headed opinions, and amongst others the following, viz. That it was not lawful

for

a for good men to join in family prayer with the wicked; that it was unlawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate; and that the king of *England* having no right over the *Indians* of *America*, his patent was invalid; with several other principles of the like tendency. *Williams* was so obstinate, that he defended his doctrines, for which he and his followers were driven out of *Massachusetts* colony, and took refuge on the banks of an adjoining river, where they built a town, which they called *Providence*, lying to the southward of *Plymouth*, opposite *Rhode-Island*, and in the country of the *Narragansets*. *Williams*, in other respects, seems to have been a wise, virtuous, worthy man; and proved afterwards to be one of the greatest benefactors to the new settlement that ever went from *Old England*.

In the year 1635, the famous Sir *Henry Vane*, the younger, who afterwards lost his head b for high-treason in *England*, and who, notwithstanding all his parts, was at this time a gloomy hair-brained enthusiast, went over to *New England* in a fleet of twenty sail, well provided with stores and passengers of all kinds. He is said to have been encouraged to this voyage by *Charles I.* himself, who wanted to be rid of him, and persuaded his father to let him be absent for three years. A man of his figure and reputation highly engaged the attention of both *Old* and *New England*; and, instead of forming a settlement, as he proposed to do, on the banks of *Connecticut* river, he accepted of the government of *Massachusetts*, which was offered him. His scheme of government was entirely different from the principles of the ruling party there, who, most inconsistently with their own conduct, demanded a rigorous conformity, through all their colony, in matters of religion. Sir c *Henry*, who, if he had any principle, was that which was afterwards called independency, was for a comprehension of the baptists, and all the other sectaries who dissented from the church of *England*; nor would he be dictated to by the ministers and their ruling elders. Being as violent as they were obstinate, at the next election he was set aside, and Mr. *Winthrop* was replaced in the government; upon which Sir *Henry* returned to *England*, where he acted a part sufficiently known in history.

Sir Henry Vane governor.

THE more the colony prospered, the more did the aversion of the *Pequots* to the *English* manifest itself; so that the scheme of making a settlement on *Connecticut* river for bridling d them was still pursued. The two settlements at *New Plymouth* and *Massachusetts* were, by fresh emigrations from *England*, now become so populous, that they contained towns, to which the names of the principal cities and towns in *England* were affixed. The situations of some of those towns, however, were not always well-judged; and upon the report of certain commissioners, who had been sent to survey the banks of *Connecticut* river, of their e amazing fertility and conveniency, many inhabitants already settled resolved to transplant themselves thither. Mr. *Hooker*, the minister, put himself at the head of the first detachment of those emigrants, and after easy journies of ten or eleven days, they arrived at the banks of that river, where they began to build a town, which they called *Hertford*; other detachments followed afterwards, who built *Windsor*, and three or four towns more. It happened unfortunately for those new planters, that they were obliged to draw all their f subsistence from *Massachusetts*; and it was so late in the year before the ship that was to carry them could be freighted, that she was frozen up at the mouth of the river, sixty miles below the nearest of the new plantations. This accident proved a dreadful blow upon the settlers, especially the poorer sort of them, many of whom were frozen to death in endeavouring to get back to their former habitations; nor indeed can we well conceive how the others could subsist, unless they carried their provisions with them, or had drawn them from the ship. Be this as it will, it is certain, that they who remained, by their courage and perseverance, conquered all difficulties, and, in the spring of the year 1636, this colony was in a condition, not only to subsist, but to defend itself from the natives. Great part of its settlements, however, being without the limits of the *Massachusetts's Bay* company, under whose commission they acted, they agreed upon a plan of government amongst themselves, and chose for their governor *Edward Hopkins*, Esq;

The Connecticut company settled.

Their difficulties.

THE independency with which those colonists acted, the prosperous state of their settlements, with the beauty and fertility of the country, now made it to be considered by the heads of the puritan party in *England*, many of whom were men of the first rank; fortunes, and abilities, as the sanctuary of liberty; and some of them, particularly the lord viscount Say, and the lord *Brooke*, formed a design to transport thither themselves, their families, and effects. It happened, that the earl of *Warwick*, who was a puritan likewise, had obtained a grant from the crown of all that part of the country, extending from the river *Narraganset* forty leagues in a strait line, near the sea-shore towards *Virginia*, for so the continent, south of *New England*, was then called. This grant was assigned by the earl g of *Warwick* to the lords *Brooke* and *Say*, *Charles Fiennes*, Esq, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Richard Knightly*, Esq; *John Pym*, Esq; *John Hampden*, Esq; and *Herbert Pelham*, Esq. But matters, about this time, began to take a turn in *England*. The friends of the constitution had secretly united themselves against the court, and had entered

Great scheme for peopling New England

dropt.

tered into a correspondence with the heads of the *Scotch* parliament; so that the above gentlemen thought it would be cowardly for them to desert their country, while there remained the smallest probability of their being able to serve her. They therefore sent over a commission to Mr. *Fenwick*, their agent in *New England*, authorising him to dispose of their lands, which he accordingly did, to the colony of *Connecticut*, who thereby luckily obtained for the first time a legal patent for a great part of their possessions.

Aburd conduct of the English government.

THE design of the lords and the gentlemen to transport themselves to *New England* came to the ears of the court; and it was publickly known that several other members of the house of commons, amongst whom were *Oliver Cromwell* and Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, had the same intention. *Laud*, and the bigots about king *Charles*, trembled at this, and prevailed with *Juxon*, bishop of *London*, then lord-high-treasurer, to lay an embargo upon eight ships lying then in the *Thames* for *New England*. A proclamation, at the same time, was emitted to restrain the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects. Thus *Charles* and his ministers sought to undo the only prosperous measure of his reign, as if they had been ashamed of having so long connived at the felicity of *England*. They, at the same time, procured the lord admiral's order for stopping all divines, who did not conform to the church of *England*, from transporting themselves to his majesty's plantations; and several other orders, equally absurd and impolitic, of the same kind were published. Those foolish measures seemed to encrease the desire of the people to leave *England*; and, in the summer of 1636, so many planters arrived, that they could find no place for them to settle on *Massachusetts Bay*. They, therefore, purchased from the natives the land that lies between *Connecticut* river and *New York*, called *Hudson's* river; and there founded the town, colony, province, and government of *Newhaven*; which, with *Long Island*, which was comprehended in their purchase, was soon filled with towns, all of them, as usual, with *Old English* names. The heads of those emigrants were *Theophilus Eaton*, Esq; an eminent merchant, and the reverend Mr. *Davenport*, minister of *Coleman-street*, who, having been obliged to fly for non-conformity to *Holland*, returned to *England* in disguise, where he shipped himself off for *New England*. This colony at first, being most of them traders, applied to commerce, in which they were unsuccessful; but when they turned themselves to clear and improve their lands, they throve like the rest.

Trade of New England.

THE trade of *New England* consisted now of two great branches; the product of the earth, in which we include the peltry; and that of the sea: but the furs and fishes were commonly in the same hands, and the north-east parts of *New England* were found to be the most commodious for both. Two counties were therefore there laid out, those of *New Hampshire* and *Main*, between the rivers *Merrimack* and *Sagadahock*; and here likewise several towns were built. The difficulties which this last settlement, which lay within the line of the *Massachusetts* colony, met with, arose from their own feuds and dissensions, which in the end deprived them of their independency. The *French* colonies in *Canada* having great communications with the *Indians*, who lay nearest to *New England*, used all means to disturb their settlements; and it is certain that the *French* councils at home had a great effect on the mind of *Charles*, and were a principal means of the impolitic discouragement which he now gave to his *New England* subjects. Add to this, that the *Dutch* were then settled in the country now called *New York*, and did not behold the flourishing state of *New England* with pleasing eyes.

War with the Pequots.

THE *Pequots*, whom we have already mentioned, had for some time been at war with their neighbours, the *Narragansets*, and likewise with the *Dutch* at *New York*; but they on all occasions manifested their ill-will towards the *English*, whom they considered as the invaders and usurpers of their country. The *English*, for some time, were not able to act offensively, or they would have brought them to account for the deaths of the captains *Stone* and *Morton*, and likewise for many alarms which they had given their settlements, particularly their mother-one at *New Plymouth*. But at the time we now treat of, the four colonies of *New Plymouth*, *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut*, and *Newhaven*, could muster 7000 men. This struck the *Pequots* with terror, and they pretended to court the friendship of Mr. *Winthrop*, the governor of *Massachusetts*. *Winthrop* agreed to a treaty, but insisted upon terms not a little arbitrary, viz. That the murderers of *Stone* should be given up; that the *Pequots* should make a cession of their lands adjacent to *Connecticut* river, and that a free trade should be opened between the two nations. The *Pequots* seemed disposed to grant those demands, provided the *English* would bring about a peace between them and the *Narragansets*, which it seems could not be effected. The *Pequots* then seized a *Massachusetts* vessel, and murdered its owner. They then proceeded to other hostilities; killed nine men at *Weathersfeld*, an *English* town upon *Connecticut* river, and took prisoners two young women, who escaped being put to death by torture by the sachem's wife taking a liking for them. The governor and council at *Boston*, which was already become the residence of the *New England* legislature, to revenge those insults, sent the captains *Endicot*,

Underhill,

a Underhill, and Turner, with one hundred and twenty men, the greatest army of *Englishmen* that had ever been before seen in *New England*, to demand satisfaction. The *Indians* fled to the woods, and all the satisfaction the *English* obtained, was their destroying their corn and cottages. Upon their departure, the savages attacked *Seabrook*, the fort that had been erected by Mr. *Fenwick*; but they were repulsed, though the garrison consisted of no more than twenty men. In revenge for this, they killed some people who were at work in the fields, and applied to the *Narragansets* for assistance against the *English*, but were refused it.

THE *English* of those parts foresaw and dreaded the consequences, should they suffer such insults to remain unchastised; and, therefore, a kind of crusade was preached up b against the infidels, through all the confederated colonies. That of *Connecticut*, young as it was, furnished ninety men under captain *Mason*; *Seabrook* twenty, under captain *Underhill*; and these, being joined, sailed to the *Narragansets* port, where they demanded from the sachem a free passage into the *Pequots* country, which was granted. Five hundred *Narragansets*, who joined them on their march, deserted them when they came near the *Pequots* country, and returned home; but *Uncas*, a friendly sachem, and his men, stood firm to the *English*, though, when they came within sight of danger, they fell into the rear of the party.

ARRIVING at the *Pequots* country, they had intelligence that *Sassacus*, the sachem of the *Pequots*, and his men, were retired into two strong forts on the river *Mistick*, about c eight miles distant from each other. This *Sassacus* was the most tremendous champion of all the *American* chiefs, being so strong and so brave at the same time, that his people said he was a god, and could not be killed. The *English* set fire to the first fort they came to, while all within it were asleep, and killed all whom the flames did not consume, excepting seven or eight who escaped; so that, in fact, they may be said to have massacred four or five hundred unsuspecting, unoffending barbarians. By this time, *Sassacus*, who was in the other fort, got together three hundred of his men, and harassed the rear of the *English* for almost six miles. The victory, if it may be called so, of the *English*, appeared to be next to miraculous to the savages, who, measuring every thing by success, abandoned the brave *Sassacus*, and he was obliged to conceal himself. The second detachment of the d *English* from *Massachusetts Bay*, about a fortnight after the massacre committed by the first, arrived in the *Pequot* country, with an intention, as appeared by the sequel, to exterminate the very race. Finding no body of them, they scoured the woods in small parties, and killed or took prisoners all they met with. They cut off the heads of two sachems, but gave the third his life, for being so dastardly as to discover the place where *Sassacus* was concealed. The latter, however, was not to be surprised, and escaped to the country of the *Maquas*, or *Mobocks*, who inhumanly put him to death at the request of the *Narragansets*, instigated, probably, by the *English*. Amongst other adventures in this expedition, a party of the *English* met with eight hundred men, and two hundred women, with their children, whom they drove into a swamp, where they must have been starved to death if e they remained, or killed, had they attempted to leave it. A fog arose which favoured the escape of the men, but they were discovered, pursued, many of them killed, and some of them found dead in the woods of their wounds. The women surrendered, and became the prey of the victors. Amongst them was the sachem's wife, who had so generously f saved the lives of the two *Weathersfield* maids. With a modest dignity, which would have done honour to a *Roman* matron, she requested her captors, that her body might not be abused, nor her children taken from her; and the sweetness of her countenance and behaviour was answerable to the virtue and tenderness of her requests. The number of the prisoners in the whole was about one hundred and eighty, and they were divided between the colonies of *Connecticut* and *Massachusetts*. As to the women and children, the former were dispersed through the *English* settlements, and the male infants were sent to *Bermudas*. We own, unless those colonists had some other motives than those expressed in their history, which is not very probable, we cannot account for the humanity or justice of this war. Conquest, it is true, is said to establish a right; but then the grounds of the quarrel, from which that conquest arises, ought to be justifiable, otherwise the conquest itself is a wicked and an illegal title. As to the *Pequots*, their lands were distributed amongst the *English* planters; of the few who escaped, some fled to other countries, and others submitted to the conquerors, who divided them between the *Narragansets* and the *Mobegins*, who were friends to the *English*.

Expedition against the natives.

An example of savage virtue.

Religious differences.

A WAR of a different kind, which threatened the extinction of the colony, had by this time broken out. Diversity of religions in an undertaking of that kind, is only so far beneficial, as they are founded upon the principles of toleration; but no toleration is to be expected among hot-brained enthusiasts, such as the majority of those *New Englanders* were. They began upon the fanatical parts of controversy, and their madness was encouraged

raged by young *Vane*. Whether the preference ought to be given to the covenant of a works or the covenant of grace, was a most important point to be decided, and the controversy took rise from women. One lady, *Mrs. Hutchinson*, held in her house assemblies of female devotees, where she held forth in sermons and other effusions of nonsense. This religious contagion was soon communicated to their husbands. Mechanics set up for preachers, and the old ministers were turned out. The clergy themselves were divided, till at last the magistrates interposed and a synod was called; the majority of which happened to be for the magistrates, that is, on the side of common sense. Notwithstanding the threatening aspect which those divisions bore to the affairs of the colony, yet in the end they turned greatly to its advantage. The madness of the *Antinomians*, for so the party condemned by the synod was called, obliged their antagonists to inflict some severities upon them; upon which the others purchased what is now called *Rhode-Island*, and made so judicious a choice of their situation, that it was soon so much overstocked with inhabitants and planters, that part of them were obliged to purchase lands near the river *Patuxet*, where they built two towns, *Providence* and *Warwick*; and the spot of *Rhode-Island*, with those two towns its dependencies, is at present amongst the most flourishing in all *North America*.

A college established.

FROM what has been said of those religious disputes, the governors of *New England* very reasonably thought that nothing could so effectually remove their causes, as the introduction of useful learning into their colony. This had been long foreseen, and so far back as the year 1630, a sum of money had been subscribed for founding a college there for the education of youth. But the sum being too small, and the *Pequot* war employing the attention of the public, the design lay long unexecuted, till the munificence of private benefactors, as well as of public bodies, now carried it into execution. A spot, about six miles from *Boston*, was pitched upon, and there a college, which goes by the name of its principal benefactor, *Harward*, was erected, which gives the town where it is situated the name of *Cambridge*.

Increase of the colony.

FEW of the places originally pitched upon for settlements in *New England*, were now able to contain or maintain their inhabitants, and frequent migrations happened. In 1640, the year we now treat of, the inhabitants of *Lyn* in *Massachusetts* purchased from the agents of the earl of *Sterling*, a great proprietary in those countries, the western part of *Long Island*. But, being there incommoded by the *Dutch*, they removed to the eastern part, where they built the town of *Southampton*; and, in imitation of the other settlements in *New England*, they formed themselves into a civil government. It is computed, that, about this time, the four colonies or settlements of *New England* contained above 4000 planters. Though all of them were under separate governments, yet a kind of a federal union subsisted amongst them; but they did not, till two years after, come into any certain plan of general government. In 1641, *Massassoit*, the son probably of old *Massassoit*, and his son *Novanam*, came to *New Plymouth*, which was now called simply *Plymouth*, and not only renewed the former league between his people and the *English*, but concluded with the latter a treaty offensive and defensive. This was a very wise measure on both sides: *Massassoit* thereby was taken into the protection of the *English*, and though they were then so powerful, that they could have brought 3000 armed men into the field, yet it was highly convenient for them to have savages to oppose savages, in case of being attacked. In the year 1642, the number of *English* capable to bear arms in *New England* were computed to be between 7 or 8000; by which it appears, how much the civil war improved that colony. No fewer than seventy-seven divines, expelled from *England*, settled in *New England*, besides sixteen students, who afterwards became ministers. Many of those, however, when the puritan and independent party got the upper hand in *England*, shewed that they had a regard for their interest, as well as their conscience, by leaving their flocks, and returning to *Old England*, where they met with places and preferments. At the time we now treat of, fifty towns and villages were planted, about forty ministers had houses, and public works of all kinds were erected at public expence. All this could not have been done, but through the almost incredible industry of the inhabitants, which had by this time rendered their country a near resemblance of *England*. Fields were hedged in, gardens, orchards, meadow, and pasture grounds were laid out, and all the improvements of husbandry took place, particularly the sowing of corn, and the feeding of cattle. As to the commercial part of the inhabitants, they shipped off vast quantities of fish for *Portugal* and the *Straits*, besides supplying other places, *England* particularly, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. They exported bread and beef to the sugar islands, with oil and lumber, or timber, of all kinds, some of which they sent to their mother-country; and, what is still more surprising, they carried on a great trade in ship-building, being plentifully furnished with materials both for themselves and others. It was about this time likewise, that *Thomas Mayhew*, Esq; purchased a patent for an island, which he called *Martha's Vineyard*, to the south east of *Rhode-Island*, with two other islands

a islands near it, called *Nantucket* and *Elizabeth* islands. *Mahew* took out this patent principally with a view of converting to christianity the natives of those islands. For this purpose he settled his son, who was of his own cast, in *Martha's Vineyard*; and both together gave themselves up entirely to the conversion of the *Indians* with great success, which is the less to be wondered at, as the converts were their own tenants, or rather their property. *Maybew* the son being drowned soon after, the father continued his evangelical labours, being assisted by his grandson, the third *Maybew*, who proved an able and a worthy minister. This spot, in a short time, became as flourishing as any in *New England*.

NEITHER their labours, however, nor those of the other christian ministers, could extirpate the barbarous usages of the natives, or reconcile their tribes to one another. b *Miantonimo*, king of the *Narragansets*, having failed in a design he had to assassinate *Uncas*, one of the kings of the *Mohocks*, declared war against him; but, though *Uncas* was far inferior in strength to his antagonists, he defeated him, took him prisoner, and cut off his head. The *Narragansets* were so exasperated at this, that, being more numerous than the others, they carried on the war with a resolution to exterminate *Uncas'* nation, who were therefore obliged to put themselves under the protection of the *English*. This was granted them, but on express condition that they should deliver up the sons of their new king, as hostages for their keeping the peace, and paying the expences of the war. Those savages are faithless oftener through indolence than design, and neglecting to perform their promise, the governor of *Massachusetts* ordered one captain *Atherton* to take a c small party of men, and to compel them. It is almost incredible with what ease *Atherton* performed this service; for such was the dread of the *English* power amongst those savages, that he marched to the wigwam or palace of *Neriget*, the *Narraganset* sachem, and without the smallest opposition from any of his subjects, he dragged him out by the hair of his head, and with a pistol at his breast compelled him to pay the money, and to deliver up the hostages.

Differences amongst the Indians.

It is certain, and indeed it appears from the accounts of the *French* themselves, that the *French* were very troublesome about this time; and that the *French* missionaries of *Canada* were extremely active in spiring up the more distant savages against the *English* colonists of *New England*. This put the latter upon a very wise expedient, for uniting d all the four governments into a political confederacy, yet each retaining the form and independency of its interior government. This project had been long in agitation, and, at last, on the seventh of *September*, 1643, the same was effected by an instrument under the following title, viz. "Articles of confederation, between the plantations under the government of the *Massachusetts*, the plantations under the government of *Plymouth*, the plantations under the government of *Connecticut*, and the plantations under the government of *Newhaven*, with the plantations in combination therewith." By those articles they declared that they all came into those parts of *America* with the same errand and aim, to advance the christian religion, and enjoy the liberty of their consciences with purity and peace; that two commissioners should annually be chosen, who should have full powers from e the general court of each settlement to meet at an appointed place to concert and conclude matters of general concernment, such as peace or war, and other affairs conducing to the general welfare of the confederacy. It is more than probable, that the plan of this excellent measure was taken from that of the government of the *United Provinces*. Their deputies sat as the states-general, but without the same inconveniences attending their constitution, because it was more simple, and under no controul but that of the four constituent bodies that appointed them; so that from this time we are to consider them under the common denomination of *New England*.

The French practices against the English.

By this time, the mother-colony of *New Plymouth* was overstocked with inhabitants, and its soil worn out, which put some of the principal inhabitants upon transporting themselves to a place called by the natives, from whom they purchased it, *Namsset*; and which f was every way proper for the purposes both of agriculture and commerce, the soil being rich for the one, and the situation convenient for the other, it lying near *Cape Cod*. Having removed hither with their best effects, they built the town of *East-Ham*, now lying in *Barnstable* county.

New Plymouth overstocked.

THE affairs of *New England* were then in so flourishing a situation, that, as has been the case with states of much greater importance, they grew wanton with prosperity, and the liberty they enjoyed threatened their ruin. They had nothing to apprehend from the savages, who were even useful to them in carrying on their affairs; and the *French* were at too great a distance to give them much disturbance. They split however amongst themselves; for the inhabitants of *Hingham* in *Suffolk* county, in a domestic contention, having broken the peace, Mr. *Winthrop*, the deputy-governor of the *Massachusetts*, committed the rioters to prison for refusing to give bond to appear at the quarter-sessions, and to answer for words spoken in defamation of the general court of the *Massachusetts*. This produced a petition from the inhabitants of the town, signed by seven of them; of whom g fix,

The Massachusetts governor impeached;

fix, being cited to the court, appealed to the *English* parliament, and offered bail for standing to its award. This was a very dangerous precedent, and if admitted, must have ruined the public peace; especially, as they complained of many other grievances. The members of the general court were sensible of this, and fined and imprisoned the petitioners, whose chief complaints were levelled against the deputy-governor *Winthrop*. The general court, however, with a right republican spirit, commanded *Winthrop* to descend from his dignity on the bench, to clear his conduct at the bar, which he most magnanimously did to the admiration and satisfaction of all present, and a severer fine was added to the punishment of the offenders. Mr. *Winthrop*, having resumed his seat upon the bench, made the following speech, which is equal to any thing of antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate.

“GENTLEMEN,

*his speech on
his being ac-
quitted.*

“I will not look back to the past proceedings of this court, nor to the persons therein concerned; I am satisfied that I was publickly accused, and that I am now publickly acquitted; but give me leave to say something on this occasion, that may rectify the opinion of the people, from whom these distempers of the state have arisen. The questions that have troubled the country of late have been about the authority of the magistrate, and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God, and I entreat you to consider that you chose them from among yourselves, and that they are men, subject to the like passions with yourselves. We take an oath to govern you according to God’s laws and our own, to the best of our skill; if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us; nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. Their is a liberty in doing what we list, without regard to law or justice: this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority; but civil, moral, federal liberty consists in every one’s enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country; this is what you ought to contend for, with the hazard of your lives; but this is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and the paying him that respect that his character in common requires.”

THIS noble speech was of equal benefit to the reputation of Mr. *Winthrop*, and the peace of the colony. It settled him firmly in the esteem and the affections of the people, and the general court; and by his well-timed condescension, he became more powerful than ever. *New England* then was in a perfect state of tranquility, and we are to make use of this interval to shew how well it was improved for the great end of the colonists converting the *Indians*, by which a civil as well as a religious end was obtained, as by their conversion they were rendered useful members to society. The reverend Mr. *John Elliot*, whom we have already named, was the first of the *English* missionaries who ventured into the countries of the savages to preach the gospel. For this purpose, he applied himself to one of the most discouraging studies, that of learning, their language. In other respects, he was extremely proper for the labours of a mission. He had been educated at *Cambridge*, where he had acquired a considerable stock of learning, and coming over to *New England*, he was settled at *Roxbury*, where he continued minister for about sixty years, and became so great a proficient in the *Indian* language, that he published a grammar of it. In *October*, 1646, he set out on his mission, but sent forerunners to apprise the *Indians* of his intention. Upon this he was met upon the borders of the country he intended to convert by five or six of the savages, headed by a grave *Indian*, one *Waubon*, who welcomed him; and, ushering him into a large wigwam, he there began to preach and instruct his new disciples. According to his representation of their questions, arising from his religious discourses, they were not void either of quickness or docility, and, in a short time, several hundreds were converted. The civil government of *New England* wisely seconded the apostolical labours of this reverend person. They furnished him with all kinds of tools for agriculture, and with money to encourage the natives to labour, which he distributed amongst his converts; so that in a short time, they built a town upon a spot assigned them by the colony. The great difficulty of this undertaking was to break the natives of their idle habits, and to conquer their indolence; in which the missionary and his associates (for he had several) succeeded to admiration, though they never could bring them to go through the laborious works so well as an *Englishman*. They laboured, however, with great assiduity, women as well as men, after they came to taste the profits of their toil; and, at last, they agreed to the following laws, which will give the reader a lively idea of their manners. “1. If any man be idle a week, or at most, a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings. 2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a woman unmarried, he shall pay twenty shillings. 3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and he shall be carried to the place of justice, to be severely punished. 4. Every young man, if not another’s servant, and if unmarried, shall be compelled to set up a wigwam, and plant for himself, and not shift up and

Laws enacted.

- a down in other wigwams. 5 If any woman shall not have her hair tied up, but hang loose, or be cut as man's hair, she shall pay five shillings. 6. If any woman shall go with naked breasts, she shall pay five shillings. 7. All men that shall wear long locks, shall pay five shillings."

THEIR compliance with christianity, and the above institutions, wrought so surprising a change for the better upon those converts, that the *Indians*, about the town of *Concord*, longed to be converted likewise. Mr. *Elliot*, at their request, visited them; and a spot of ground was assigned them for building a town. As the *Indians* have different vices or superstitions in every tribe; Mr. *Elliot* prevailed upon those converts to abolish the *powwow*, or conjurings of their priests, which were most infamous impositions: b Drunkenness was punished by a fine of twenty shillings. A thief was to restore four fold. Twenty shillings was the penalty for profaning the sabbath, and for fornication; but the woman for the last named crime was to pay only ten shillings; the man who beat his wife was to pay twenty shillings; and murder and adultery were made capital crimes. They likewise agreed to lay aside their savage customs of greasing their hair, howling, and the like, and to conform themselves to the *English* dress and behaviour, to say prayers and grace before and after meat. Several *English* gentlemen and divines in the neighbourhood, undertook to enforce the execution of those laws, and the new converts had cloaths distributed amongst them.

THIS rapid progress of christianity alarmed the *Indian* sachems, who complained that c both their revenues and their authority were diminished since their subjects had turned christians. Even *Uncas*, the friendly sachem we have already mentioned, seeing his territory now quite surrounded with the *English*, became apprehensive that their government would issue orders for his and his courtiers praying in their wigwams, and therefore he came into the general court of *Connecticut*, and there entered a formal protest against any such proceeding. *Cutshamequin*, another sachem, stood very high upon his prerogative, and prohibited all his christian subjects building any town in his territories; "because," said he to Mr. *Elliot*, my praying subjects do not pay me tribute as formerly." Upon enquiry, however, it was found, that what his majesty said was not strictly true; and that d he had received the same revenues as before, only, being a despotic tyrant, he was not, so much as formerly, master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. His complaints met with so much regard, that Mr. *Elliot* was chosen umpire between him and his people who enumerated thirty-two bushels of corn, fifteen deer, the discharging a debt he owed of 3 l. 10 s. and a beaver skin worth forty shillings, they had given him, besides building and enclosing his wigwam and several days work. They added that they would even do more, if he would govern them justly, and turn christian. *Cutshamoquin*, like other tyrants, could not bear with his subjects remonstrances, and their liberty of speech, and therefore left the assembly with high indignation; but, when he grew cool, he turned christian himself, as being the most ready means of encreasing his revenue.

BUT, notwithstanding the opposition those conversions met with, the converts multiplied e so greatly, that the praying christians, for so they were called, built a large town near *Charles* river, in the middle of the *Massachusetts*; and was the best *Indian* town, that had ever been seen either in the *French* or the *English* settlements of *North America*. It consisted of three long streets, (one of them on the other side of the river, but joined by a wooden bridge) and a large house built after the *English* manner, which served for a church, a school-room, a store-house, and a lodging for Mr. *Elliot*. This *Indian* town soon increased in bulk and populousness, and the natives called it *Natick*. Mr. *Elliot's* missionary labours grew so much upon his hands, that he was obliged to take for his pupil an ingenious *Indian*, whose name was *Menequesson*, whom he made his schoolmaster at *Natick*. It is to the honour of Mr. *Elliot* that we mention, he was so zealous and so f disinterested a missionary, that he translated several tracts; and, at last, the bible itself, into the *Indian* language, which was afterwards printed. In other parts of this great colony, (for such it now was) other ministers were equally zealous; and Mr. *Mayhew*, particularly, converted an *Indian* called *Hiaccomes*, who, with his son, turned preacher, and were extremely useful to them. Other *English* ministers, after Mr. *Elliot's* example, learned the *Indian* language; and, in a short time, no fewer than eleven *Indian* christian settlements, with churches and schools were formed and all of them but three supplied with *Indian* pastors and school-masters; nay, in some of the most populous; particularly, near *East Ham*, they had *Indian* justices of the peace. All this success was owing to the good usage those savages met with; for the remains of the *Pequots*, the *Narragansets*, and the *Mchegins*, who had been severely handled by the *English*, were still irreconcilable to christianity, notwithstanding the indefatigable labours of Mr. *Mayhew*.

It is not to be dissembled, that, however exemplary the lives of the *English* colonists might be at this time, the unconverted *Indians*, seeing them in possession of so great a g

State of christianity.

An Indian town.

Discontent of the natives.

part of the country, and still acquiring more, had but a very indifferent opinion of their justice, and their goodness of heart. This appears by an excellent repartee given to Mr. Mayhew, who, wanting to convert a sachem, the latter bid him "go, and make the *English* good first." By this time, a society for propagating the gospel was formed in *New England*, and it was reckoned that about 5000 *Indian* converts, who were supposed to have been the fourth part of all the remaining natives, were made in that province. This very noble institution was confirmed in 1649, by the parliament of *England*, who then passed an act to encourage the propagating the gospel amongst the *Indians* in *New England*. In consequence of this act, a corporation was established in *England*, consisting of a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with power to receive and disburse money for those pious purposes; and so popular were the interests of *New England* at that time, that the money contributed in one year in *Old England* enabled the society to purchase estates to the yearly value of 600 l. But this subject has carried us a little beyond our time.

Conspiracy against the English.

In 1647, the *French* found means to engage in their interests some of the outlying *Indians*; and *Sequassan*, a sachem near *Newhaven*, undertook to murder the *English* magistrates there. The *Narragansets* and *Mobegins* likewise shewed dispositions for renewing the war against *Uncas*, but were over-awed by the *English*, who, at the same time, obliged them to give satisfaction for some murders and depredations they had committed near *Rhode Island*. The year 1648 was remarkable for nothing, but the *New England* churches agreeing to the confession of faith published by the assembly of divines at *Westminster*, and for modelling their ecclesiastical discipline. But, at this time, the inhabitants of *New England* were in so great security from their *Indian* enemies, that they gave way to the most inhuman persecutions of one another. Till then in *England*, all were blended under the denomination of puritans, which signified dissenters of all kinds from the established church. But when they came to have an established church, under the protection of the civil government, which was the case when the parliament and *Oliver Cromwell* ruled in *England*, their different sects shewed themselves; and the ruling party, the presbyterians, shewed no more mercy to the baptists and the quakers, than *Laud* and his party had shewed to themselves. At a place called *Rehobeth*, in the *Plymouth* colony, this persecution first broke out, and six or seven of the baptists, who had separated from their presbyterian brethren, were severely whipped, fined, and imprisoned, excepting such whose friends, unknown to themselves, bought their whipping off, to the great mortification of the parties, who were ambitious of suffering in their persons. Some years after, viz. in 1656, this spirit of persecution broke out still more bitterly against the quakers, many of whom had come from *Barbadoes* to *New England*, where the magistrates first were contented with ordering them to be re-shipped for that island. In the mean while, it was enacted, that every master of a ship bringing thither a quaker, or quakers should forfeit 100 l. That all quakers, landing in *New England* should be sent to the house of correction, there to be severely whipped, and held to hard labour, and none to speak to them; and that 5 l. should be the penalty for dispersing any of their books or pamphlets. Several sanguinary punishments were accordingly inflicted upon those deluded wretches; but these not being thought sufficiently severe, the following inhuman laws were added to the former. "If a quaker, for the first offence, that is, coming to *New England*, after having been banished, if a man, to have one of his ears cut and be kept to hard work in the house of correction, till he could be shipped off at his own charges. For the second offence, to lose the other ear, and be kept in the house of correction. If a woman, to be severely whipped and kept as aforesaid. For the third offence, man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and then to be kept in the house of correction, till they can be shipped off at their own charges."

Their enthusiasm.

Those laws were productive of still greater mutilations and whippings; and Mr. *Bradford*, who had been governor of *New Plymouth* colony for about thirty-seven years, dying, he was succeeded by *Thomas Prince*, Esq; as was Mr. *Eaton*, the original governor of *Newhaven* colony, by *Francis Newman*, Esq. The severities against the quakers, instead of deterring them, seemed to invite them into *New England*; where, at last, the magistrates, ministers, and elders, made a law for shipping them off, and prohibiting their return under pain of death. It was with great difficulty carried, that the delinquents in such cases should have the benefit of a jury. It happened, to the disgrace of the *English* planters, that *Endicot*, the governor, was himself an enthusiast, and consequently a persecutor; and four quakers, one of whom was a woman, were actually hanged for returning from transportation. Upon the restoration, the colony sent over *Bradstreet*, their secretary, and *Norton*, a minister, with their congratulations to *Charles II.* who received them civilly; but, upon their return, they were upbraided, particularly *Norton*, for having laid the foundation for the colony's ruin. Some time after, secretary *Morrice*, who was himself

a himself a presbyterian, by command of his master, *Charles II.* sent over an order for the government of *New England* to stop all proceedings against quakers, which was obeyed, only, so far as related to capital punishment.

ABOUT this time, the two sons of *Massasoit*, the deceased *Indian* prince, came to the general court at *New Plymouth*, and desired, without receiving baptism, to have christian names given them; upon which they received those of *Alexander* and *Philip*. It soon appeared, that *Alexander* was exciting the *Narragansets* against the *English*, upon which Mr. *Winslow*, who was called major-general of the colony, and next in authority to the governor, was sent with ten men to bring him prisoner to *Plymouth*. *Winslow* accordingly surprized his majesty at one of his country-seats; and *Alexander*, with a pistol, at his breast, consented to the journey, but insisted to go as a king; upon which *Winslow* offered to give him a horse, but the king was too polite to ride, while his squaw, or wife, and his other women were to go on foot, and walked to *New Plymouth*, where he was very civilly received by governor *Prince*. The affront he had received, however, put his spirits into such an agitation that it threw him into a fever, of which he died.

Submission of the Indian princes.

His brother and successor, *Philip*, was young, spirited, and politic; and, finding himself, at his accession in no condition to maintain a war against the *English*, he came to *Plymouth*, where he renewed his family-alliances with the colony; and farther obliged himself, by an instrument drawn up for that purpose, neither to sell nor alienate any of his lands without their approbation; they, on their parts, engaging to give him all friendly assistance. The year 1662 was spent at *Boston* in ridiculous theological disputes; but, when the *Bartholomew* act took place, by which the dissenting clergy, who did not comply with the church of *England*, were turned out of their livings, *New England* received a fresh reinforcement of pastors; of whom the famous Dr. *Owen* would have been one, had he not received his majesty's positive commands to the contrary, after some of his goods had been put on board.

History of king Philip.

THE hands of the government of *New England* being now tied up from putting the quakers to death, the spirit of persecution broke out again, in a manner disgraceful, not only to that colony, but to human nature and reason, by burning innocent people for witches. One Mrs. *Greenwich*, at *Hertford*, was hanged for having lain with the devil. This execution was scarcely over, when the magistrates of *Connecticut* began to reflect that they had really no title, in any case, to inflict capital punishments; and the colony of *Newhaven* perceived itself to be in the same situation. Upon this, *John Winthrop*, Esq; son to the late governor of the *Massachusetts*, was employed by those two colonies to solicit for them, at the court of *England*, a charter for uniting them into one body corporate. *Winthrop*, who on his own, as well as his father's account, was greatly respected by the government, succeeded in his solicitations, and was the first governor of the united colonies, continuing so till his death. The earl of *Clarendon*, a wise and a moderate minister, was then at the head of affairs in *England*, and did all he could to mitigate his majesty's passion for enlarging his prerogative. It is not to be denied, that the people of *New England*, in general, had, for the reasons we have already seen, always affected an independency upon their mother country; especially when it was governed by the princes of the house of *Stuart*. We have already mentioned the estates, bought by the corporation for propagating the gospel in *New England*; and part of them having been purchased from colonel *Bedingfield*, a papist and a royalist, he, upon the restoration, re-entered upon the possession of them; but he was obliged to quit it by the lord chancellor *Clarendon*. His lordship, at the same time, upon the application of the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, and alderman *Ashurst*, procured a new charter to the corporation, by which the members therein nominated, and their successors for ever, were to be a society for the propagation of the gospel in *New England*. At the head of this new society stood the following illustrious names, *Edward*, earl of *Clarendon*, lord chancellor; *Thomas*, earl of *Southampton*, lord treasurer; *John*, lord *Roberts*, lord privy-seal; *George*, duke of *Albemarle*; *James*, duke of *Ormond*; *Edward*, earl of *Manchester*, lord chambelain; *Arthur*, earl of *Anglesey*; *William*, viscount *Say and Seal*. Besides those noblemen, the celebrated *Robert Boyle*, Esq; several knights and baronets, three aldermen of *London*, and many other gentlemen of great distinction and learning, were of this society; while Mr. *Boyle* promoted it with great zeal, and, at the expence of his private fortune, was chosen to be its first governor. The members were empowered to appoint corresponding members in *New England*, and its borders; to which their powers were limited.

Institution of the society for propagating the gospel.

g UPON the breaking out of the *Dutch* war, his majesty, who seemed still to have been uneasy about the constitution of *New England*, made a grant to the duke of *York* of all the lands possessed by the *Dutch* on both sides of *Hudson's Bay*, and a squadron of ships, with land forces, were sent to drive them away, under the command of Sir *Robert Car*, and colonel *Nicholls*. That service being performed, the two commanders, with other

The king sends a commission into New England.

two commissioners, *Cartwright* and *Maverick*, were ordered to repair to *New England*, there to decide all controverted points amongst the colonies. Arriving there, they presented to the governor and council of *New Plymouth* a letter from his majesty, in which he promises to preserve all their liberties and privileges both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation. "This, (continued his majesty) we presume will dispose you to manifest by all your ways in your power, loyalty, and affection to us, that all the world may know, that you look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience to us, as if you continued in your natural country." Though those expressions from a king of *England* to one of his colonies were justifiable, yet the presence of the commissioners, we are given to understand, was very unacceptable at *New Plymouth*. Soon after this, upon some extraordinary, but natural, appearances in the air, the magistrates, who seem to have been as much superstition-struck as the lowest of their people, wrote circular letters to the ministers and elders of every town to promote the reformation of manners, as if some very dreadful event had been at hand. The only thing of that kind, however, that happened was a renewal of their own persecutions of the baptists and the quakers, whom they now ruined by banishments, fines, and imprisonments. This produced an interposition from the heads of the presbyterian clergy in *England*, for a mitigation of the sufferings of the baptists, addressed to *John Leverett*, Esq; governor of the *Massachusetts*. At the same time, the chief of the *London* quakers obtained a like letter, signed by eleven of the most eminent dissenting divines, in favour of their brethren, but all was to little or no purpose.

The Philippic war.

WHILE the government of *New England* was thus, out of zeal for christianity, exercising a most unchristian spirit, *Philip*, king of the *Wampanoags*, the same we have already mentioned, mindful of his brother's disgrace, was meditating a most severe revenge against the *English*; and conducted himself with as much policy and courage as his namesake of *Macedon* could have done, had he been in like circumstances. According to *Charlevoix*^c, in the year 1673, there was no dispute in *America* between the courts of *France* and *England*; but it appears from him, at the same time, that this was owing to the tameness of the court of *England*, which was persuaded by the *French* to order its subjects to leave the fine settlements they had upon the banks of the river *Kennebek*, which they accordingly did, and retired to *New England*; which now far exceeding the *French* boasted colony at *Quebec* in populousness, strength, riches, commerce, and every circumstance that could render the lives of the colonists secure and agreeable. The *French*, therefore, considered *Boston* as the *Carthage*, that was, at any rate to be demolished; and early entered into secret connexions with king *Philip*. He saw they were not then in a condition to assist him; and, though he was a complete master of dissimulation, the *English* at *New Plymouth* began to suspect his intentions, and ordered him to repair to *Taunton*. *Philip* obeyed, and not only confirmed his former treaty with that government, but consented to pay 100*l.* for damages done by himself and his subjects; and, to shew that he was a vassal to the colony of *New Plymouth*, he agreed to send them every year by way of tenure five wolves heads. If the colony demanded this, it was unjust, as they could have no such claim of superiority over a native and independent prince. If the submission was voluntary, it was impolitic in them to accept of it, as they must know that it was dissimbled. Upon the whole, it appears but too plain, that those colonists now thinking themselves invincible, proceeded against *Philip* and his allies too haughtily, and unguardedly, and with too great a contempt of their power.

PHILIP had a secretary, one *Sansaman*, but whether he was his natural born subject does not appear, though he probably was. He was the son of a converted *Indian*, but growing up, he returned to the religion of his forefathers, from which he apostatized, and again turning christian and a preacher, he was sent upon the *Wampanoag* mission. Having in his heathenish state been secretary to *Philip*, such an apostle could not be a very agreeable guest in his dominions; and, as he was travelling the country, he was murdered by some of *Philip's* counsellors, at which we ought to be the less surprised, as we are told, that, during his mission, he held a correspondence with the *English*. The governor of *New Plymouth*, suspecting the truth, ordered the body to be taken out of its grave, and, the coroners inquest setting upon it, they brought in their verdict wilful murder; upon which one *Tobias*, one of *Philip's* counsellors, and his son, were upon the evidence of an *Indian*, and the ridiculous one of the body's bleeding at the touch of *Tobias*, tried by a jury, half *English*, half *Indians*, convicted and executed.

As the credibility of the history of *New England* at the time we treat of, depends originally upon the information of Mr. *Cotton Mather*, one of the weakest men that ever took a pen in his hand, but at the same time the very firebrand of persecution; and as Mr. *Neal*, a much more sober writer, was obliged to follow him in his facts, we are therefore

Difficulties of history.

- a to be cautious, and to judge from probabilities, as well as narratives. It is certain, that the love of lucre, and mutual jealousies amongst the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch*, who were settled in *North America*, had furnished the natives with fire-arms, of which they now knew the use; and being naturally better marksmen, and swifter of foot than the *Europeans*, they were dangerous enemies. All the advantages the *English* had in this respect was, that the converted *Indians*, who lived amongst them, continued faithful, and in every respect behaved like true *Englishmen*. About this time, some pirates ran away with a ship, after putting the master and some of his men on board the long-boat, and both parties happened to meet at the very same time in the port of *Boston*, upon which the pirates were seized, tried, and the ringleaders executed.
- b KING *Philip's* patience was by this time worn out, nor can we be surprized at it, considering the indignities he had suffered from the *English*. His first hostilities broke out near mount *Hope*, where he plundered an *English* plantation; but instead of giving satisfaction as usual to the governor of *New Plymouth*, who demanded it, his *Indians* murdered three *Englishmen* in the fields by day, and six others in the town of *Swansey* by night. This was in the year 1675, and the governor of *New Plymouth* immediately demanded from the confederate colonies their stipulated assistances. The *Plymouth* forces lay at *Swansey*, under captain *Cudworth*, and the *Massachusetts* colony detached captain *Prentice*, with a troop of horse, captain *Henchman*, with a company of foot, and captain *Moseley*, with another of volunteers, to join him. The *Indians* seldom or never could be brought to stand a pitched battle with the *Europeans*; and this junction being formed, they fled into the woods, upon which the *English* took possession of mount *Hope*, and ravaged their country. They then compelled the *Narragansets* to renounce their alliance with king *Philip*, and to enter into articles to assist the *English* against him, and all their other enemies; and, by way of encouragement, they were promised two coats for every living, and one for every dead *Wampanoag*, and twenty good coats for *Philip's* head. How far this reward for the life of a sovereign prince was agreeable to justice or the law of nations may be justly doubted, especially as it did not then judicially appear that he authorized the barbarities that had been committed by his subjects. In the mean while, captain *Cudworth* marched to prevent the *Pocassets*, another *Indian* tribe, from joining with *Philip*; but he found that they had already taken arms, and he was too weak to reduce them.
- d *PHILIP* knew perfectly well how to avail himself of the *Indian* manner of fighting, which was by ambuscades and surprizes. The *English* officers, on the other hand, finding their enemies fled, scoured the country with little or no precaution, and were often overreached by the stratagems of the barbarians. The head quarters of the *English* were then at *Taunton*, from whence they broke up, upon advice that *Philip* was in a swamp, lying on a spot called *Pocasset Neck*, between *Rhode-Island* and *Monument Bay*, about eighteen miles distant from *Taunton*. Thither they marched, but, after losing some men, they found themselves obliged to turn their attack into a blockade, which they formed with two hundred men, in hopes of starving out *Philip*, or obliging him to surrender. This service was performed by the *English* with neither courage nor conduct, for *Philip* in the mean time crossed the river on a raft, and made his escape into the country of the *Nipmucks*; one hundred of his men, however, were made prisoners. The *Nipmucks* were *Indians* lying between *Connecticut* and *New York*, and had already made such devastations in *Suffolk* county, as had obliged the *English* to draw off great part of their troops from their expedition against *Philip* to suppress them. At first, the *English* endeavoured to detach them by a treaty from *Philip's* interest; but they no sooner heard of that prince's arrival in their country, than they fired upon captain *Hutchinson*, one of the two officers sent to negotiate with them, killed some of his men, and obliged the rest to fly. *Philip*, who was by this time very strong, pursued them, and drove them, to the number of about seventy, into a house, where they must probably have been taken or burnt, had they not been relieved by major *Willard*, another *English* officer, who, at the head of no more than fifty men, surprized the *Indians* in the night-time, killed eighty of them, and obliged *Philip* in his turn to retreat, which he did towards the *Nipmuck* country. By this time the *Connecticut* forces had taken the field under major *Treat*, who was directed to observe *Philip's* motions. A proof of that prince's great abilities, we will not say virtues, arises from his inspiring all the savages in those parts with a passion for recovering their native independence and country. When the *English* demanded hostages from the savages on the borders of the *Nipmuck* country, instead of obeying, they were so attached to *Philip*, that they cut in pieces their own king for listening to the proposition, and marched to join *Philip*. They were pursued by the captains *Lathrop* and *Beers*, who killed twenty-six of them with the loss of ten of their own men. The rest joined *Philip*. All the out-settlements of the colonists of *New England* were now ravaged by the natives, whom *Philip* had every-where roused into arms; but the *Connecticut* colony suffered the most. The inhabitants of *Deerfield*,

field, an inland town, after seeing their plantations destroyed and burnt, shut themselves up in a slight fortification, where they defended themselves. Captain *Bears* was sent at the head of thirty-six men, but he was met by the savages, who put to the sword himself and ten of his soldiers, and obliged the rest to fly to *Hadley*. Major *Treat*, at the head of a larger detachment, had better fortune, for he brought off the besieged, but they were in danger of starving, having left their corn behind them. Captain *Lathrop*, on September the 15th, went at the head of a large detachment, consisting almost of the whole force of *Essex* county, with carts to fetch it off; but he was surrounded by the *Indians*, and, endeavouring to fight them in their own manner, he himself and seventy of his men were shot dead, through the superior dexterity of the *Indians* in managing their fire-arms. This was the greatest loss of men the *New England* colonies had ever sustained at one time, nor was it repaired by captain *Moseley*, who, though he came too late to save his countrymen, killed above one hundred of the *Indians*, losing but two of his own men.

Defeats of the
English.

Narragantset
war.

LATHROP's defeat encouraged the savages upon *Connecticut* river to declare for *Philip*; and the hostages they had given for the preservation of the peace had the address to make their escape. *Springfield*, a town lying on that river, was the first object of their fury. There they burnt down thirty-two houses, and would have massacred all the inhabitants, had they not been put upon their guard by *Toto*, a faithful *Indian*, and retired into the strongest places of the town, which they defended till they were relieved by a detachment under captain *Appleton*. It is probable, however, that all *Hampshire* must have been destroyed, had not the government ordered the *Connecticut* forces to cover its frontiers, especially the towns of *Hadley*, *Northampton*, and *Hatfield*; all of them lying upon or near *Connecticut* river. This was done with so much secrecy, that an army of eight hundred *Indians* fell upon *Hatfield*; but being repulsed with great loss, they retreated to the country of the *Narragantsets*, whom the commissioners for the associated colonies voted to be enemies to the *English* for sheltering them. Though it was now far in the winter, the necessity of chastising the *Narragantsets* was so great, that Mr. *Winslow*, the governor of *New Plymouth*, put himself at the head of a hundred men, and having for his guide one *Peter*, a *Narragantset* renegade, about the beginning of September, he carried fire and sword into their country, and burnt a hundred and fifty of their wigwams, and killed or took prisoners about a dozen of their inhabitants. But the operations of this winter campaign soon assumed a new face. The enemy still continued their ravages and murders, particularly about *Petequamset*; and *Winslow* understood from *Peter*, that the whole flower of the enemy's force was shut up in a fort, the most regular that had ever been raised by the *Indians*, built upon a kind of an island, accessible only one way. *Winslow*, being joined by a hundred and fifty *Mobegins*, bravely resolved to lose no time, but instantly to attack this fort. The officers under him were the captains *Moseley* and *Davenport*, who led the van; *Gardner* and *Johnson*, who were in the center; and major *Appleton* and captain *Oliver*, who brought up the rear of the *Massachusetts* forces: by which it is probable that *Winslow* had been considerably reinforced by the *English*. He himself as general, with his *New Plymouth* men, commanded in the center, and major *Treat*, with the captains *Gallop*, *Mason*, *Senly*, and *Willis*, served with the *Connecticut* forces in the rear. All of them were under the direction of *Peter*, who conducted them through the swamp to a breach, but of what kind we are not informed, which was attacked and defended with equal obstinacy and resolution. The fire of the savages was steady, and no fewer than six brave *English* captains, *Davenport*, *Gardner*, *Johnson*, *Gallop*, *Senly*, and *Marshall*, were killed in the attack. The *English* soldiers, exasperated that so many of their gallant officers should fall by the hands of barbarians whom they used to despise, at last carried their point. The enemy was beaten from post to post into a cedar swamp at some distance. Their fort was burnt down; the fortifications were levelled; seven hundred of the savages with arms in their hands were put to the sword, amongst whom were twenty of their chief captains; three hundred, besides, died of their wounds; and a great number of defenceless men, women, and children, who had taken refuge in the fort, believing it to be impregnable, perished either by the sword or in the flames. The loss of the *English*, besides the six captains, was eighty-five men killed, and a hundred and fifty men wounded. This attack, which, in modern times, would be but just mentioned in the course of a campaign, forms a principal æra of the *New England* history, and was the most important action that ever had happened in *North America*. It was plain from it that the savages had been disciplined, and the construction of the fort had in it a strength and regularity, to which those barbarians were utter strangers before they were instructed by the *French*.

Treachery of
the French.

COUNT *de Frontenac*, whom *Charlevoix* himself^b allows to have been a violent, haughty, suspicious man, was then governor of *New France*; and having a mortal antipathy to the

^b Ibid. p. 273.

a *English Americans*, he both openly and secretly supported the insurrection; or, if the reader will, rebellion, of the savages against the *New England* colonists. If we are to believe our *New England* historians, he, this winter, sent a detachment from *Canada*, who acted in concert with the barbarians, and threatened the very extinction of the *Massachusetts* colony. They burnt down the town of *Mendham*, and carried off all the live stock of the inhabitants; whose farms were generally as well stocked as those in *England*. They plundered or burnt the town of *Lancaster*, and carried forty-two persons into captivity. *Marlborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford*, and *Medfield*, where they killed twenty *English*, underwent the same fate; and they spread their ravages within a few miles of the gates of *Boston*.

The successes of the barbarians seem to be owing to two causes. The first was that the *English* colonists were so intent upon protecting their private properties, that they split their strength into too many subdivisions; while the *French* had taught the barbarians to march in a body, to move quickly from place to place, and to mind no other object, but the spreading around them as much desolation as possible. This second cause is assigned by Mr. *Neal*, who informs us that the cold of this winter was so extremely intense, that the *English* durst hardly look out of their quarters. Notwithstanding those two reasons, something still seems to have been wanting on the part of the *English*, who, while pursuing their enemies, left their own country exposed, and, before the campaign opened, had not taken proper precautions to defend themselves.

In the spring of 1677, a party of seventy *English* and one hundred *Indians*, under captain *Dennison*, slew seventy-six of the hostile *Indians*, and a party of the *Connecticuts* killed or taken prisoners about forty-four. *Canenchet*, son of *Miantonimo*, the chief sachem of the *Narragansets*, was amongst the prisoners. He was accused by the *English* of having concluded a peace with them at *Boston* six months before, and of having broken it as soon as he returned home. We are to observe, however, that his father, who was no friend to the *English*, was alive and possessed of the government. Be this as it will, the *Indians* delivered him into the hands of the *Mobocks*, and they cut off his head out of hatred to his father.

Success of the English.

PHILIP had commanded in the famous defence of the fort, and was one of them who had escaped to the swamp, from whence he went to the *Maquas*, one of the *Mobock* nations, to excite them to a war with the *English*. Finding that they were backward in answering his solicitations, he fell upon an expedient to induce them, which could be suggested only by a more than barbarous spirit of revenge; for, going into the woods, he murdered some of the *Maquas* with his own hands, and, returning in the utmost hurry, he informed the prince of the *Maquas*, that the *English* had invaded his lands, and were then butchering his people. Unfortunately for *Philip*, one of the savages happened only to be severely wounded, and crawling home, he informed the sachem and his people of the truth, which turned against *Philip* all the rage they had conceived against the *English*; for their whole nation immediately declared for the colonists. Their alliance was, by giving a diversion to *Philip*, of infinite service to the *English*; for his *Indians* could now no longer march in large bodies; and though the inhabitants of *Plymouth*, *Taunton*, *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Havenhill*, *Bradford*, and *Woburn* were sometimes alarmed, they did not suffer much from the small numbers of the savages, who attacked them. Several, however, were killed, and some carried off; but two *English* boys, who made their escape, described a place towards the falls of *Connecticut* river, where a body of *Indians* were surprised by captain *Turner*, with one hundred and eighty men, who put a hundred of them to the sword, and drowned as many. He afterwards was killed in an ambush of the *Indians*, who had been driven from *Bridgewater*. In short, the fortune of the war now entirely inclined towards the *English*, who had profitted by their misfortunes; and, in a short time cut off about six hundred of the savages. Famine co-operated with the arms of the *English*; for those thoughtless barbarians had been so intent upon revenge, that they had neglected their harvest, and two hundred of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the colonists at *New Plymouth*; and all of them were pardoned but three, who, being convicted of atrocious crimes, were hanged. *Philip* still kept the field; but, being at the head of no more than two hundred savages, he could do nothing effectually, and returned to his old retreat at *Mount Hope*, where his chief employment was to plan ambushes against the *English*. Major *Bradford*, with a party of *English*, happily escaped one of them; and marching into the country of the *Taconets*, obliged the queen of that country, with her whole army, which consisted of ninety men, to receive the *English* yoke. About the end of *July*, a sachem or sagamore of the *Nipmuck* *Indians*, with one hundred and eighty of his men, submitted to the *English*, and delivered up *Matoonas*, the first savage, who, in that war, had appeared in arms against the *English*. We shall, once for all, observe, that the colonists seem to have acted, in all this war, upon principles that self-preservation alone could justify. If those *Indians* were the subjects of *England*, it was necessary for the colonists to have had legal powers from *England* for proceeding capitally against

Death of king Philip.

Bravery of two boys.

and of the
queen of Po-
casset.

against their fellow subjects. If they were independent, it will perhaps be difficult to a assign a reason why they should be put to death, because, in the last case, they could only be prisoners of war. The colonists seem to have been somewhat apprised of their own doubtful situation; for, instead of putting *Matoonas* to death themselves, they ordered the *Nipmuck* segamore to shoot him dead, which he accordingly did; but the son was pardoned. A great many other skirmishes, but all of them, in general to the advantage of the *English*, happened about this time; and though they figure greatly in the *New England* history, are of very little consequence. As to *Philip*, all his arts could not keep up the spirit of his party when they met with ill success. One of his allies, the queen of *Pocasset*, as she is called, deserves particular mention. Being surprised by the *English*, she animated her men to hold out to the last; but they meanly deserted her, and b in endeavouring to escape upon a raft, she was drowned. Her body being found, the *English*, not knowing whose it was, cut off her head, and set it with others upon a pole at *Taunton*, where it was soon recognized by the *Indians*, and her obsequies were celebrated with howlings which testified the high esteem she held amongst her countrymen. *Philip*, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, continued the undaunted and irreconcilable enemy of *Englishmen*, and went so far as even to cut to pieces with his own hands an *Indian*, who had dared to mention proposals for a peace. One of his friends and counsellors, who probably was of a pacific disposition likewise, taking warning by the fate of his fellow-subjects, went to *Rhod-Island*, where he discovered to the *English* where *Philip* was, and the means by which he might be surprized. Captain *Church* upon this went with a c a small party, and found him with a few attendants in a swamp, which, by the description, is a place surrounded by fordable stagnated waters. *Philip* endeavoured to escape, but was singled out by an *Englishman* and an *Indian*. The *Englishman's* piece missed fire, but that of the *Indian* laid him dead. His body being taken up was quartered, and his head was carried in triumph to *New Plymouth*, where his skull is said to be seen at this day. Thus ended what is very properly called the *Philippic* war; and it is observed even by the *New England* historians, that the *Indians* to the eastward were an independent people, their country lying without the line of the charter of the *Massachusetts*. They continued the war, even after *Philip's* death, with some advantages, till the government of *Boston* interposed, and sent a body of men, who made four hundred *Indians* prisoners; d two hundred of whom were sold for slaves, and the rest, excepting a few who had been made examples of for having been guilty of murders, were sent home, on promise of behaving better for the future. In the relation of this war, we have purposely omitted many little skirmishes, that have been described with great minuteness by the *New England* historians; but they consist only of surprises of very small bodies, not proper to enter into a general history. After the death of king *Philip*, major *Walderen* was sent to make up matters with the sachem of *Penobscot*, in which he succeeded but indifferently; and, after all, when a kind of a general peace was concluded, the *English* were obliged to allow the *Indians* of the eastern parts a certain quantity of corn yearly, and to pay a small quit-rent for their lands, which they possessed, or e rather had usurped from them.

Sum of the
war.

Upon the whole, the *English* had no great reason to boast of the laurels they acquired by this war: It is said, that three hundred and forty of their countrymen had perished in it, and three thousand of the *Indians*. Notwithstanding this seeming disproportion, we are to observe, that the *English*, had they not been too much taken up by their interested pursuits of trade, were always in a condition to have brought into the field a body of men that might have driven the *Indians* from their own country, had they acted together. But besides the disadvantages we have already mentioned, some arose from the jealousies the colonies entertained of each other, which greatly retarded the public service; and, by their not pushing the war vigorously, the natives had many opportunities of learning the art of war, as the *English* often felt to their woful experience. Though the war was extinguished in one part of *New England*, yet it still continued in another, where the natives resented the gross affronts and impositions of the *English*; especially upon the borders of *New Hampshire*. Those savages had heard that the *English* were not invincible; and while the war was raging in the west, they fell upon the plantations in the east, where they murdered all the *English* they met, while the latter made severe reprisals. The government of *Boston*, though sufficiently employed in the war with king *Philip*, sent a body of men under captain *Hawthorn* to the relief of their eastern colonists; and they surprized four hundred *Indians* as they were plundering major *Walderen's* house, and made them all prisoners. Half of them were sold for slaves, the other half, g excepting a few, who were executed for atrocious crimes, were dismissed on promise of a more pacific behaviour. This, in fact, finished the war, which gave occasion for many serious reflections to the *English*. They found the vast inconvenience of their having no strong places to defend themselves against the flying attacks of the *Indians*, f

a *Indians*, and therefore they set themselves to build them at *Scarborough*, *Falmouth*, *York*, *Dover*, and other parts. The war had occasioned a neglect of agriculture, and an uncommon profligacy of manners among the people; and, therefore, in the year 1679, a true presbyterian synod, in which lay-members were admitted to vote, was held at *Boston* for the reformation of manners.

ABOUT this time, the province of *New England* in general met with three severe blows, in the deaths of Mr. *Winthrop*, the governor of *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*; Mr. *Leveret*, the governor of the *Massachusetts*; and Mr. *Winslow*, the governor of *New Plymouth* colony: all of them gentlemen of great experience and honest intentions. The first was succeeded by *William Leet*, Esq; the second by *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; and the third by *Robert Treat*, Esq; but *Charles II.* towards the end of his reign, getting the better of his parliament, the province of *New England* underwent a most severe persecution. A *Quo Warranto* was brought against the *New Plymouth* colony, and judgment entered up in chancery. The *Massachusetts* colony in the years 1683 and 1684, had pretty much the same fate; but when the *Quo Warranto* was sent against *Connecticut* and *Newhaven*, their governments were given to understand, by a letter from the king, that if they quietly resigned their charter, they might have it in their option to be associated either under *New York* or *Boston*. Finding their fate inevitable, they wisely chose the latter. *Rhode Island*, whose charter is said to have been very valuable, gave it up without a struggle; and *New Hampshire* and *Maine* resigned, into the hands of the crown, the association under which they were constituted; since which time their governor and council have been named by the king, but their governor has generally been the same with that of the *Massachusetts*. *Henry Cranfield*, Esq; was the first governor under this new regulation, and, on his arrival in *New England*, he turned out Mr. *Bradstreet*, Mr. *Leet*, and Mr. *Treat*. *Cranfield* was turned out of his government upon the death of *Charles II.* and succeeded by *Thomas Dudley*, Esq; a *New England* man. This governor endeavoured to support himself in favour of the court, by favouring the church of *England* against the presbyterians, which so provoked the *New England* men, that, by a very uncommon strain of liberty, they deposed and sent him prisoner to *Old England*.

SIR *Edmund Andros*, who is said to have been a poor knight of *Guernsey*, came over to be governor of *New England* just at the time the people had resumed their charter government. It was likewise about the same time that captain *William Phipps*, a *New England* man, made his fortune in the following extraordinary manner. Understanding that about the year 1640, a large *Spanish* galleon had been lost near *Port de la Plata*, he applied to the court of *England* for liberty and assistance to fish up her treasure. *Charles II.* gave him a small frigate of eighteen guns, and ninety-five men, with which he sailed to *Hispaniola*, and continued diving, but without success so long, that his men were quite tired out, and he was obliged to give up the enterprize. The duke of *Albermarle*, son to the restorer duke, being in desperate circumstances, adopted the desperate undertaking of *Phipps*, who proposed to divide the contingent prize money into a number of shares; each proportioned to the share of expence advanced by the adventurer. A ship of about two hundred tons was bought, with which *Phipps* set sail to the old spot of exploration; but after various most tedious attempts by a canoe and a tender, on board of which were divers of all kinds, he was about to have entirely given over the enterprize, when the wreck was discovered; and so industriously did they work, that in a few days, no less than thirty-two tons of silver was brought up, with an immense treasure in gold, pearls, diamonds, and rich commodities. It is said, that the whole, when brought by *Phipps* to *England*, amounted to 300,000*l.* of which 90,000 came to the share of the duke of *Albermarle*; and 20,000 to that of *Phipps*, who was knighted by king *James II.* This adventure, in a reign less unpopular than that of king *James*, must have made a figure in history, whereas it now scarcely mentioned.

A L N G calm in the affairs of *New England* succeeded, and continued to the time of the revolution, when the *Indians* began to complain of the little attention that was paid to the treaty by which they were to have an allowance of corn. They complained, at the same time, of their being interrupted in their fishery upon *Saco* river; that their fields were trespassed upon by the *English* cattle, and that the government of *Boston* had given away their lands. The truth is, the *English* planters of *New England*, about this time, were a little too free with the natives, as well as with the *French*. They took upon themselves to affix new boundaries to their jurisdiction, by which they seized a great deal of *French* property; particularly some belonging to one *St. Casten*. The *French* ambassador had procured an order from the *English* court, for restoring *Casten's* goods, and particularly, a parcel of wine, which the *English* had arbitrarily seized; but no regard seems to have been paid to it. It is probable, that the people of *New England*, by this time, began to suspect that king *James's* government in *Old England* would be but short-lived;

and they had conceived at once a contempt and an aversion for their governor *Andros*. *Casteen* was himself an almost naturalized *Indian*, having married the daughter of a sachem or segamore; and, therefore, in the bad humour the natives were, he had no great difficulty in persuading them to enter upon hostilities. They accordingly killed some *English* cattle, whom they pretended to be trespassers upon their grounds, and one *Blackman*, a busy justice of the peace, seized eighteen or twenty of the offenders, and sent them under a strong guard to *Falmouth*. This produced reprisals on the part of the *Indians*, who seized some *English*, particularly the captains *Rowden* and *Gendal*; the former of whom died in their hands. It would have been easy for the *English*, by making proper concessions, to have brought the *Indians* to reason; but the latter were dissuaded by the *French*, and killed several of the inhabitants of *New Yarmouth*, which obliged the other to take shelter in their fortifications. *Andros* was then at *New York*; but, upon his return to *Boston*, he disapproved of *Blackman's* conduct, and ordered all the *Indian* prisoners in the hands of the *English* to be released, without insisting upon any equivalent. The savages considered this pusillanimous conduct, as proceeding from weakness, and captain *Gendall*, whom they had released, being sent with a party to *New Yarmouth*, was attacked by them; but most of his men, whom they had taken prisoners, were afterwards recovered. In the mean while, the *Indians* murdered two *English* families near *Kennecobec*, and all the frontiers were filled with blood and devastations.

Andros takes the field.

ANDROS put himself at the head of 1000 men, and marched towards the frontiers in the very depth of winter, but without the smallest success, and he is accused by the *New England* historians, not only of neglecting the colony, but of persecuting those who stood up for its defence, and even of corresponding with the *French* in *Canada*, and of setting the *Indians*, who had been guilty of murder, at liberty. The truth is, the government of *New England*, at this time, was in a most deplorable condition. Mr. *Dummer* writes, that the governor, with four or five strangers of his council, men of desperate fortunes, and bad, if any, principles, made what laws, and levied what taxes they pleased on the people. They, without an assembly, raised a penny in the pound on all estates in the country, and two pence on all imported goods, besides twenty pence per head, as poll-money, and immoderate excise on wine, rum, and other liquors. Several worthy persons having, in an humble address, represented this proceeding as a grievance, were committed to the county-jail for a high misdemeanor; denied the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act; tried out of their own county; fined exorbitantly, obliged to pay 160 l. for fees, when the prosecution would hardly have cost them so many shillings in *Great Britain*, where prosecutions are so managed by lawyers, as to make them equally terrible and ruinous; and to complete the oppression, when they, upon their trial, claimed the privileges of *Englishmen*, they were scoffingly told, "these things would not follow them to the ends of the earth."

History of Sir William Phipps.

THE reader will not be surprized at those acts of tyranny, when he reflects how very reverse the principles of king *James's* government were to that of *New England*, which was founded on liberty, and had all along supported itself by a determined resistance to arbitrary power. Sir *William Phipps* was then in *England*, and, being a kind of favourite with king *James*, he took the freedom to remonstrate against the behaviour of *Andros* and his counsellors, and to solicit the king to restore his countrymen to their charter government; but his majesty's usual reply on that head was; "Any thing but that Sir *William*." King *James*, however, created a new kind of post for Sir *William*; for he made him by patent sheriff of *New England*, which gave so much umbrage to *Andros* and his creatures, that they are said to have attempted to murder him. At last, the government of *Andros* growing quite intolerable, Mr. *Increase Mather*, rector of the college at *Cambridge*, with two other gentlemen, were sent over to *England* to complain of him to the king and council. The revolution was then in agitation, and news arriving at *New England* of the prince of *Orange's* landing, *Andros* not only imprisoned the bearer, but published a proclamation for preventing any one, commissioned by the prince, from landing on the province. Those violences introduced a suspicion, that *Andros* and his creatures intended to massacre the inhabitants, and it was artfully kept up, to give the people an opportunity of confederating together to do themselves justice upon their tyrants. On the 18th of *April*, 1689, proper dispositions being previously made, a report was spread at the north end of the town that the south end was in arms, and the like was spread of the north, in the south end. This report effected the thing; the governor's creatures, wherever they were found, were secured and thrown into jail. The principal inhabitants took possession of the council house, and the governor shutting himself up in the castle, they sent him the following letter.

^d Discourse addressed to lord Carteret, secretary of state.

a " SIR,

" Ourselves and many others the inhabitants of this town, and the places adjacent, being surpris'd with the people's sudden taking of arms, of the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant; being driven by the present accident, are necessitated to acquaint your excellency, that for the quieting and securing the people inhabiting in this country from the imminent danger they many ways lie open and expos'd to, and tendering your own safety, we judge it necessary, that you forthwith surrender and deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preserv'd and dispos'd according to order and direction from the crown of *England*, which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all security from violence to yourself, or any of your gentlemen, or soldiers, in persons or estate: otherwise we are assur'd they will endeavour the taking the fortification by storm, if any opposition be made. *White Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet, William Stoughton, Samuel Shrimpton, Bartholomew Gidney, William Browne, Thomas Dansurth, John Richards, Elisha Cook, Isaac Addington, John Nelson, Adam Winthrop, Peter Sergeant, John Foster, David Waterhouse.*"

Andros dis-
plac'd.

THIS letter was a sufficient intimation that the writers of it, who were the most respectable names in *New England*, were resolv'd to carry their point. *Andros* at first stood upon his defence, and sent for arms to a king's frigate then lying in the port. But they were intercepted by a party of the townsmen under *John Nelson*, Esq; who demanded the surrender of the fort; and the governor, finding he had no farther means of resistance, gave it up. The gentlemen then, with a true republican spirit, repaired to the council-chamber, from whence they read a declaration of their grievances to the people; about 3000 of whom were in arms. They then summoned a general assembly, consisting of the representatives of the united colonies; and on the 24th of *May*, by their own authority, they resum'd their charter government, which proceeding of theirs was approv'd of by king *William* and queen *Mary*, who confirm'd the restor'd magistrates in their power. Sir *William Philips* was in *England* at the time of the revolution; and king *James* offer'd him the government of *New England*: but he is said to have declined it, though he serv'd under that prince in other arbitrary proceedings.

Charter re-
stor'd.

THE revolution in *England* taking place, an open war ensu'd between the *French* and *English* in *America*, as well as in *Europe*. The *French*, who had been at great pains to win over the natives, endeavour'd to persuade them that the *English*, being rebels, were abandon'd by God and man; and promis'd to support them with all the power of the *Quebec* colony. Major *Walderen* then command'd in *Quacheco*, a frontier fort of great importance. He had entertain'd *Mesandonit*, a sachem, and had given him leave to lodge in the fort; but the barbarian in the morning unbarred the gates, and admitted a party of the savages, who had been ambusht at a little distance, and who, rushing in, kill'd the major, and about twenty-two men, burnt several houses, and led off twenty nine *English* prisoners, besides committing other acts of murder and violence. Captain *Noyes* was order'd to march with a party to *Penecook*; but the savages had retir'd from those quarters before he could come up to them. He had, however, the satisfaction of laying waste their country, and destroying their wigwams. The savages, afterwards, surpris'd *Pemiquid* fort, and kill'd fourteen *Englishmen*; they likewise broke the capitulation upon which the fort surrender'd, by butchering the garrison, and some troops who were advancing to its relief; upon which the inhabitants of *Sheepscot* and *Kennebek* retir'd to *Falmouth*.

The conti-
nuance of the
war with
France:

IN the time of the last *Indian* war, the *New England* men were fully convinc'd of their error in acting by small detachments; and, now seeing that the *French* were even aiming at the ruin of their colony, they rais'd a thousand men, five hundred of whom were sent from the *Massachusetts*, under major *Swayne*, and five hundred, under major *Church*, from *New Plymouth*; but, by this time, the *French* had taught the barbarians their own arts, particularly those of gaining intelligence by means of corruption. They had every where their spies, who inform'd them of the motions of the *English*, many of whom were thereby cut off; and the savages were so well instruct'd in all the arts of treachery, that they behaved towards the *English* with a brutality even foreign to their nature, barbarous as it was. Particular mention is made of the bravery of two *English* boys, who defend'd a fort that was surpris'd by the *Indians*, and though reduc'd to the last extremity refus'd to surrender it, till they obtain'd a capitulation, which was infamously broken by the barbarians, who murder'd three or four children and one of the boys, whilst the other made his escape. The majors *Swayne* and *Church* were, by the practices of the *French*, who had found means to corrupt even the *English* *Indians*, disappoint'd in all their designs; so that the former, after garrisoning *Blue Point*, was oblig'd to retire into winter-quarters, without effecting any thing farther worthy of notice. The *English* government was fully sensible of the *French* practices, and resolv'd to strike at the root of the evil, by attacking, at one time,

Error of the
English.

The French
invad'd.

both *Quebec* and *Acadia*, or *New Scotland*, then in the possession of the *French*. An account of the former expedition will fall under the article of *Canada*; but the command of the expedition against *Acadia* was given to Sir *William Phipps*. It consisted of a frigate mounting forty cannons, another ship of sixteen, and a third of eight. Sir *William* immediately bore down upon *Port Royal*^a, where, according to *Charlevoix*^b, the garrison consisted of no more than eighty-six men, with eighteen unmounted cannons, and the works not tenable. On the 22d of *May*, 1690, the *English* armament appeared before the place, and *Manneval*, the *French* governor, sent a priest to know Sir *William's* demands, which were, that the governor should surrender at discretion. This was pre-emptorily refused by the priest, who produced articles of capitulation ready drawn up. The first was, that the soldiers, with their arms and baggage, should be transported to *Quebec* in an *English* vessel. The second, that the inhabitants should be maintained in peaceable possession of their properties, and that the honour of the women should be preserved. The third was, that the inhabitants should have the free exercise of the *Roman catholic* religion, and that none of the church goods should be touched. *Phipps*, according to *Charlevoix*^b, readily agreed to those conditions, but refused to sign them, saying, that his word, as a general, was better security than any signature. *Manneval* was obliged to put up with the verbal assurance; and, next day, came on board the *English* ship, where the capitulation was ratified, and the keys of the fort delivered to *Phipps*. Upon entering it, the latter was surprised at the weakness of the place, and repented his having given the garrison such good terms. According to the same authority^c, he soon found means to break them. While *Manneval* was on board the *English* ship, some stores, belonging to the former governor, were seized upon by certain drunken soldiers and the inhabitants. *Phipps* construed this into a breach of the capitulation, which it undoubtedly was; as the fact is not denied by *Charlevoix* himself. He made a handle of this for disowning the capitulation. He disarmed the soldiers, and shut them up in the church. He confined *Manneval* to his own house under the care of a centinel, stripped him of his money and cloaths, and plundered the inhabitants, without sparing either the priests or the churches, and then re-imbarked his men, after obliging the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to king *William* and queen *Mary*. As to the rest of *Phipps's* undertakings, they will be found under the articles of the places against which they were intended, particularly that of *Canada*.^d

Quebec expedition.

THE colony of *New England* suffered greatly by his ill-managed expedition against *Quebec*, in which 1000 of its natives perished; and the public there ran 140,000 l. in debt, besides losing almost all their men and ships in their return. One *Artell*, a *French Canadian* officer, and *Hoopwood*, a *Huron* chief, attacked *Salmon Falls*, a frontier-town, where they killed thirty people, and carried off fifty prisoners. Lieutenant *Clark*, venturing out of *Casco*, was surprised by a body of four or five hundred *Indians* and *French*, who, after killing him and thirteen of his men, burnt down the place; the garrison surrendering, on condition of their being carried to the next *English* town. This capitulation, however, was broken under the ridiculous pretence, that the *English* were rebels to their lawful sovereign. Some of the garrison, with major *Davis* the commandant, were sent prisoners to *Quebec*,^e and the rest were murdered by the natives. The garrisons of *Papcodac*, *Spanwick*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, were thrown into such consternation by the destruction of *Casco*, that they fled as far as *Saco*, which garrison likewise abandoned its post, and *Hoopwood*, the *Huron*, pursuing them, destroyed all the open country round, and murdered all the inhabitants, who fell into his hands. The captains *Floyd* and *Greenleaf* at last came up with him, routed his party, and wounded himself. He was afterwards killed by the *French*, who mistook him for an *Iroquois*. The *French* and *Indians* after this had the advantage in many encounters, which, though of too little consideration to be separately particularized, yet formed upon the whole a very considerable loss both of men and property. The only expedition worth notice, was that undertaken by major *Church* with three hundred men to *Casco Bay*, where he burnt some *French* and *Indian* forts, and released a few *English* captives.^f The war after this continued with various success, but by no means to the advantage of the *English*; and, at last, a cessation of arms till *May* 1691, was agreed on on both sides.

A new charter granted.

SIR *William Phipps*, all this time, was busied at the court of *England* in soliciting to be put at the head of a new expedition to *Quebec*: but the terrible war, in which king *William* was engaged, and the bad success of his late attempt, rendered all his endeavours fruitless. Sir *Henry Ashurst* and Mr. *Increase Mather* were at the same time in *England*, as agents for the people of *New England*, soliciting the restoration of their old charter; which, considering their zeal for liberty, and their abhorrence of a popish government, they had good reason to expect under a revolution-establishment. But neither king *William* nor

^a CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 96.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid. p. 99.

- a his then ministers were of dispositions to encourage any motion that tended towards the independency of the colony upon the prerogative; and the renewal was in effect refused. They then contented themselves with petitioning for a new charter with more ample privileges. They obtained, indeed, a new charter; but their privileges, even under the late one, were abridged or rather annihilated; and had they been treated in that manner under the *Stuart* family, the peace of the colony would probably have been in danger. By king *William's* charter, the crown has the nomination of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and the officers of the admiralty, all which was before in the people, and the power of the militia was vested in the governor. All judges, justices, and sheriffs were appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of his majesty's council, and he likewise was to have a negative upon all laws, and public acts of the general assembly and council. Lastly, all laws, when approved of by the governor, were to be transmitted to *England*, and to be void if disallowed of in the space of three years. In short, all the favour the *New England* people obtained was the power of electing their first governor; and their choice fell upon Sir *William Phipps*.

SCARCE was this important affair settled, when hostilities recommenced by the *Indians* near *Berwick*, *Exeter*, and *Cape Nidduck*. Upon this, some officers, with four hundred men, marched to *Pechypset*; but, not observing discipline, they were attacked by the barbarians, and driven with some loss to their ships. This was followed by barbarities and murders in many other places, and the *Massachusetts* itself was attacked from the eastward; which it never had been before. This filled the colony with alarms, and the fort of *Cape Nidduck*, one of the strongest in those parts, was abandoned by its garrison, which had been greatly thinned by draughts. The *French* savages were now likewise in motion, and attacked the town of *Tork*, where they killed fifty of the inhabitants, and carried a hundred into captivity. The government, upon this, sent parties under different officers to redeem the captives; but they found that *French* officers headed the barbarians; that *French* soldiers were intermingled with them; that no fewer than five hundred christian *Hurons* were in the field; and that four or five *Indian* chiefs with their troops were confederated against them. An *English* captain, one *Convers*, is mentioned on this occasion with great honour for having maintained a post with no more than fifteen or twenty men, and beating off two hundred of the barbarians, headed by *Moxus*, one of their chiefs. *Convers* after this took the command of the *English*, and beat the *French* and savages from *Sagadahock*; the *French* commandant *la Brosse*, being killed in the action. It was remarked, that during this expedition the barbarians charged the *New England* men with these *English* words, in their mouths, "Fire and fall on brave boys," a proof of their great intercourse with the *English*, though the *French* missionaries had the address to detach them from their interest.

An Indian war breaks out.

SIR *William Phipps* was now arrived in *New England* with the colony's new charter, which gave great dissatisfaction to many. After confirming the laws enacted by the assembly he declared his resolution of marching against the *Indians* in person. No man could be better qualified than he was for such an undertaking, being a native of that part of the country where the chief seat of the war lay, near *Kennebek* river, and well acquainted with every spot and lurking-place about it. He immediately marched eastward with four hundred and fifty men; and gave orders for building a new fort at *Pemmaquid* (D). Accordingly, one of the strongest and largest in all *North America* was erected there. The charge of building it, however, was so great, that it is said to have alienated the affections of the *New England* colony from Sir *William* ever afterwards. But this could be only the effect of private resentment on account of their charter; for it is certain, that both that fort and the others he constructed were of great use to the eastern parts of the colony, to whom he likewise performed many important services in his own person against the savages, who were now become more unruly than ever. Being still spirited up by the *French*, they had been guilty of many murders towards the North of the rivers *Merimack*, *Oyster*, and *Connecticut*. The governor gave *Convers*, now a major, the command of the eastern garrisons, and sent three hundred and fifty men to reinforce him: with which assistance he was enabled to invade the *Indian* country, and to destroy all their lands and habitations about *Ta-*

Sir William Phipps governor.

Built forts.

(D) Captain *Bancroft* and capt. *Wing* laid the foundation, and captain *Marib* finished it. It was built of stone in a triangular figure, about seven hundred and thirty-seven feet in compass, without the outer wall, and one hundred and eight square within the inner one. It had twenty-eight port holes, eight feet from the ground, and fourteen guns mounted, six of which were eighteen pounders. The south wall facing the sea was twenty-two feet high, and six broad. The round tower at the west end was twenty-nine feet high. The east wall was twelve feet high; the north ten, and the west eighteen. The fort stood about twenty rods from high water-mark, and had a garrison of sixty men for its defence (1).

(1) *British empire in America*, Vol. I. Page 146.

A peace con-
cluded.

The witch
persecution
begins,

rages,

and abates.

conet. Near *Connecticut* river the savages, who were there in arms, were attacked by the *English*, who gave them a total defeat, and retook the captives they were carrying off, while Sir *William*, the better to bridle them, built another fort at *Saco*. All those dispositions, with the fear of bringing a *Mohawk* war upon their hands, inclined the barbarians to a peace. The *French* agent, or, as he is called, ambassador, who, as usual, was a priest, at the court of their sachems, did all he could to persuade them to continue the war, and probably he might have been successful, had the *French* in *Canada* been in a condition to have sent them the arms and assistance they had promised. But that not being the case, the barbarians actually begged for a peace; and a congress was held at *Pemmaquid* fort, since called fort *William Henry*, between three *English* commissioners, and thirteen *Indian* sachems with proper interpreters. This meeting was very formal and important; and, by the articles then concluded, the *Indian* acknowledged themselves subject to the crown of *England*; confirmed them in possession of their lands, renounced their alliance with the *French*, and submitted their commerce between themselves and the *English* to the general assembly.

WHILE those scenes of murder upon the frontiers were closing, a more horrid than any was exhibited in the heart of the colony, where an irresistible spirit of witch-burning again broke out. The reader is to observe that this spirit raged the more as it was encouraged equal by the civil as the spiritual power; Sir *William Phipps* himself being a great believer of the existence of witches, and the ministers thought it as bad as blasphemy to doubt it. One *Paris*, the minister of *Salem*, by torturing a poor *Indian* woman, obliged her to confess her having bewitched his niece and daughter. But the persecution was not confined to the female sex. One Mr. *George Burroughs*, minister of *Salem*, was tried for witchcraft before a court consisting of six of the principal gentlemen of the colony, convicted and executed upon evidences that were impossible to be true, or the facts sworn to have any existence; not to mention that this, and all the other trials of the same sort, were so many insults upon the common understanding of mankind. The persecution raged with such fury, that no character or station could be secure against it. One *Rebecca Nurse*, a woman of great piety and virtue, being tried, the evidence against her was so poor, that the jury, zealous as they were for witch-burning, acquitted her; but so greatly to the dissatisfaction of the court and the bye-standers, that they were obliged again to go out and bring her in guilty. Her behaviour at the place of execution was remarkably composed, rational, and devout. As if both judges and jury had solemnly adjured common sense as well as humanity, some men were hanged on the evidence of ghosts; an absurdity which the reader may find explained in *Matther's* history of this persecution. One woman (*Easly*) presented to the court a most rational and affecting petition in favour of her innocence, but without the least effect, for she was executed. The same was the case with *Martha Cory*, whose husband, rather than allow himself to be convicted upon the infamous evidence by which his wife was hanged, suffered himself to be pressed to death. At last, the persecution raged so dreadfully, that no fewer than a hundred and fifty of both sexes were imprisoned, and two hundred more accused of witchcraft, many of whom found no safety but in flight. Amongst the latter was one Mr. *English*, a gentleman of fortune, who, being obliged to fly upon this ridiculous accusation, had his effects to the value of 1500 l. seized by the sheriff. Even girls of eleven years of age did not escape; and some women saved themselves by pleading their bellies.

THE effects of those barbarities were that the government of *Old England* heard of them with horror and relentment, and they awakened the small remains of common sense and humanity in that of *New England*, when they began to reflect upon the innocent blood they had shed. This naturally produced a backwardness in those magistrates, however zealous they had been before, to grant new warrants. One *Dudley Bradstreet*, in particular, tho' he had granted thirty or forty such warrants, refused to issue out any more. The witch-prosecutors and witnesses accused him and his lady of having killed nine persons by their witchcrafts; and they were obliged to fly out of the colony. His brother, *John Bradstreet*, was accused upon oath of riding through the air upon his dog to witch-meetings. Mr. *Bradstreet* narrowly escaped being executed upon this notable evidence; but his dog was put to death as an accomplice. One captain *Aldin*, a man of as much sense and virtue as any in the colony, suffered fifteen weeks imprisonment upon the like charge, and, making his escape, he returned next year, being 1693, to take his trial; but he was cleared by a proclamation. In short, of twenty-eight persons, who received sentence of death, twenty were executed. Their blood made their persecutors ravenous for more; and, upon their being somewhat checked, they accused the friends of the governor, and Dr. *Increase Matther*, the two great patrons of witch-burning. It was now time to stop the prosecution: Sir *William Phipps*, the governor, pardoned all who were under condemnation; and the grand jury would not find the bills preferred against supposed witches, even though they confessed themselves guilty; upon which this bloody persecution ceased.

a We are here, in justice to the ministry and people of *New England*, to observe that those persecutions were carried on by wretches, partly to gratify their private resentments and interests, and partly from a spirit of enthusiasm and cruelty; nor could they have happened, had it not been for the weakness of the governor and Dr. *Matther*, who were rendered the tools of more designing men. The people in general, and some ministers, particularly Mr. *Caleb of Boston*, detested them, and remonstrated against them from the beginning; but all to no purpose. It is farther remarkable, that tortures were applied to make the poor wretches confess themselves witches; but that all of them, who did so, retracted their confessions at the place of execution.

Reflection.

THE minds of the people of *New England* were now entirely alienated from the person and government of Sir *William Phipps*. The establishment of the peace with the *Indians* had brought no abatement to their taxes; and many considered him, notwithstanding his recantation, as the cause of shedding all the innocent blood that had been spilled in the late witch persecution. Add to those considerations, that they did not think Sir *William's* capacity was equal to the government of so great a colony as *New England* was now become. It appears that the discontented had long complained to their friends in *England* of their governor's conduct, and they had influence enough to bring the court to the same way of thinking as themselves; till, at last, articles of a formal charge having been sent over, Sir *William* was called to *Old England*, to answer for himself before a committee of the privy-council. On the other hand, Sir *William* had on his side a majority of the clergy, and of the general assembly, who sent over a counter-petition in his favour, praying that he might be restored to his government; but before the matter could come to any decision, Sir *William* died at *London* of a malignant fever. He was succeeded in his government by *William Stoughton*, Esq; who had not been quite innocent in the affair of the witch persecution. He had a difficult province to manage during his administration. The *French* of *Canada*, as shall be more fully related in our history of *Canada*, not only continued to have the ascendancy over the savages lying between them, and the *English* settlements, but were of themselves become very powerful. This was occasioned by a plan, which the *French* king had adopted for extirpating the colony of *New England*, and for which he was making great naval preparations. The sea armament was put under the command of the chevalier *Nesmond*, one of his best naval officers, who was to be joined by 1500 *French* from *Canada*. In the mean while, it was agreed at the court of *France*, to remit to count *Frontenac*, governor-general of *New France*, money and arms for the use of the *French* *Indians*, who would not have been such bloody enemies as they were to the *English*, had not the priests found means to make them papists, and consequently enthusiasts against protestants. This spirit increased their natural ferocity, and rendered them not only more brutal, but more treacherous, than ever.

Charge against Sir William Phipps.

His death. Succeeded by Stoughton.

NOTWITHSTANDING the solemn peace that had been concluded at *Pemmaquid*, twelve months did not elapse when they and the *French* all of a sudden invaded the town of *Oyster River*, where they carried off a hundred captives, twenty of whom were of the trained bands. They then murdered one Mrs. *Cutts*, and all her family; but were repulsed from *Greton* by one lieutenant *Lukin*. They next fell upon the open country, where they killed twenty or thirty *English*, plundered the plantations, and carried off captives, or scalped, all whom they did not put to death. One woman, particularly, who was scalped on this occasion, was alive twenty years after. There seems, at this time, to have been a debility in the *New England* government, which now contained above 200,000 *English*, besides their *Indian* subjects. The *French* and their *Indians* were every where repulsed when they met with officers or men of spirit to oppose them, which seemed to make them the more cruel against the defenceless part of the inhabitants. At last, *Bommafeen*, one of their principal segamores or sachems, and who had been present at the *Pemmaquid* peace, was made prisoner by the *English*; and, notwithstanding all his evasions, he was sent prisoner to *Boston*. He was a chief of so great consequence, that the *Indians* were greatly daunted by his captivity, and not only forbore hostilities for some time, but sent proposals for peace to the garrison at *Pemmaquid*. At first, they proposed to release all the *English* captives, and actually delivered up eight. Upon this, they obtained a truce for thirty days, and the brave major *Convers*, with two other *English* officers, were appointed to treat with them. This negotiation came to nothing; because, on the one hand, the *English* refused to deliver up the segamore *Bommafeen*, and they, on the other, to fulfil their preliminary of releasing the *English* prisoners, of whom above a hundred were still in their hands. The war then went on with fresh fury, and, in *August* this year, the *Indians*, for the first time ever known, appeared at *Billericay* on horseback, and committed within the county of *Essex*, a great many murders and other barbarities.

Continuation of the war.

g THOSE transactions are but slightly touched upon in the *English* histories, which gives great reason to believe that *Stoughton*, and the government of *New England*, were not quite void

void of blame with regard to the *Abenquais*, or *French Indians*, to bridle whom *Pemmaquid* fort had been built. We are therefore somewhat inclined to believe the relation of father *Charlevoix*, as to many particulars of this war, the rather, as he agrees in the main with the *English* accounts, and, as it is allowed on all hands, that the government of *New England*, both civil and military, was at that time very indifferently administered. The garrison of *Pemmaquid* had arrested seven *Abenquais*, who came to the fort with a flag of truce; four of whom were killed on the road to *Boston*, to which they were all sent prisoners. The rest of the nation demanded satisfaction for this breach of faith as they called it; and *Stoughton*, the governor of *New England*, reproached them, on his part, for their repeated breaches of faith. The government, both of *Old* and *New France*, saw now the necessity of taking *Pemmaquid* fort from the *English*; and two of their best officers in *Canada*, *Iberville* and *Bonaventure*^d, were charged with the execution, with orders from *Old France* to raze the fort, as soon as they should take it, and then to join an armament to be sent from *Old France* to proceed to the destruction of the *English* and their settlements. The *French* court had this enterprize so greatly at heart, that they assigned a very considerable force to support it. Their writers, however, admit that it must have been impracticable, had the *English* officers in *New England* done their duty. The governor of *Pemmaquid* fort was one captain *Chub*, and he was, at this very time, 1696, treating with some *Abenquais* se-gamores, two of whom he shot dead while they thought themselves in perfect security; a barbarity owned and condemned by the *English* themselves. This villainous action renewed hostilities in those parts on both sides, and they proceeded with their usual inhumanities. On the 26th of *June*, the two *French* commandants arrived at *Spanish Bay*, where they had intelligence of three *English* ships, lying in the mouth of *St. John's* river. Upon this, they set sail in quest of them, and, coming up with them on the 4th of *July*, *Iberville* took one of them, the *Newport* of twenty-four guns; and then proceeded to the attack of the fort, which they invested the 14th of *July*; having landed their artillery, and raised their batteries, in all which they were assisted by large bodies of the disciplined natives, who flocked to join them.

Siege and sur-
render of Pem-
maquid fort.

BEFORE any firing began (F), the *French* summoned *Chub* to surrender the place, and he answered with great shew of resolution, that he was determined to hold it out to the last, though the *French* should cover the sea with their ships, and the land with their *Indians*. Upon this a smart firing began on both sides, and *Iberville* coming a-shore raised a battery, from whence he played with five bombs. This daunted *Chub* and his garrison, especially as they were informed by the *French*, that, if the place was taken by storm, they would be left to the mercy of the savages. A capitulation was then begun, and it was agreed that the *English* should be sent with all their goods and effects to *Boston* to be exchanged for an equal number of *French* and savages; and that, in the mean while, they should be protected from the fury of the *Indians*. *Charlevoix* says, that *Chub* was forced by his garrison, which consisted of no more than ninety-two men, (the *English* say two hundred) to accept of this capitulation. When the *French* entered the fort, they there found one of the natives in irons, and ready to expire under the severities he had suffered in his confinement. The sight of this captive put the *Indians* in such a fury, that the *French* pretended it was with great difficulty they could prevent the savages from falling upon the garrison. It is on all hands admitted that this fort might have held out a long time, had it been garrisoned by brave men, they having fifteen cannon, and plenty of ammunition and provisions. The capitulation met with some difficulties in the execution of it. The *French* commandant sent indeed a few of the garrison to *Boston*; but he demanded, at the same time, that all the *French* and *Indian* prisoners in *New England* should be set at liberty, in exchange for the remainder of the garrison, and the crew of the *Newport*, which amounted to above one hundred men; and, in the mean while, he demolished the fortifications of *Pemmaquid*. Before he received an answer, he departed to execute the rest of his commission; but, perceiving that he was falling short of provisions, he sent to *Boston* all the *English* prisoners, detaining only the officers.

Exploit of
Hannah
Dunster.

THE unexpected news of the loss of *Pemmaquid* fort spread great terror all over *New England*; and governor *Stoughton*, when it was too late, ordered three men of war to sail in pursuit of the *French* squadron. At the same time, colonel *Gedney* marched eastward with five hundred men, but found the country evacuated both by the *French* and their allies; and all he could do, was to carry *Chub* prisoner to *Boston*, where his commission was only taken from him: which is a farther proof that he behaved better than the *English* writers

^d CHARLEVOIX, Tom. III. p. 235.

^e British empire in America, Vol. I. p. 161.

(E) The author of the *British empire in America*, and other *English* writers, pretend that the fort was surrendered by *Chub*, without a gun being fired on either side; but our account, which we have taken from *Charlevoix*, is most likely to be true.

a allow. The *English* were now in a manner despised by the barbarians, who invaded *Haver-*
kill in *Essex* county; from whence they carried off thirty-captives. Amongst them was
one *Hannah Dunster*, (who had been but a few days brought to bed) a woman of most
amazing strength and intrepidity: for, perceiving herself in danger of being sacrificed to
the cruelties of the barbarians, she animated her nurse, and an *English* boy, who was with
her, so effectually, that they three killed ten of the *Indians* with their own weapons, and
then made their escape to *Boston*, where they deservedly received 50 l. from the assembly,
besides handsome private presents. The war, all this while, to the reproach of the *English*,
was carried on by detached parties of the *Indians*, who cruelly murdered all that fell in
b and surprizes.

BESIDES the expedition against *Peminaquid* fort, another was now fitting out both from *Old and New France*, for carrying into execution their grand plan of conquering all *New* *England* in the beginning of the year 1697. How this expedition came to miscarry will be
seen in the history of *Canada*. When certain accounts of it came to *Boston*, the inhabitants
seemed to awaken from a lethargy. They immediately repaired the fortifications of that
town, and the militia of the province was every where raised and disciplined, so that it is
likely that the *French*, if they had landed, must have miscarried in their main design. The
valour and good conduct of major *March*, was of vast service to the colony on this occa-
sion. Being dispatched to the eastern parts, where the greatest danger from the savages
c was apprehended, he drove them from the neighbourhood of *Casco* bay; and putting his
men on board some small vessels he landed them near *Damascottes* river off the eastern isles
before the barbarians could recover their fastnesses, and drove them, with some loss to him-
self, but much greater to them, to their canoes. The importance of this seasonable check
consisted in its dispiriting those savages from joining the *French*, whose fleet and army after
this disappointment returned to *Europe*.

THOUGH Mr. *Stoughton* still continued to act as governor of *New England*, yet it does
not appear that he had ever obtained a formal commission from the crown of *England*, being
only continued in his government from time to time. About the year 1695, the clamour
against the people of *New England* and *New York* for piratical practices growing very outra-
geous, king *William* had bestowed the government of *New England*, to which that of *New*
d *York* was now added; upon the earl of *Bellamont* an *Irish* peer, the king expressing himself
at the same time, that he thought him a man of resolution and integrity, and with those
qualities the more likely than any other he could think of to put a stop to the growth of
piracy. The lord *Bellamont* continued for two years after in *England*, during which time
Stoughton had acted as his deputy-governor. *Bellamont* consulting with colonel *Robert*
Livingston, a person of reputation, and considerable property in *New York*, the latter recom-
mended to him one captain *Kidd* as a proper person to suppress the piracies so much com-
plained of. *Bellamont* mentioned this proposal to the king; but upon his consulting the
e admiralty, it was found that the then situation of affairs did not admit of their granting *Kidd*
what he demanded, viz. the command of a thirty gun ship, properly manned and equipped
for that service. The project was then as good as dropt, when it was revived by *Livingston*,
who proposed to the earl of *Bellamont*, that a ship, at the expence of 6000 l. of which he
and *Kidd* were to bear a fifth, should be fitted out, and that the other shares should be ad-
vanced by other great lords, particularly the lord chancellor *Sommers*; the duke of *Shrews-*
bury, the earls of *Romney*, *Orford*, and others. This proposal was likewise communicated
by the earl of *Bellamont* to the king, who highly approved of it, and consented that the
adventurers should have a grant of all that *Kidd* should take from the pirates, excepting
one tenth, which was reserved to shew that the king was concerned in the undertaking.
The bargain was struck by all parties, and a commission in the usual form was made out for
f *Kidd*, to act as a privateer against the pirates. *Kidd*, after cruizing for some time upon the
coasts of *New England* and *New York* but with very indifferent success, bore away for the
East Indies, where he was guilty of various acts of piracy, especially on the subjects of the
Great Mogul, by which the *East India* company's estate and effects in those parts were in
danger of being seized.

His piracies made a great noise all over *Europe*, especially in *England*, where the disaffect-
ed to the government represented them as being committed by the authority of the king
and the ministry. The earl of *Bellamont*, in the year 1698, after a very tedious voyage,
landed on his government at *New York*, where he found every thing in great disorder. The
massacres of the *Indians* upon the defenceless inhabitants had been renewed. Many of them,
g amongst whom was a minister, captain *Chub* and colonel *Bradstreet*, both whom we have al-
ready mentioned, were murdered in *Essex* county; but the savages were beaten off from
Derfeld on *Connecticut* river, by the valour of the minister, one Mr. *Williams*, who headed
Mod. Hist. Vol. XIV. 6 T the

A French in-
vasion threat-
ened.

History of
Kidd the
pirate.

the inhabitants. The peace of *Ryswick* restored for sometime those parts to a state of some a tranquility. Count *Frontenac* intimated to the sachems of the *Ilurons*, and other sachems in the *French* alliance, that they ought to make the best terms they could with the *English*, because he had no longer any authority to support them. The earl of *Bellamont* remained all this while at *New York*, but nominated major *Convers*, and colonel *Philips*, to repair to *Penobscot*, there to confer with the *Indian* sachems upon the means of restoring peace. At the same time his lordship wrote a very polite letter to the count de *Frontenac*, informing him of the publication of the peace at *London*, and sending him back by colonel *Schuyler*, nineteen *French* prisoners; but with a demand of having all the subjects belonging to *England*, both *English* and *Indians*, who were prisoners in *New France*, delivered up to him^f. The count readily agreed to the restitution of the *English* captives, but pretended b he had no power over the *Indians*, particularly the *Iroquois*, many of whom had settled after they had become prisoners in *New France*. A long negotiation between the earl and the count ensued upon this. The count's main drift was to convince the *Iroquois*, that he was ready to release all their prisoners, but not to deliver them up to the *English*, as they themselves were an independent people. All his art however had very little effect upon those savages, and he himself soon afterwards died, in the 78th year of his age, after raising the affairs of *Canada* to a higher pitch than they had ever been in before.

THE conferences at *Penobscot* were still continued between the *English* commissioners and the *Indian* sachems; the latter of whom laid the blame of all the perfidious cruel conduct they had been guilty of upon the *Jesuit* missionaries. At last the *English* commissioners concluded a treaty with them upon the footing of that of *Pemmaquid*, but received from the sachems the following separate instrument of submission to the crown of *England*, which we insert here, because it is the best evidence the nature of the thing can admit of to prove their subjection to the *British* nation. c

“WHEREAS notwithstanding the aforesaid submission and agreement, the said *Indians* belonging to the princes aforesaid, or some of them, through the ill counsel and instigation of the *French*, have perpetrated sundry hostilities against his majesty's subjects the *English*, and have not delivered and returned him the several *English* in their hands, as in the said submission they covenanted.

Submission of
the sachems to
the crown of
England.

“WHEREFORE we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, segamores, captains, and d principal men of the *Indians*, belonging to the rivers of *Kennebeck*, *Ammenoscoggin*, *Saco*, and parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreement, and also of the sufferings and mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto, do in all humble and submissive manner cast ourselves upon his majesty's mercy, for the pardon of all our rebellions and violations of our promises, praying to be received into his majesty's grace and protection, and for, and in behalf of ourselves, and of all the other *Indians* belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of his majesty of *Great Britain*, do again acknowledge and profess an hearty and sincere obedience to the crown of *England*, and do solemnly renew, ratify, and confirm, all and every the articles and agreements contained in the aforesaid recited submission: and in testimony hereof, we, the said segamores, captains, and principal men, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at *Casco Bay*, near *Mare's Point*, the 7th day of *January*, in the tenth year of the reign of his majesty king *William* the third, *Anno Dom. 1698-99.* e

“Subscribed by *Mexus*, and the rest of the segamores present.”

“In the presence of *James Convers*, *Cyprian Southack*, *John Gyles*, interpreter, *Scodook*, alias *Sampson.*”

THE earl of *Bellamont* appears to have been in every respect a proper governor for *New England*, not only as he understood the interests of the colony perfectly well, but because he was well qualified to deal with the *French* governors of *Canada*. He affected, however, to f make his chief residence at *New York*; and *Stoughton* continued still to act in *New England*, as his deputy or lieutenant-governor. In the beginning of the spring of 1699, he came in person to *Boston*, where he held a general assembly, which consists of deputies from the freeholders and other inhabitants of the respective towns and places^g. He seems to have been the first governor who received from the province a determined salary; being allowed 1000 l. a year, and a present of five hundred pounds, by which it would appear that the assembly were of opinion his not residing amongst them was of no detriment to their province. While he was at *Boston* he had the good fortune to seize *Kidd* the noted pirate, and to send him over to *England*; where his trial, for reasons foreign to this history, made a very great noise; but he was afterwards executed. As to lord *Bellamont* himself, he died g soon after his return to *New York*; and lieutenant-governor *Stoughton* again resumed the

^f CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 334.

^g DOUGLAS'S Summary, Vol. I. p. 477.

a government. The *Indians* being now quiet, nothing remarkable happened; but a dreadful fire, that might be well called a public calamity, which broke out at *Boston*, consumed several houses, and damaged others. In this interval of tranquility, however, the colony acquired great property in commerce; and they wisely attached themselves to those views even after the breaking out of the war between *France* and *England*. This was in a great measure owing to the prudence of *Calieres* and *Vaudreuil*, the *French* governors of *Canada*, who were sensible that that province was as much benefited by repose as *New England* was, and that the *Iroquois* and other savage nations would prove a firm barrier to *New England* in case of an attack from *Canada*. The *New England* men, however, were far from being idle at the beginning of this war; for they fitted out as many privateers as, in a very short time, b brought into their ports seventeen or eighteen *French* prizes.

On the death of the earl of *Bellamont*, *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; a native of the province was appointed governor of *New England*. The people of that province seem at this time to have been particularly careful to avoid rendering their own country the seat of war; and they rather chose to contribute as far as the circumstances of the colony could permit, towards carrying it on in other quarters; for which reason we are obliged to refer to the history of those colonies to be inserted in other parts of this work, for many brave and generous actions performed by the *New England* men in the course of that war. They were so public spirited as upon the application of the people of *Jamaica*, who were apprehensive of a *French* invasion, to send to their assistance two companies of foot under colonel *Walton* and captain c *Lawrence*, who served there for two years. They likewise generously relieved the people of *Nevis*, when ruined by the *French*, by sending them all kinds of provisions and materials for building, without their either receiving or demanding any return.

The government of *Old England* early in this war were sensible that nothing could more effectually distress the *French* than to attack their colony of *Quebec*. This project had been formed by the whig ministry, and had gone so far, that the earl of *Sunderland*, secretary of state, had sent an advice boat to *Boston* to have every thing in readiness in that town and harbour for the reception of the troops who were ready to sail from *England* against *Quebec*. This design however was laid aside upon the government receiving news of the unfortunate battle of *Almanza*, and the troops were sent on another destination. There is some d reason for doubting when this design was reassumed, whether the *New England* men were really friends to it. The probability lies that they were not. They knew the difficulties of such an undertaking, and they were afraid, if it was unsuccessful, of having their country again rendered the scene of *French* and *Indian* barbarities. Add to this, that we cannot well suppose them to have had any great opinion either of the ministers who planned, or the admiral and general who were to execute it. The first was Sir *Hovenden Walker*, and the latter was colonel *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Masbam*, who had supplanted the duchess of *Marlborough* in the queen's favour.

Be that as it will col. *Nicholson*, who had recovered *Nova Scotia* for the *English*, having been over in *England* in the spring of the year 1700, had brought with him some *Indian* e chiefs, and so effectually persuaded the ministry of the utility of the undertaking, that five regiments of foot and a battalion of marines, the latter under the command of col. *Charles Churchill*, were appointed to the service, and the ships of war that sailed from *England* were the *Edgar*, *Monmouth*, *Devonshire*, *Humber*, *Swiftsure*, *Kingston*, *Sunderland*, *Montague*, and *Dunkirk*. This force was to be joined by an additional number of troops and ships when it arrived at *New England*, which was the first place of its destination. It does not however appear that the people of *New England* had received any instructions for that purpose; or if they did they seemed to have neglected them. The armament sailed from *Plymouth* the 4th of *May*, and arrived at *Boston* the 4th of *June* 1711, and so little was it expected, f that upon its first appearance a troop of guards, and a regiment of foot that were in the town, put themselves under arms, and the inhabitants made the proper dispositions for repelling the enemy, but were soon undeceived. The general and the admiral had at first no thoughts of landing their men here, but coming ashore, after some conference with the inhabitants, found that they themselves were not in the secrets of the ministry. The latter had often brought severe charges against the whigs for entering on designs not laid before parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, and the parliament had a little before declared, That to enlarge the service, or increase the charge beyond the bounds prescribed, and the supplies granted, was illegal, and an invasion of their rights. Those circumstances filled the patrons of this expedition with apprehensions, and they had nothing to trust to but success for being indemnified. Looking upon secrecy as being one of the g great means of success, they had either concealed their design from the *New England* men, or explained it so imperfectly, that when the admiral and general came on shore they were amazed to find that no provisions were in furtherance for their proceeding on the expedition; so that, all their own provisions being spent, notwithstanding the shortness of the passage,

History of the expedition against Canada.

passage, the men were landed out of the ships, and encamped on *Noddies* island near *Boston*, where colonel *Nicholson* likewise was. This delay, probably, was the ruin of the expedition, but it is owned on all hands, that the *New England* men seeing the good appearance the troops and ships made, and perceiving the officers to be thoroughly in earnest, expedited the raising their quota of men, and got ready the provisions demanded of them in a shorter time than could have been well expected. It was however the 20th of *July* before the *British* troops reembarked, and they were joined by two fine regiments of 1000 *New England* and *New York* men, under the colonels *Walton* and *Vetch*. The fleet then consisted of twelve, some say fifteen men of war; six store ships with all kind of warlike stores, besides five-ships, bomb ketches, tenders and transports, with forty horse on board for drawing a fine train of artillery. It was the 30th of *July* before the fleet sailed for the river *St. Lawrence*. At the same time colonel *Nicholson* set out from *Boston* for *New York*, from whence he proceeded to *Albany*, where the forces of *New York*, *Connecticut*, and *New Jersey*, about 1000 *Palatines*, and about as many *Indians* of the Five Nations, under the caziques, who had been in *England*, rendezvoused to the number of about 4000 men, commanded by col. *Ingoldsby*, col. *Schuyler*, and col. *Whiting*, who marched toward *Canada* the 28th of *August*. It was the 14th of the same month before the fleet arrived at the mouth of *St. Lawrence* river; but proceeding upwards, partly by the unskilfulness of the pilots, and partly through contrary winds, the whole was in great danger of being lost, as eight transports, with about 800 men on board, actually were. After two or three days remaining in this uncomfortable situation, a resolution was taken, by a consultation of the sea-officers, to return to *Spanish* river bay; and there a council was held, consisting of sea and land-officers, "who, says Sir *Hovenden Walker* in his account of this expedition, considering we had but ten weeks provision for the fleet and army, and that the navigation in these parts of the world being so bad and dangerous, that, at this time of the year, we could not depend upon a supply of provisions from *New England*, it was unanimously agreed to return home, without making further attempts elsewhere." Thus ended an expedition that has been variously represented; but we cannot help thinking that the conducters of it were in earnest, though their delaying it so long was inexcusable, if it was owing to them. It was however considered by the whigs as so desperate an undertaking, that one of the articles of the earl of *Oxford's* impeachment, was his having suffered it to go forward. As to what regards the part which the people of *New England* bore in it, we shall here present the reader with part of their governor's apology for them in a speech he delivered to the assembly soon after the expedition miscarried. "Before we proceed (says he) I must offer you my sincere sense and sincere condolence of the fleet and forces sent hither by her majesty's special favour. I have had time enough, since the account thereof, to consider the several articles of her majesty's command to this government, for the putting forward this expedition. I cannot charge this assembly with neglecting any particular; but, on the contrary, when I peruse the journals of the proceedings, I think there was provision and expedition made in every article, referring to soldiers, artificers, pilots, transports and provision for the service of her majesty's *British* forces as well as our own. I hope you will see reason to consider and represent home, for our justification, that it may be demonstrated, that we were in earnest to do our duty to the utmost for our own benefit and establishment, as well as her majesty's honour and just right set down in the instructions for the expedition."

Miscarriage of
the expedition.

Governor's
speech on the
same.

Boston burnt
and rebuilt.

ABOUT this time the greatest part of the town of *Boston* was laid in ashes by an accidental fire: but though the public of *New England* was at that time considerably in debt on account of the late war, it was soon rebuilt in a far more elegant and commodious manner than before; a proof of the prodigious acquisitions the inhabitants had made by commerce and industry since the foundation of their colony. The peace of *Utrecht*, however disgraceful or disadvantageous it might be in other respects, gave a prodigious spring to the wealth and welfare of *New England*. The inhabitants of that colony, to their native love of liberty, added now the polite arts of life, industry was embellished by elegance; and what would have been hardly credible in ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, in less than fourscore years, a colony, almost unassisted by its mother-country, arose in the wilds of *America*, that if transplanted to *Europe*, and rendered an independent government, would have made no mean figure amidst her sovereign states.

Colonel Shute
governor.

UPON the accession of the family of *Hanover* to the crown of *Great Britain*, colonel *Samuel Shute*, brother to the then lord *Barrington*, was by king *George* the 1st. appointed governor of *New England*. He had served in the *English* army under the great duke of *Marlborough* with great reputation, and having been wounded in the cause of public liberty, both his person and principles were extremely agreeable to the people of *New England*.

^b Letter of Sir HOVEDEN WALKER, dated Sept. 12, 1711.

- a They accordingly provided him with a house suitable to his dignity; but they still retained so much of their original character, that they could not be prevailed upon to render him independent on themselves by settling upon him a certain salary. He had succeeded one colonel *Burgess*, who, for that reason probably, refused to go over to his government; and his lieutenant governor was Mr. *Dummer*, a man of understanding, and very well versed in colony affairs, especially those of *New England*. By this time, that province was so far from being a wild uncultivated land, where the colonists must work for their bread to clear it from trees, that there was a necessity for a law passing to prevent any more from being cut down; as appears from the following speech of this governor to the assembly. "Notwithstanding, says he, the law passed in *England* for encouraging naval stores, and for the preservation of white pine trees, his majesty has been informed that great spoils are daily committed in his woods, in the province of *Main*, and in some parts of *Massachusetts Bay*, by cutting down, and putting to private use such trees as may be proper for the navy-royal; therefore he recommends that all laws against it may be put in execution, and new ones be made, if these are not sufficient." In the same speech he recommended the rebuilding of the fort *Pemmaquid*, or erecting a fort in that neighbourhood. In 1717 he met the heads of the eastern *Indians* near *Kennebek* river, and found that the *French* priests from *Canada* had been again tampering with them to renounce their alliance with, and submission to the crown of *Great Britain*. This appeared in the haughtiness of the behaviour of the *Sachems*, who, with a peremptory air, demanded that the *English* should build no more forts, nor make more settlements on their lands; to which the governor resolutely answered, that he would not part with an inch of ground that belonged to his province, and threatened to build a fort upon every settlement in it. Upon this, the savages departed to a neighbouring island with a shew of resentment; but upon the governor's ordering the ship of war which attended him, to put herself in a sailing posture, they sent to desire another conference, which with some difficulty was granted, and the *Sachems*, to the number of 23, renewed their submission to the crown of *England*, and all the articles of their former agreement, saying at the same time in their native tongue, that they hoped it would last as long as the sun and moon endured. Upon their return home, however, the *French* renewed their practices with them, and two hundred of them marched under *French* colours to the town of *Arrowseck*, from whence they sent a menacing letter to the governor, who laid it before the assembly. This produced a new expedition, which was attended by five of the counsellors, and which soon dissipated the danger. Next year about thirty or forty pirates, taken by captain *Solgard* of the *Greyhound* man of war, were brought prisoners to *Rhode Island*, where they were tried, and about twenty-four of them executed.

NOTWITHSTANDING colonel *Shute's* easy administration, and the services he had done the colony, he could not prevail upon them to fix his salary, and the assembly gave him so much trouble that he was at last forced to carry over to *England* a complaint against them, consisting of seven articles for invading the royal prerogative; viz. "1. Their taking possession of royal masts cut into logs. 2. Refusing the governor's negative of the speaker. 3. Assuming authority jointly with the governor and council to appoint fasts and thanksgivings. 4. Adjourning themselves for more than two days at a time. 5. Dismantling of forts, and ordering the guns and stores into the treasurer's custody. 6. Suspending of military officers, and mutilating them of their pay. 7. Sending a committee of their own to muster the king's forces."

MR. *Cook*, the agent for the house of representatives, admitted the first, third, fifth, sixth and seventh articles to be true; and on the part of his constituents he acknowledged their fault, but laid the blame upon the precedents of former assemblies. As to the two articles not acknowledged, an explanatory charter was made out in the 12th of *George I.* in which is the following clause: "Whereas in their charter nothing is directed concerning a speaker of the house of representatives; and their adjourning themselves; it is hereby ordered, That the governor or commander in chief, shall have a negative in the election of the speaker, and the house of representatives may adjourn themselves, not exceeding two days at a time."

COLONEL *Shute's* successor was *William Burnet*, Esq; son to the famous bishop of that name. When he entered upon his government he found the people more numerous than those of any colony in the world; their commerce flourishing, and their riches immense. But they had not laid aside the independent principles of their ancestors; and the government of *England* thought that they affected powers inconsistent with their duty to their mother country. To put them to a test of their obedience, Mr. *Burnet* had an instruction peremptorily to insist upon a settled provision for him as governor, which was as peremp-

^a DOUGLASS'S Summary, vol. i. page 380.

torily refused by the assembly. The disputes on this head encreased so much, that for some time no public business could be transacted. Mr. *Burnet* was a zealous promoter of the good of the colony; and had many schemes for its service, which were so just that he had credit enough to carry them into execution. It is thought that he would even have given up the point of his salary had he not had been tied down by his instructions from *England*. But finding that was impracticable, he having given up a very lucrative place in *Great Britain* for the government of *New York*, in which he succeeded governor *Hunter*, as colonel *Montgomery* did him. The province of *Massachusetts* perceiving they could gain nothing upon their governor in the matter of his salary, sent over *Jonathan Belcher*, Esq; to join with Mr. *Wilks* in an application to the government of *England* to get a revocation of his instruction on that head. The whig ministry being at that time, viz. 1727, pretty much divided, the *New England* agents who were charged with other complaints against their governor, besides that of his insisting upon a salary, received great encouragement from one part of the administration, and were threatened by the other, that the affair should be laid before parliament; but Mr. *Burnet* dying September 7, 1729, Mr. *Belcher* was appointed to succeed him as governor of *New York*. In the mean while, Mr. *Dummer* acted as lieutenant-governor. Mr. *Belcher* arrived at *New York* on the 8th of August 1730, and was received with great joy by the natives, who thought that under their own countryman they had nothing to apprehend, especially as he had so lately been employed by them as their agent; but they were deceived. The first step he took in his government was to lay before the assembly of *New Hampshire* his instruction to obtain a salary, and they accordingly granted him two hundred pounds a year. But their example did not further his main end, which was to obtain a proportionable sum from the assembly at *Boston*. The general assembly of *New England* met at *Cambridge* on the 9th of September, and was opened by the governor with a speech, in which he had the following expressions:

“Gentlemen, the king’s placing me at the head of his government here, taken in all circumstances of it (without assuming any personal merit to myself) is such an instance of his majesty’s grace and favour to the people, as I want words to express. The honour of the crown, and the interest of *Great Britain*, are doubtless very compatible with the privileges and liberties of her plantations; and it being my duty to support the former, it will also be my care to protect the latter. I have in command to communicate to you his majesty’s twenty-seventh instruction to me, respecting the support of his governors in this province for the future; I therefore desire, from the affectionate regard I have for my native country, that you will give your most calm and deliberate attention to this affair, of so nice a consequence, and now brought to a crisis.” The crisis he mentions was the former threat of obtaining the sanction of a *British* parliament for fixing a salary; and Mr. *Belcher*, to shew he was not to be baffled, insisted upon the arrears due to the late governor *Burnet*’s children at the rate of 1000*l.* a year for his salary. At length his salary was fixed by a bill passed in the assembly, but in so ambiguous and uncertain a manner, that he refused it his consent. The council, however, was willing to have agreed to his terms; but the house of representatives still stood out, which produced from the governor the following expressions: “With you, gentlemen of the house of representatives, this matter more especially lies, for you must stand alone in your present unhappy situation, and after my discharging my duty to the king and to this province, I do not intend to give you any farther trouble in what I have so often urged to you. I cannot help mentioning to you the opinion of your present agent, that any longer contention will be but a fruitless spending of money, and still bring this province into a less esteem with his majesty and his ministers. You may depend the king will take care that what he has now directed, shall be finally effected; and, as I have often told you, so I still fear, in such a manner as may make you wish, too late, that you had come into an early dutiful compliance.”

Dummer
lieutenant
governor.

Speech of the
governor
Belcher.

THE house of representatives, in answer to this speech, quoted the governor’s own letters to the general assembly, when he was employed by them as their agent against their granting any fixed salary, in which there were expressions importing, that such a salary could not be granted without the highest prejudice to the public. In the mean while, the house was far from denying to their governor an honourable support; for on the first of *January*, being the very day before the governor dissolved them, they entered the following minute in their books: “After the most serious consideration of his majesty’s instruction for fixing a salary on his excellency and his successors, together with the rights and privileges of the people, we apprehend the house ought not to accede thereto; but at the same time, we esteem it the duty of this house, as well as their honours, willingly and unanimously to give their votes in passing acts for the ample and honourable support of his majesty’s governor.”

a THE assembly which met upon the above dissolution, being as refractory as that which was dissolved, it met with the same fate, and a new assembly was called, to whom the governor afresh urged the necessity of their complying with his majesty's 27th instruction, relating to his salary. At last, after various expedients had been proposed and rejected, the governor was prevailed on to accept of 1000 *l.* a year; but in such a manner, as that the payment of it should not be obligatory upon future assemblies. Other matters of great moment to the peace and prosperity of the colony happened about the same time, particularly a dispute between the province of *Massachusetts Bay* and that of *New Hampshire*, about the white pines, already mentioned to be so essential to the shipping of *Great Britain*. It is almost impossible, considering the vast extent of territory, where the white pines grow, b to ascertain those several boundaries between the king and the private subject. It is certain that *Ralph Gulston*, Esq; who was contractor for the ship-timber for the royal navy, met with such difficulties in executing his contract, that he was forced to have recourse to the governor's authority, who referred the affair to the assembly. After some deliberation, a proclamation was issued by desire of the house, to prevent any kind of molestation being given to Mr. *Gulston* or his agents; and Mr. *Dunbar* the surveyor-general gave the following publication:

" WHEREAS a number of people, who call themselves proprietors of lands in *Sheepscot River*, and other parts to the eastward of *Kennebeck River*, have, by their agent Mr. *Waldo*, petitioned his majesty upon their said claims, and are, as I am informed, proposing to send thither and take possession of the said lands, without waiting for his majesty's pleasure and determination thereupon: I do hereby give notice to all persons concerned, that I am directed, by his majesty's royal instructions, to lay aside 300,000 acres of land, bearing the best timber, as contiguous as may be to the sea-shore and navigable rivers within the province of *Nova Scotia*, to be reserved as a nursery of trees for the royal navy: I have, in obedience to my said instructions, made choice of several places from the east-side of *Kennebeck River*, and more especially in *Sheepscot River*."

d THE reader here is to observe, that by the charter granted to the colony, all trees of the diameter of twenty-four inches and upwards, twelve inches from the ground, growing in the province, were reserved to the crown. This reservation, however, though wise and necessary, had often very pernicious consequences, as it gave a handle for the servants of the government to be very troublesome to the planters, by visiting and searching their estates: Besides this inconveniency, it discourages the growth of white pines near navigable rivers; as men are too often fond of preferring their private interest to the public good, and the expence of the carriage of such as grow at a distance from those rivers, exceeds the value of the timber.

e IT is foreign to the intention of this history to pursue all the private heats and animosities that happened in this colony under Mr. *Belcher's* administration. He had the fate of his predecessors; for notwithstanding all his public-spirited endeavours for the good of the colony, letters were sent over to the government of *England*, complaining of his administration, his tyranny, and his being an enemy to the dissenting interest in *New England*. Those letters, most of which were written in the incendiary strain, would have had very little effect, had not the government of *England* resolved to adopt a new system, with regard to their *American* affairs. They were provoked to this, by a dispute raised by the assembly of *New England*, about the disposal of public money, which they pretended, because they granted it, ought to be vested solely in them. This was talking in a very high strain of independency; and upon its being checked by the governor, a complaint was carried over to *England*, where it was voted in parliament, " That the complaint, contained in the *New England* memorial and petition, was frivolous and groundless, and f " high insult upon his majesty's government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony upon this kingdom, to which, by law and right, they are, and ought to be, subject." The assembly even ventured to censure Mr. *Dunbar*, for giving evidence before the house of commons in a bill relating to the better securing and encouraging the trade of the sugar-colonies in *America*; upon which that house voted, *nem. con.* " That the presuming to call any person to account, or pass a censure upon him, for evidence given by such person before that house, was an audacious proceeding; and an high violation of the privileges of that house." The government of *England*, not willing to encourage the heart-burnings of the colony, nominated *William Shirley*, Esq; to succeed Mr. *Belcher*, in August 1741. As we shall have occasion, in the course of this g work, often to mention that gentleman's conduct and actions; and likewise the noble spirit the *New England* men exerted in the war with *France*, which broke out in the year 1742; we shall here avoid particulars, which it will be necessary for us to mention in the history of *Canada*, where, as in one common center, the merits and spirit during that war,

Belcher's administration.

war, of all our *North American* colonies, will appear in their full and true light, and thereby prevent numerous repetitions, which must happen, should we give separate details of their conduct. It is sufficient to say here, that, in the year 1748, the colony of *New England* gave peace to *Europe*, by raising, arming, and transporting four thousand men, who took *Louisbourg*, which proved an equivalent at the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, for all the successes of the *French* upon the continent of *Europe*. In the late war with *France*, which was concluded in the year 1762, they exerted the same glorious spirit against the common enemy, and greatly contributed to that extension of territory in *North America*, that probably in a few years hence will make the crown of *Great Britain*, if it is not already, the most powerful of any in the world. It now remains that we give some account of the constitution and trade of this flourishing colony, in as concise a manner as is consistent with perspicuity.

Constitution of
New Eng-
land.

THE general assembly of *New England* is the supreme legislative body in the colony. In concurrence with the governor it imposes taxes, makes grants, enacts laws, and redresses public grievances of every kind. It consists of the magistrates, and a certain number of representatives, which form two chambers so nearly resembling our lords and commons, that the consent of the majority of both is necessary before any bill can be presented to the governor for his assent. But as we have an authentic representation from the commissioners of trade to the house of lords in *January* 1733-4, we cannot do better than to repeat their sense of the general government of *New England*, viz. "That there are likewise three charter governments, of which the chief is the province of *Massachusetts Bay*, commonly called *New England*; the constitution whereof is of a mixed nature, the power being divided betwixt the king and the people, in which the latter have much the greatest share; for here the people do not only chuse the assembly, but the assembly chooses the council also; and the governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has too frequently laid the governors of this province under temptations of giving up the prerogative of the crown, and the interest of *Great Britain*."

"*CONNECTICUT* and *Rhode Island* are the other charter governments, or rather corporations, where almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people, who make an annual election of their assembly, their council, and their governor likewise; to the majority of which assemblies, councils and governors respectively, being collective bodies, the power of making laws is granted; and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do make laws, even without the governor's assent, and directly contrary to their opinions, no negative voice being reserved to them as governors in the said charter: And as the said governors are annually chosen, their office generally expires before his majesty's approbation can be obtained, or any security taken for the due observance of the laws of trade and navigation, and hold little or no correspondence with our office. These colonies have the power of making laws for their better government and support, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of *Great Britain*, nor detrimental to their mother-country. And these laws, when they have regularly passed the council and assembly of any province, and received the governor's assent, become valid in that province, yet remain repealable by his majesty in council upon just complaint, and do not acquire a perpetual force unless they are confirmed by his majesty in council. But there are some exceptions to this rule in the proprietary and charter-governments. Thus, in the *Massachusetts Bay*, if their laws are not repealed within three years after they have been presented to his majesty for his approbation or disallowance, they are not repealable by the crown after that time: and the provinces of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* are not under any obligation by their respective constitutions to return authentic copies of their laws to the crown for approbation or disallowance, or to give any account of their proceedings. There is also this singularity in the governments of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, that there, laws are not repealable by the crown, but the validity of them depends upon their being not contrary, but as near as may be agreeable, to the laws of *England*."

Its laws:

THE laws of the greatest consequence in this colony are thus specified by Mr. *Dummer*: "There has been from the beginning, an office erected by law in every county, where all conveyances of land are entered at large, after the granters have first acknowledged them before a justice of peace, by which means no person can sell his estate twice, or take up more money upon it than it is worth. Provision has likewise been made for the security of life and property, in the election of juries, who are not returned by the sheriff of the county, but are chosen by the inhabitants of the towns; and this election is under the exactest regulation that human prudence can suggest, for preventing corruption." Our author observes, "That sheriffs in the plantations are comparatively but little officers, and therefore not to be trusted like ours. Redress in the *New Eng-*

a "land courts of law, says he, is very quick and cheap: all processes are in *English*, and
 "no special pleadings or demurrers are admitted; but the general issue is always given;
 "and special matters brought in evidence; which saves time and expence: and in this
 "case a man is not liable to lose his estate for a defect in form, nor is the merit of the
 "cause made to depend on the niceties of clerkship. By a law of the country, no writ
 "may be abated for a circumstantial error, such as a slight misnomer, or any informa-
 "lity. And by another law, it is enacted, that every attorney taking out a writ from
 "the clerk's office, shall indorse his surname upon it, and be liable to pay the adverse
 "party his costs and charges in case of non-prosecution or discontinuance, or that the
 "plaintiff be non-suited, or judgment pass against him. And it is provided in the same
 b "act, That if the plaintiff shall suffer a non-suit by the attorney's mislaying the action,
 "he shall be obliged to draw a new writ without a fee, in case the party shall see fit to
 "receive the suit: for the quicker dispatch of causes, declarations are made parts of
 "the writ, in which the case is particularly set forth. If it be matter of accompt, the
 "accompt is annexed to the writ, and copies of both left with the defendant, which
 "being done fourteen days before the sitting of the court, he is obliged to plead di-
 "rectly, and the issue is then tried. Nor are the people of *New England* oppressed with
 "the infinite delays and expence that attend proceedings in chancery. But as in all
 "other countries, *England* only excepted, *jus & equum* are held the same, and never
 "divided; so it is here, a power of chancery being vested in the judges of the courts
 c "of common law, as to some particular cases, and they make equitable constructions in
 "others. The fees of officers of all sorts are settled by acts of assembly at moderate
 "prices."

THE reader may easily conceive that the *New England* people originally were more than
 commonly strict in their morals and religion. The same strictness continues to this day;
 and renders their laws in some cases very rigorous, but in others most equitable. Adul-
 tery, blasphemy, striking or cursing a parent, is by them punished with death; as is
 perjury, where life may be affected. No person can be arrested if he has the means of
 making any satisfaction. Quakers, Jesuits, and Popish priests are to be banished, but
 if they return they are to suffer death. Great care is taken by their laws of the mo-
 d rals of the *Indians*, and to prevent drunkenness, swearing and cursing; and one of
 their laws ought to be mentioned to their everlasting honour, which is, that Christian
 strangers flying from tyranny are to be maintained by the public, or otherwise provided
 for.

EVERY town, if it contains thirty burgeses, can send two representatives to parliament; *Government:*
 if twenty, one; but *Boston* nominates four. There is in the assembly the peculiar privi-
 lege of selecting the members of the council, or what we may call their house of lords,
 who act as assistants to the governor; but he must approve of the election. The pru-
 dence of the colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* served them in great stead when
 their charters were called in by *Charles II.* for they surrendered only that which had been
 e granted them by the crown; but, when the revolution took place, they produced that
 which they held from the *Massachusetts* company, which never had been revoked, and which
 entitled them annually to elect their own governor, and to command their own militia:
 They went so far in asserting this last privilege, that when king *William* appointed *Benja-*
 min Fletcher, Esq; who was governor of *New York* and *Pensylvania*, to command the *Con-*
 necticut forces, the province refused to obey him. *Boston* itself is well fortified. The ap- *Boston de-*
 proach to it by shipping is narrow, but its basin is said to be large enough to contain five *scribed.*
 hundred sail. Few cities in *Europe* enjoy more public conveniencies than it does. It is
 populous and well built, beyond any in *England*, *London* excepted; and two gazettes are
 regularly printed here every week; the town containing no fewer than five printing-
 f presses. The progress the inhabitants are daily making in the arts, sciences, and polite
 literature of every kind, is amazing, and the measures taken by the government for the
 advancement of learning in *New England*, will put the colleges there on a footing with
 any in *Europe*. With regard to their commerce, the people of *New England* are the
 greatest traders on the continent of *America*. They acquire vast profits by ship-building.
 Their soil produces every fruit that is to be found in *Europe*; apples particularly, from
 which they export excellent cyder to the *Antilles*. They have a race of little horses pecu-
 liar to themselves, whose hardiness and swiftness are almost incredible. Their inland trade,
 besides masts, yards, and provisions of all kinds, consists chiefly of furs, and the skins of
 beavers and martins. The furs are brought in by the *Indians*, who find their account in
 g hunting, which they would not do were it not for the *English* markets. The greatest part
 of the skins are furnished by the *Indians* upon the rivers *Penobscot* and *St. John*; the for-
 mer bring in bear and elk skins, and the latter beaver and otter skins. Those of *St. John*
 tend

send in, one year with another, three thousand martins skins, and those of *Penobscot* double that number.

Trade.

THE foreign trade of *New England* consists of various articles. At the mouth of the river *Penobscot* there is a mackarel fishery; from which the inhabitants supply *Barbadoes*, and other *British* islands in *America*. They likewise fish in winter for cod, which they dry in the frost. Their salt works are upon the improving hand; and it is said they will soon have salt sufficient to serve themselves. Rich mines of iron of a most excellent kind and temper have been discovered in *New England*, and if improved, in a short time they may supply *Great Britain*, without having recourse to the northern nations for that commodity. Besides mackarel and cod, they send to *Barbadoes* and the other *British* islands, biscuit, meal, salt, provisions, sometimes cattle and horses, planks, hoops, shingles, pipe-staves, butter, cheese, grain, oil, tallow, turpentine, bark, calf-skins, tobacco, apples, and onions; and of these merchandizes *Barbadoes* takes annually to the value of 100,000 *l.* sterling. From *Barbadoes* and those islands they bring in return, sugar, cotton, ginger, and various other commodities. From *Europe* they import wine, silks, woollen cloth, toys, hard-ware, linen, ribbons, stuffs, laces, paper, house-furniture, husbandry tools of all kinds, cordage, hats, stockings, shoes, and *India* goods, to the value of above 400,000 *l.* a year. In short, there is no *British* manufacture that serves the purposes of use, luxury or ornament, which the people of *New England* do not import. Their money, till lately, was all paper, struck into what they call province-bills, which occasioned many inconveniences, and the manufactures are but few; nor are they much encouraged by their mother-country, for obvious reasons. They are however daily improving, and the two last wars with *France* and *Spain* have introduced abundance of hard money.

Religion.

WITH regard to religion, before the year 1740, the province of *Massachusetts Bay* contained above one hundred *English* congregations, besides thirty assemblies of *Indian* Christians. But of all those congregations not above three or four of them followed the forms of the church of *England*. Every particular society amongst them is independent of all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction; nor does there lie any appeal from their punishments or censures. Their church-government admits of synods, but those synods have no power to enforce their own acts, or to establish any thing coercive: all they can do is, to deliberate on general matters, which are to be laid before the several churches, who have power to reject or approve of them as they see proper. The magistrates have power to call a synod upon any particular exigency, and even to give their opinion in it. The ministers of *Boston* depend entirely on the generosity of their hearers for their support; a voluntary contribution being made for them by the congregation every time divine service is celebrated. The police of the inhabitants of *New England*, with regard to their morals, is preferable perhaps to that of any in the world. Every town of fifty families is obliged to maintain a school for reading and writing, and of 100 families a grammar-school for the instruction of youth. Thus vices that are common in all other parts of the world, are unknown in *New England*, if their great increase of power and riches has not introduced them. Their children being early habituated to industry of every kind, have no ideas of expensive pleasure or enervating debauches. Their constitution in church and state confirms them in this sobriety of habit. They have no holidays but that of the annual election of the magistrates of *Boston*, and the commencement at *Cambridge*. Thus an uninterrupted course of industry and application to business prevails all the year round. *New England* is divided into 12 counties, each county-town containing a guildhall, and the whole consists of 61 market-towns, 27 fortified places upon eleven navigable rivers, and 2 colleges. Before the year 1743, their shipping was said to have consisted of at least 1000 sail, exclusive of their fishing barks; but since that time their shipping has been so greatly increased, that it is on a moderate calculation thought, that, during the late war, the privateers of *New England* were equal to all the royal navy of *England* in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*.

N E W Y O R K.

Dutch inhabitants of New York.

IT is difficult, and indeed immaterial, to settle the claims of prior possession amongst the colonists of *America*. Capt. *Hudson* an *Englishman* is said to have been the first who discovered this country; and about the year 1608 he sold it to the *Dutch*. This transaction was certainly very questionable, as it had not the sanction of *James* the First, without which it was thought it was not in the power of a private subject to dispose of so important and so fine a track of country. The *Dutch* however proceeded to settle it: the court of *England* complained of this settlement, and of the *Dutch* placing a governor over it. The *Dutch* however kept possession, though *James* I. protested against the settlement.

Sir

- a Sir Samuel Argal, in his way from *Virginia* to *New Scotland*, attacked and destroyed their plantations, by order, it is to be presumed, from the court of *England*, while he was governor of *Virginia*. Upon this, the *Dutch* applied to king *James* for a confirmation of *Hudson's* conveyance; but all they could obtain was, leave to build some cottages for the convenience of their ships, touching for fresh water, in their way to *Brazil*. This permission afforded them pretexts for enlarging their settlements, till at last, *New Netherlands*, as the province was then called, became a flourishing colony, and carried on a very considerable trade with the neighbouring *Indians*, and even with those of *Canada*. In process of time they built the town of *Amsterdam* in *Manabattan* island, at the mouth of *Hudson's*, or as they called it, the *Great river*, *Nassau* bay lying towards the east. About 150 miles up the river they built *Orange-fort*, which was their great staple for their commerce with the *Indians*, as will be seen in the history of *Canada*.

THE extent of the province-government or jurisdiction of *New York* is as follows; from N. to S. that is, from *Sandy Hook*, in lat. 40 d. 30 m. to the supposed *Canada* line in the parallel of 45 d. lat. are 313 *English* miles; the extent from west to east is various: 1. From the E. southerly termination of the boundary line, between the *Jerseys* and *New York*, in lat. 41 d. upon *Hudson's* river, to *Byram* river, where the colony of *Connecticut* begins, are 100 miles. 2. From the W. northerly termination of the said boundary line between *Jersey* and *New York*, on the north branch of *Delaware* river, in lat. 41 d. 40 m. to *Connecticut* W. line, including the oblong, are 82 miles, whereof about 60 miles from *Delaware* river to *Hudson's* river, and 22 miles from *Hudson's* river to the present *Connecticut* W. line, oblong included. 3. From 41 d. 40 m. on *Delaware* river, *New York* runs 20 miles higher on *Delaware* river to the parallel of 41 d. lat. which by *Pennsylvania* royal grant divides *New York* from the province of *Pennsylvania*. Upon this parallel *New York* is supposed to extend west to *Lake Erie*; and from thence along *Lake Erie*, and along along *Lake Cataraqui*, and its discharge *Cataraqui* river, to the aforesaid *Canada* supposed line with the *British* colonies. We shall instance the breadth of *New York* province from *Oswego*; as being a medium in this line. *Oswego* fort and trading place, with many nations of *Indians* upon the *Lake Ontario*, *Cataraqui* or *Oswego*, in lat. 43 d. m. lies W. northerly from *Albany* about 200 miles, and 20 miles from *Albany* to the west line of the province of *Massachusetts's Bay*, in all about 200 miles. *Montreal* lies N. by E. of *Albany* above 220 miles.

Douglas's
summary.

- SEVERAL islands belong to the province of *New York*, such as *Long Island*, which the *Dutch* call *Nassau*, and is about 120 miles long from east to west, but no more at a medium than 10 broad. The eastern part of this island was settled from *New England*, but two thirds of the island is a barren sandy soil. *Staten* island is about 12 miles in length N. and 6 in breadth, and is inhabited by *Dutch* and *French*, as well as *English*. *Tantucket*, *Martha's* vineyard, and *Elizabeth* islands; formerly belonged likewise to *New York*, but were by the new charter of *Massachusetts's Bay* granted at the revolution, annexed to that colony. *New York* contains four incorporated towns, which have several exclusive privileges, and send representatives to the general assembly. The names of the towns are as follow: 1. *New York* and its territory, which was established by colonel *Dungan*, and sends four representatives to the general assembly. 2. The city of *Albany*, which sends two representatives. 3. The town of *West-Chester*; and 4. that of *Schenectady*, each of which sends one. The climate and soil of *New York* are greatly superior even to those of *New England*, which made it an object greatly desirable by the *English*. The history of *New York*, during the time the *Dutch* held it, affords little or nothing material, but what will be found in that of *Canada*. Its first *Dutch* governor was *Henry Christien*, who discovered *Martha's* vineyard, and he was succeeded by *Jacob Elkir*, who was appointed to that government by the *Dutch West India* company, to whom the country belonged. When the *Dutch* war became inevitable in the year 1664, King *Charles II.* made a present of vast tracks of land in those countries to his brother the duke of *York*; in which *New York* was included, and the duke let it out in other subdivisions to other proprietors. To render those gifts effectual, Sir *Robert Car.*, an *English* commander of great courage and spirit, before the declaration of the first *Dutch* war, was sent with a strong squadron, and three thousand land troops, the greatest armament that had been ever sent from *Europe* to *America*, with orders to dispossess the *Dutch* of this fine country, and to put the duke of *York* in possession of it. He was attended, as we have already seen in the history of *New England*, by colonel *Richard Nicholls*, Esq; *George Carteret*, Esq; and *Samuel Maverick*, Esq; and he landed his land-forces on *Manabattan* island, towards the end of the year 1664, and he and *Nicholls* marched directly against the town of *New Amsterdam*. The *Dutch* governor, though a brave man, being unprovided to receive them, was obliged to capitulate, and to deliver up the place. The capitulation was wise and honourable; for all

Nicholls
governor.

all the *Dutch* subjects who were willing to submit to the *English* government were at liberty to reside in the place, and protected in their persons and effects. The town, at that time, was one of the handsomest in all *North America*; and above half of the *Dutch* inhabitants chose to submit to the *English* government, while others were at liberty to carry off their effects; and were succeeded by the *English*, who gave the colony the name of *New York*. The first *English* governor of *New York* was colonel *Nicholls*, who 13 days after the surrender of *New Amsterdam*, marched to *Orange* fort, which was likewise surrendered to him; and all the straggling plantations in that country fell under the power of the *English*. The correspondence, in point of religion and morals, between the *Dutch*, the *New England* men, and the chief *English* planters of *New York*, render the subjection of the former very easy, and even desirable to themselves. *Nicholls* acted as governor under the duke of *York* to the year 1683, and seems to have been a wise provident person. It was he who concluded the useful treaty between the *Indians* of the five nations and the *English* inhabitants, which subsists to this day. The *Dutch* however recovered *New York* in 1672, but restored it a few months after by the treaty of peace. *Nicholls* was succeeded in this government in 1683 by Sir *Edmund Andros*, whom we have had occasion to mention in the history of *New England*, and *Andros* by colonel *Dungan*, afterwards earl of *Limerick*.

Dungan
governor.

DUNGAN, though a papist, and devoted to king *James*, had a just sense of the interests of *England*, and was an irreconcilable enemy to the *French* in *America*. While king *James* was on the throne, an order came to him from *England*, to admit *French* missionaries from *Quebec*, to make converts to popery in *New York*. The colonel could not dispute the order; but he kept so strict an eye upon the missionaries, that he soon perceived their main intention was to debauch the five *Indian* nations from their friendship with *England*; upon which he turned them out of the colony, telling them that they came there not to serve the religion, but the trade, of *France*. The *French* king complained to the court of *England* of *Dungan's* honest proceeding, and it was thought he must have lost his government had king *James* continued much longer upon the throne. When the revolution took place, his religion disqualified him from continuing in the government of *New York*; but king *William* had so just a sense of his merit, that he offered to procure him a considerable command in the *Spanish* army, which *Dungan* refused to accept of, on account of his obligations to king *James*. After the revolution the *French* found means to spirit up the *Hurons* against the inhabitants of *New York*; and colonel *Benjamin Fletcher*, the next governor, was ordered to carry over from *England* thither some land-troops for the protection of the colony. In the mean while, viz. 1690, colonel *Peter Schuyler*, an inhabitant of *New York*, raised 300 *English* and 300 friendly *Indians*, with whom he marched against *Quebec*. This seems to have been an ill-digested expedition, as it was easy to foresee that the *English* force, which was destitute of heavy artillery, was insufficient for mastering any strong place. It appears, however, from the *French* historians themselves, that it was necessary, because a formal plan had been laid by the *French* of *Canada* for conquering *New York*. *Schuyler* advanced into *Canada* with great intrepidity, and was opposed by a superior army of *French*, which, according to the *English* accounts, he defeated, and after killing 300 of them, perceiving his strength to be too small to attempt any thing of great consequence, he returned home. Soon after this, the *French* invaded the province of *New York*, took and burnt the town of *Schenectady*, and murdered the inhabitants. It was thought with some appearance of truth, that this invasion was favoured by certain creatures of *Andros*, all of them papists, who had, under his government, been introduced into this province. The truth is, *Fletcher* not arriving, the government of *New York* was at this time in a state of anarchy, when one colonel *Lesley* put himself at the head of the affairs of the province, in conjunction with one Mr. *Jacob Milbourn*. This was a wise, and, perhaps, necessary step, had not the two associates been wrong-headed enough to imagine, that they would be continued from *England* in their government, and that they were even strong enough to hold out against the governor named by king *William*. In the mean while, *Fletcher* arrived with his troops, and summoned *Lesley* and *Milbourn* to give up the fort of *New York*; which they not only refused to do, but killed one of *Fletcher's* soldiers. *Fletcher* however soon got possession of the fort, and ordered *Lesley* and *Milbourn* to be tried for high treason, which they accordingly were, and condemned, and executed. This was thought to be a cruel and arbitrary proceeding in *Fletcher*, and it was believed, that, had he not died at *New York*, he would have been sent prisoner to *England*.

Fletcher
governor.
his arbitrary
proceedings.

AFTER this, the fort of *New York* was provided with a regular garrison, to prevent surprizes from the *French* or their *Indians*. During *Fletcher's* government, *Frontenac*, the

^f CHARLEVOIX, vol. ii. page 409.

- a *French* governor of *Canada*, invaded *Albany*, the *English* barrier of *New York*, with 3000 *French* and *Canadians*. He advanced by *Hudson's* river, and, after a march of 300 miles, he fell into the country of the *Orandague*, one of the five nations in friendship with the *English*, where the count destroyed their habitations, corn, and provision. *Fletcher* hearing of this invasion, advanced against the count, and was joined by several of the friendly *Indians*, who were highly exasperated against the *French* and the *Hurons*. Upon this the count retreated, but with considerable loss, the *English* and the *Iroquois* falling upon his rear, and killing a great many of his men. Colonel *Slaughter* succeeded *Fletcher* in this government, as *Joseph Dudley*, Esq; did him. In the year 1697 the earl of *Bellamont*, as we have already seen, was named to the joint governments of *New York* and *New England*, and Mr. *Nanfan* acted as his deputy for the former. In 1700 Mr. *Nanfan* refused admittance, by orders from *England*, to the *Scotch* ships from *Darien*; a proceeding which was thought to be inhuman. The lord *Cornbury*, eldest son to the earl of *Clarendon*, upon lord *Bellamont's* death, was appointed governor of *New York*, and carried over thither his wife and family. His lordship is said to have carried matters with a very high hand; but the affairs of the colony were under him in excellent order. In 1710 five of the friendly *Indian* kings were sent to *England*, where they were kindly received at court; and they addressed queen *Anne* in the following terms:

Five Indian chiefs in England.

"Great Queen,

"We have undertaken a long voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed with to undertake, to see our great queen, and relate to her those things which we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her and us her allies, on the other side of the water.

"We doubt not but our great queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies the *French*; and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard our great queen had resolved to send an army to reduce *Canada*; and immediately, in token of friendship, we hung up the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and, with one consent, assisted colonel *Nicholson* in making preparations on this side the lake: but at length we were told, our great queen, by some important affairs, was prevented in her design at present, which made us sorrowful, lest the *French*, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make war against them. The reduction of *Canada* is of great weight to our free hunting; so that if our great queen should not be mindful of us, we must, with our families, forsake our country, and seek other habitations, or stand neuter, either of which will be much against our inclinations.

"In token of the sincerity of these nations, we do, in their names, present our great queen with the belts of wampum, and, in hopes of our great queen's favour, leave it to her most gracious consideration."

In consequence of this address, the expedition under colonel *Hill* and Sir *Hovenden Walker* against *Canada*, which we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, was undertaken. General *Nicholson* was to command in chief the *New York* forces; of which, besides *Indians*, three regiments were raised, under the command of the colonels *Ingoldsby*, *Schuyler*, and *Whiting*. They accordingly marched towards *Quebec*; but, upon *Walker's* miscarriage, they returned to *New York*. After this, great numbers of *Palatines* and *German* protestants arrived, and were settled in the colony, which brought an additional strength to it. This was generally reckoned a Whig measure, and therefore a vote of the house of commons passed against it, as being an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, tending to the increase and oppression of the *English* poor, and of dangerous consequence to the church. Nothing could be more false or ridiculous than (especially the last) those exceptions. But the new colonists were settled on both sides *Hudson's* river, between 80 or 100 miles above the city of *New York*. Lord *Cornbury*, at the same time he was governor of *New York*, was appointed governor of the *Jerseys*; and, when recalled from his government, he was succeeded by lord *Lovellace*, who arrived at *New York*, November 13, 1708, but died in *May* following. He was succeeded by colonel *Ingoldsby*, a captain of one of the independent companies, as lieutenant-governor; from which post he was removed by a letter from the queen to the council of *New York*. In 1710 colonel *Hunter* was appointed to the government of *New York*, where he arrived on the 14th of *June* that year, carrying with him 2700 *Palatines* to settle in that province. The Whig interest being then low in *England*, no more than ten acres were allowed to one family; upon which they were obliged to go to *Pennsylvania*, where they settled, and became part of that flourishing colony. As to Mr. *Hunter*, it is generally allowed that his abilities and integrity were equal to those of any governor that ever went from *England* to *America*. Having a true sense of the interest of the colony, he renewed the treaty, or, as it is called,

Expedition against Canada.

the covenant-chain, with the five friendly nations of the *Indians*. Having lost his lady at *New York*, he returned in the year 1719 to *England*; and so well was he beloved by his government, that the assembly took leave of him in the most moving terms of gratitude and respect, as if he had been the common father of the province. This gentleman was afterwards governor of *Jamaica*.

Mr. Burnet
governor.

Mr. *Hunter* was succeeded in his government by *William Burnet*, Esq; son to the famous bishop of *Salisbury*. This gentleman has been already mentioned in the history of *New England*. The fatal *South Sea* year had affected his fortune; so that he found it expedient to change his place of comptroller-general of the customs at *London*, which was given to Mr. *Hunter*, for the government of *New York* and *New Jersey*. Before his arrival, advice came to *New York*, that the friendly *Indians* were meditating an expedition against some distant savages, and that they entertained amongst them one *Caur*, a *Frenchman*. The government of *New York* thought that such an expedition would be detrimental to the interests of the colony; and *Peter Schuyler*, Esq; then president of the council, and commander in chief of the province, appointed the following gentlemen, viz. *John Riggs*, *Hend. Hanson*, *John Schuyler*, *Robert Lexington junior*, and *Peter Van Brugh*, Esqs; to repair to *Albany*, as plenipotentiaries of the province, to treat with the *Indians*, and to dissuade them from their purpose, especially from entertaining *Caur*. The *Indians* accordingly met these gentlemen at *Albany*; and it appears, from the minutes of the conference, that the gentlemen of *New York* were very desirous that the savages to the southward should trade with their province; while the deputies of the five nations endeavoured to evade the question, as excluding themselves from that commerce; they offered, however, to treat with their southern brethren, if the latter would come to *Albany*, but not else. As to the affair of *Caur*, they fairly told the gentlemen, that they could not take it upon themselves, but that the *English* might do it if they pleased, or complain of him to the governor of *Canada*. As to the expedition they were about to undertake, they owned that they had such an intention, but that they could say nothing further concerning it, till they consulted at home with their young men and their sachems that were to head them; and thus the conference broke off. The state of affairs between the *English* and the five nations occasioned another conference with the latter; at which, besides the governor of *New York*, were present the governors of *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*. This conference ended to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. It is allowed on all hands, that governor *Burnet* understood extremely well the interests of his government. The building of *Oswego*, a fortified warehouse for the convenience of trading with the *Indians*, was owing to him; and he, at last, succeeded in making the people of *New York* fully sensible, that it was not for their interest, to encourage the great trade carried on between them and the *French* in *Canada*. The latter indeed supplied the *English* with furs; but Mr. *Burnet* proved, that it was very practicable for the people of *New York*, by improving the superior advantages of situation they possessed, to secure to themselves all the skin-trade of the *Indians* to the south of *St. Lawrence* river, and all the north trade to *Hudson's Bay*; there being a much easier conveyance from *Albany* to *Oswego*, than from *Montreal* to *Frontenac* on the *Lake Ontario*; which last was likewise called *Oswego*, and was the *French* warehouse. In the year 1720, the governor obtained from the assembly, an act, prohibiting, for three years, all trade betwixt *New York* and *Canada*. Upon the expiration of this act, the *London* merchants who supplied the *New York* men with the commodities that they used to send to *Canada* (nine hundred pieces of woollen cloth having been carried from *Albany* to *Montreal* in one year) finding themselves deprived of this beneficial commerce, applied to the king and council against the continuance of the law; chiefly, on pretence, that the *French* could be supplied otherwise; and that if they were deprived of the *English* commodities, the *French Canadians* would apply themselves to woollen and other manufactures. This petition was by the council referred to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who transmitted a copy of it, with the reasons on which it was founded, to governor *Burnet*; but his reply proved so satisfactory, that the act was continued, and in 1727 it was, by the assembly, made perpetual, and afterwards confirmed by the king and council in *England*. The good effects of this measure were soon seen.

Advantages of
Oswego.

THE distant *Indians*, who came to traffic, instead of pursuing a long fatiguing journey to *Montreal*, stopt at *Oswego*, which had been built at the governor's private expence, on *Lake Ontario*, and was always garrisoned by twenty soldiers and a lieutenant. There the savages furnished themselves from the *English* at half the price they used to pay the *French*, with all the commodities they wanted. This naturally increased the trade of *New York*, and brought great numbers of *British* subjects into that province; so that it was no longer monopolized by a few overgrown merchants, but divided into many channels, to the immense profit of the colony. The consequence of this was, that the *Indians* became more familiar

a familiar with the *English*, and entertained much higher ideas of their power than before: so that at the end of the war in 1748, the trade of *New York* was five times greater than it was under Mr. *Burnet's* government, and is likely, in a short time, to rival that of any of our colonies in *America*.

In 1727, on the accession of his majesty *George II.* to the crown of *Great Britain*, Mr. *Burnet* being promoted to the government of *New England*, was succeeded in that of *New York* by colonel *Montgomery*. Under this gentleman some doubts arose concerning the validity of their charters, obtained from former governors, in whose names they ran, and not in those of the kings and queens of *England*. They therefore petitioned their governor to procure them a royal charter, which he accordingly did, not only confirming their privileges, but enlarging their bounds. This charter, dated *January 5, 1730*, is in substance as follows: "They are incorporated by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of *New York*.—The city to be divided into seven wards, *viz.* *West ward, South ward, Dock ward, East ward, North ward, Montgomery ward*, and the *Out ward*, divided into the *Bowery* division and *Harlem* division.—The corporation to consist of one mayor, one recorder, and seven aldermen, seven assistants, one sheriff, one coroner, one common clerk, one chamberlain or treasurer, one high constable, sixteen assessors, seven collectors, sixteen constables, and one marshal. The mayor, with consent of the governor, may appoint one of the aldermen his deputy. The governor yearly to appoint the mayor, sheriff, and coroner, and the freeholders and freemen in their respective wards to chuse the other officers, excepting the chamberlain, who is to be appointed in council by the mayor, four or more aldermen, and four or more assistants. The mayor to appoint the high constable; all officers to take the proper oaths, and to continue in office till others have been chosen in their rooms. When any officer dies, the ward is to chuse another; upon refusal to serve in office, the common council may impose a fine not exceeding 15*l.* for the use of the corporation. The mayor, or recorder, and four or more aldermen, with four or more assistants, to be a common-council to make bye-laws, to regulate the freemen, to lease lands and tenements, &c. but to do nothing inconsistent with the laws of *Great Britain*, or of this province; such laws and orders not to continue in force exceeding twelve months, unless confirmed by the governor and council. May punish by disfranchising, or fines for the use of the corporation. The common council shall decide in all controverted elections of officers. The common council may be called by the mayor, or, in his absence, by the recorder; fine of a member for non-attendance not exceeding 20*s.* for the use of the corporation. The corporation may establish as many ferries as they may see fit, and let the same. To hold a market at five or more different places, every day of the week, excepting *Sunday*; to fix the assize of bread, wine, &c. The mayor, with four or more aldermen, may make freemen, fees not to exceed 5*l.*; none but freemen shall retail goods or exercise any trade, penalty 5*l.*; no aliens to be made free. To commit common vagabonds, direct workhouses, gaols, and alms-houses. The mayor to appoint the clerk of the market and water-bailiff; to license carmen, porters, criers, scavengers, and the like; to give licence to taverns and retailers of strong drink for one year, not exceeding 30*s.* per licence; selling without licence 5*l.* current money *toties quoties*. The mayor, deputy mayor, recorder, and aldermen, for the time being, to be justices of the peace. The mayor, deputy mayor, and recorder, or any one of them, with three or more of the aldermen, to be named in all commissions of *oyer and terminer*, and gaol delivery. The mayor, deputy mayor, recorder, or any one of them, with three or more of the aldermen, shall and may hold every *Tuesday* a court of record, to try all civil causes, real, personal, or mixed, within the city and county. May adjourn the mayor's court to any time, not exceeding twenty-eight days. The corporation to have a common clerk, who shall be also clerk of the court of record, and sessions of the peace, to be appointed during his good behaviour, by the governor; eight attorneys in the beginning, but as they drop only six to be allowed, during their good behaviour, for the mayor's court; the mayor's court to have the direction and cognizance of the attorney, who, upon a vacancy, shall recommend one to the governor for his approbation. The mayor, recorder, or any alderman, may, with or without a jury, determine in cases not exceeding 40*s.* value. No freeman inhabitant shall be obliged to serve in any office out of the city. A grant and confirmation to all the inhabitants of their hereditaments, &c. paying the quit-rents reserved by their grants. The corporation may purchase and hold any hereditaments, &c. so as the clear yearly value exceed not 3000*l.* *sterl.* and the same to dispose of at pleasure. To pay a quit-rent of 30*s.* proclamation money *per ann.* besides the beaver skin, and 5*s.* current money in former charters required. No action to be allowed against the corporation, for any matters or cause whatsoever prior to this charter. A pardon of all prosecutions, forfeitures, &c. prior to this charter. This grant, or the inrollment thereof (record) shall be valid in law, notwithstanding of imperfections;

Douglas's
summary.
Colonel Mont-
gomery go-
vernor.

New Charter.

imperfections; the imperfections may in time coming be rectified at the charge of the corporation."

Complaints
against the
governor.

Cosby gover-
nor,

censured.

We have been the more particular upon this charter, as it is by far the most complete of any of our *North American* colonies; and its good effects are daily seen in the progressive flourishing state of that province. Colonel *Montgomery*, during the short time he acted as governor there, was charged with making judges without the advice of the council; but he died in *July* 1731, and his government in general has been greatly applauded. He is particularly mentioned, as having been a great promoter of mathematical knowledge in the colony. At the time Mr. *Montgomery* died, *Rip Van Dam*, Esq; being president of the council, acted in the capacity of governor and commander in chief of *New York*. It unfortunately happened for our *American* provinces at the time we now treat of, that a government in any of our colonies in those parts, was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of an hospital, where the favourites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes, and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors. Upon the death of colonel *Montgomery*, the *French* and their *Indians* became extremely troublesome to the people of *New York*, and the president gave notice accordingly to Mr. *Belcher* at *Boston*, who took the proper methods for obviating the danger. It was in the year 1732, when colonel *Cosby* arrived at his government at *New York*; and in the mean while, the president *Van Dam* had, at the colonel's request, advanced several sums on his account^a, which, on the governor's arrival, he not only refused to pay, but commenced actions for arrears of perquisites and fees belonging to him, which he alledged had been received by *Van Dam*. These altercations were attended with very bad consequences to the civil and commercial state of the colony; for the governor availed himself of his superior authority in the colony to oppress *Van Dam*; but the chief justice *Morrice* gave his opinion flatly in contradiction to the governor, whose daughter was married to lord *Augustus Fitzroy*, then captain of a man of war upon that station. It was during the government of that gentleman, that the *French* and their *Indian* allies grew extremely troublesome to the people of *New England*, which drew from the pen of the very intelligent Mr. *Dummer*, the *New England* agent, the following reproaches against the government of *New York*: "*New York* has always kept itself in a state of neutrality, contributing nothing to the common safety of the *British* colonies, while the *Canada Indians*, joined by parties of the *French*, used to make their route by the borders of *New York*, without any molestation from the *English* of that province, and fall upon the out-towns of *New England*. This behaviour was the more unpardonable in that government; because they have 400 regular troops maintained them at the king's charge, and have five nations of the *Iroquois* on their confines, who are entirely dependent on them, and might easily, had they been engaged in the common cause, have intercepted the *French* in their marches, and thereby have prevented the depredations on his majesty's subjects of *New England*. Solemn and repeated applications were made to the government of *New York* by the governors of the *Massachusetts*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, in joint letters on this subject, but in vain. The answer was, They could not think it proper to engage their *Indians* in actual war, lest they should endanger their own frontiers, and bring upon themselves an expence which they were in no condition to provide for. And thus the poor colonies, whose constitution was charter-government, were left to bear the whole burthen, without any help from those provinces, whose governors held their commissions from the crown."

By this change it appears, that the people of *New York* in general thought they were by no means obliged to involve themselves in inconveniences on account of their neighbours; and to lay the truth, the prosperity of their colony was, in a great measure, owing to their cultivating a good understanding with the native *Indians* of all nations, not to mention, that, by the situation of their country, their frontier was more exposed than that of any other colony to the inroads of those barbarians. This appeared in the year 1734, when the motions of the *Indians*, under the *French* influence, made them apprehensive of an invasion. Upon this occasion, the assembly, without entering upon any offensive measures, came to several resolutions for their own defence. Six thousand pounds were voted for fortifying the city of *New York*; 4000 for erecting a stone fort, and other conveniences for soldiers and artillery at *Albany*; 800 for a fort and block-houses at *Schenectady*, and 500 for managing the *Senecas* and *Indian* nation, and, if practicable, for building fortifications in their country.

In the mean while, the conduct of the governor, *Cosby*, became every day more obnoxious to the independent and spirited part of the inhabitants. He had altered the chief justice *Morrice* out of his place, for opposing him in his dispute with *Van Dam*, and he

^a British Empire in America, vol. i. page 257.

a had turned the courts of law into a court of chancery; against which the best lawyers of the province had flatly given their opinions; because the constitution of the courts in that colony were originally the same with those in *England*. Those proceedings rendered the governor and his administration so unpopular, that one *John Peter Zenger*, a printer, was privately encouraged by the inhabitants to publish a weekly journal, wherein the political affairs of the colony, and the governor and his council, were very freely treated, particularly on account of their arbitrary innovations in the courts of law; their depriving the subjects of the privilege of trials by jury, and, in short, of all kinds of oppressive proceedings; so that the colonists were leaving the province, where they could call nothing their own. About two months after the first publication of this paper, *De Lancey*, the new chief justice, charged the grand jury to find a bill against *Zenger*, which they refused to do. Upon this, a committee of the council and the assembly conferred together, and the former required the latter to join with them in a vote for burning, by the hands of the common hangman, three numbers of the said journal. But when the committee of assembly reported the conference, it was resolved to take no concern in the matter, and they returned the papers left with them by the committee of the council. The latter, upon this, ordered, by their own authority, the papers in question to be burnt, which was executed by the hands of the sheriff; for so unpopular was the government, that none of the inferior people could be prevailed on to act on the occasion as common hangman. At last *Zenger* was imprisoned by a warrant from the governor, and the council assembled on a Sunday; and after thirty-five weeks severe imprisonment, he was ordered to be tried the 4th of *August* 1735. His council had prepared objections to the commission of the judges, but they were over-ruled, and forbidden to practice in the *New York* courts. A council, however, was allowed for *Zenger*; and a lawyer, *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; of *Philadelphia*, though aged and infirm, hearing of the distresses of the prisoner, and the importance of the trial, came to *New York* on purpose to plead *Zenger's* cause.

Trial and acquittal of Zenger the printer.

It is on account of *Hamilton's* spirited and sensible behaviour, as well as to give our readers an idea of the oppressions the colony lay under at this time, that we are so particular as to this trial. A jury was struck out of the freeholders book; and, upon the trial, *Hamilton* offered to prove the contents of the journal to be true, which obliged the attorney-general to have recourse to that ridiculous doctrine of the law, that *truth, far from justifying a libel, aggravates it*. This argument was combated with such learning as well as vivacity by *Hamilton*, whose pleading on this occasion was very fine, that the jury, as did that of the seven bishops in *James II's* time, looked upon themselves to be judges of the law as well as the fact, and brought in the prisoner not guilty. This acquittal was so much the more mortifying to the governor, as the common council of the city of *New York*, to the great satisfaction of their fellow-citizens, presented Mr. *Hamilton* his freedom of their corporation in a gold box, with many classical inscriptions upon it, greatly to his honour. Mr. *Cosby*, after a most unpopular and iniquitous government, was succeeded in the administration in 1736, by *George Clarke*, Esq; and in May 1741, the honourable *George Clinton*, Esq; uncle to the earl of *Lincoln*, and afterwards admiral of the white, was nominated to the government of *New York*. Nothing remarkable happened with regard to this colony during the two last administrations, till the breaking out of the late war with *France*, of which we shall treat in its proper place, that we may avoid repetitions as much as possible, as the history of all the *British* empire in *America* will then come under our view.

Pleading of Hamilton.

THIS is a crown-government, administered by a governor, who has his commission under the broad seal of *England*. The legislative power and authority is lodged in the governor; the council, who are twelve in number, appointed by the king, but are filled up by the governor when vacancies happen, and twenty-seven representatives elected by the people. In other respects the government is as conformable to the laws of *England* as that of a colony can be. The exercise of the government is in the governor and council; of whom five is a quorum; and upon the death or absence of the governor, the first in nomination in the council is to preside. The people chuse their representatives, the numbers of whom are fixed by the crown; and those representatives have much the same privileges with the members of the *British* parliament. All modes of the christian religion not detrimental to society are tolerated in this colony, the *Roman Catholic* excepted.

As to the trade of *New York*, it consists in wheat, flower, skins, furs, oil of whales, and sea-calves, iron and copper, of both which very rich mines have been discovered there. We have already mentioned the great intercourse between this colony and the *Indians*. The industry of the inhabitants is equal to that of any people on the face of the globe. They trade not only with *England*, but with *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Africa*, and all the *West-India* islands, not excepting the *French* and *Dutch*, and even with the *Spanish* continent in *America*, by which they are enabled to pay in gold and silver for the manufactures they bring

Legislature and laws of New York.

Trade of New York.

bring from their mother-country. The soil of the province is fertile almost beyond belief. All kind of black cattle are more numerous here than in any *European* country, and they have a breed of excellent horses. Eight years ago the horses of *New York* city were computed to be about 5000; but they are since that time greatly encreased; and few cities in *Europe* can vie with it in regularity and neatness. The trade of the inhabitants is chiefly carried on by water-carriage, and ships of 500 tons may come up to the wharfs of the city, and be always afloat. *Hudson's* river, where it runs by *New York*, is above three miles broad, and proves a noble conveyance for the goods of the counties of *Albany*, *Ulster*, *Dutchess*, *Orange*, and *Winchester*, to that city. It contains six markets, said to be better supplied with all kinds of provision than any in *Europe*. The facility of the voyage from *New York* to *England* and the *West Indies*, has been of infinite service to this colony; for by the lowness of the freight, they purchase furs at a very cheap rate for strouds (a woollen manufacture established at *Stroud* in *England*) and other woollen goods; all which are sure of a ready vent with the *Indians*. *Bristol* is the chief place in *England*, which the colonists of *New York* trade with, and they generally perform at least two voyages in a year with so much safety, that the insurance upon shipping in time of peace is no more than two *per cent*. As to the amount of their trade with their mother-country, it was seven years ago computed that their imports from it were annually about 150,000 l; but they are since so much increased with the trade of the colony, that we cannot venture to assign them a value.

N E W J E R S E Y.

Discovery of
New Jersey.

THIS province naturally comes to be treated of after *New York*, as both were formerly under the same governor, and it formed part of *New Holland* when conquered from the *Dutch*. The *Senecas* and the *Maquas* were amongst the native *Indians*, who originally inhabited this territory, which is said to have been discovered first by Capt. *Hudson*. It is certain, however, that it was not inhabited by the *English* long after the discovery, and the first *Europeans* we find settled here were the *Swedes*, who chiefly seated on the south-side of the river *Raritan*, now called *Delaware* river, towards the frontiers of *Pennsylvania*. Here they had three towns, *Christina*, *Gottembourg*, and *Elfsimborg*, which last retains its name to this day. Notwithstanding this, it was afterwards found, or pretended (when *Charles II.* perceived it convenient for his purpose), that *Sebastian Cabot* had formerly taken possession of all this coast in the name of *Henry VII.* of *England*. Be this as it will, it is certain that the *Swedes* in general, having no great turn for commercial affairs or territorial improvements, suffered their settlement here to languish; so that the *Dutch* almost entirely planted the north parts of *New Jersey* by the name of *Nova Belgia*, and, about the year 1665, *Rizing* the *Swedish* general sold to them all the *Swedish* possessions. After this, *New Jersey*, with the three lower counties of *Pennsylvania* upon *Delaware* river, became part of the *New Netherlands* or *Nova Belgia*. When the reduction of this province was resolved upon by *Charles II.* he made a previous grant of both the property and government of it to his brother the duke of *York*, by a deed, dated *March* 12, 1663-4; and that duke assigned the government of that part, which is called *New Jersey*, to the lord *Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret*. This last grant was posterior to the duke of *York's* commission granted to governor *Nichols*. The first lieutenant-governor of *New Jersey*, so called from the great property Sir *George Carteret* had in the island of *Jersey*, was *Philip Carteret*, Esq; who entered on his government in *August* 1665. The duke of *York's* grant was from the *Noorde Rivier*, now called *Hudson's* river, to the *Zuyde Rivier*, now called *Delaware* river; and up *Hudson's* river to 41 d. N. lat. and up *Delaware* river to 41 d. 40 m. and from these two stations headed by a strait line across. It does not appear, that, when this grant was made, the *Dutch* opposed it, or the settlement that was made by the proprietors under the duke of *York*. When the *New Netherlands*, in the manner we have seen in the history of *New York*, was conquered from the *Dutch*, it was thought proper, that king *Charles* should renew his grant to his brother, who by lease and release, *July* 28 and 29, 1674, conveyed to Sir *George Carteret* the eastern division of *New Jerseys*, divided from the western division of the *Jerses* by a strait line from the S. E. point of *Little Egg Harbour* on *Barnegate Creek*, being about the middle between *Sandy Hook* and *Cape May*, to a kill or creek a little below *Rencokus Kill* on *Delaware* river, and thence (about thirty-five miles) by a strait course along *Delaware* river up to 41 d. 40 m. N. lat. the north divisional line between *New York* and the *Jerses*.

Granted to lord
Berkley and
Sir George
Carteret.
Douglas's
Summary.

WHEN Mr. *Carteret* entered upon his government, which comprehended the joint concern of both the proprietors, the people of *Elizabeth-Town* were extremely unmanageable, and upon the commencement of the quit-rents, *March* 25, 1670, they refused to pay them, under pretence that they held their possessions by *Indian* grants, and not from the proprietors.

a proprietors. This mutiny went so far, that they in fact displaced their governor, and chose a new one, a dissolute son of Sir George Carteret, so that the governor was obliged to go to *England* with his complaints. In the mean time, the conquest of the *New Netherlands* happening, every thing grew more quiet, and governor Carteret returned in November 1674, with new concessions, as they were called, which confirmed the public tranquillity. Sir George Carteret, as we have seen, having obtained *East Jersey*, the *West Jersey*, which borders upon *Pennsylvania*, remained to Lord Berkeley; and he, in 1676, resigned his right therein to William Pen, Esq; Mr. Gawen Laurie, of London, merchant; Mr. Nicholas Lucas, of London, merchant; and Mr. Edward Bylling; who agreed upon a new partition with Sir George Carteret, which was confirmed by the duke of York, and afterwards by a general assembly of the *Jerseys*. On December the 25th, 1678, Sir George Carteret made over *East Jersey* to certain trustees, who were to sell it at his death; and accordingly, February 2, 1681-2, they assigned it to the following twelve persons, William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groom, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, Ambrose Riggs, John Haward, Hugh Hartshorn, Clemens Plumsted, and Thomas Cooper. These twelve proprietors conveyed one half of their interest to twelve other persons separately, viz. Robert Berkley, Edward Bylling, Robert Turner, James Brien, Arent Soumans, William Gibson, Gawen Laurie, Thomas Barker, Thomas Everner, James earl of Perth, Robert Gordon, and John Drummond. This conveyance was afterwards confirmed by the duke of York. Soon after this, the proprietors sold shares of *East New Jersey* to James Drummond earl of Perth, John Drummond, Esq; Sir George Mackenzie, Robert Barclay, and David Barclay of Ury, Esqrs. Robert Gordon, Esq; Mr. Robert Burnet, Mr. Gawen Laurie, Mr. Thomas Nairn, Mr. James Braine, Mr. William Dockwra, Mr. Peter Soumans, Mr. William Gibson, Thomas Cox, Esq; Mr. Walter Benthal, Mr. Robert Turner, Mr. Thomas Barker, and Mr. Edward Bylling. The conveyances to those gentlemen were likewise confirmed by the duke of York in 1682. A governor and lieutenant-governor was then provided, the nomination of the former falling upon Robert Barclay, the famous quaker, and of the latter upon Gawen Laurie. Subgranted.
Barclay, the
quaker, go-
vernor.

It must be confessed that the mixture of proprietors in this settlement was very extraordinary. They consisted of very high prerogative men, especially those from *Scotland*, of dissenters, papists, and quakers. It perhaps is not too bold a conjecture to say, that this heterogeneous mixture of religions was privately encouraged by the duke of York, that he might make an experiment of that favourite toleration which he afterwards, so fatally for himself, attempted to introduce into *England*. It is remarkable, that though all the patentees of lord Berkley's division of *West New Jersey*, excepting one, were proprietors of *East New Jersey*, yet their governments still continued to be distinct. The Scots, however, who were the principal settlers, were ill fitted for such an undertaking; and the settlement of *East New Jersey* languished most miserably. The proprietors chose Mr. William Dockwra for their register and secretary, and one Lockhart for their marshal; they then proceeded to schemes of partition, and laid out counties, parishes, and towns, reserving to themselves one seventh. The terms of purchase were, that every master of a family was to have fifty acres set out, and twenty-five for his wife; and each of his children and servants, paying 12 d. a-head to the register; servants, when their times expired, were to have thirty acres. All persons to pay 2 d. an acre quit-rent, or purchase their freeholds at 50 s. for every twenty-five acres taken up. Mr. Laurie, who had a considerable interest in *West New Jersey*, was thought to be partial to that division; for while he held the government before Berkley's arrival, he refused to obey the proprietors in removing the courts from *Elizabeth-Town* to *Perth Amboy*, the situation of which pointed it out as the capital of the province; but had every thing else succeeded with our new settlers, they were under one capital defect, that must have overthrown all their schemes; we mean, the want of industry and inhabitants. Berkley, after his arrival, did not continue long in *New Jersey*, and was succeeded in his government by lord Neil Campbell, of the *Argyle* family. After the revolution, in 1696, colonel Andrew Hamilton was appointed governor, and was succeeded next year by Jeremiah Basse, Esq; who being recalled, colonel Hamilton was reinstated in the government, which a few months after was given to Basse. The latter was succeeded by colonel Andrew Brown, who held it at the time that the proprietors surrendered the sovereignty of it to queen Anne in 1701.

Such in general is the history of this insignificant province, while it continued a separate government; nor can it admit of a more particular detail. As to *West Jersey*, or lord Berkley's division, the history of it is equally unimportant. From the year 1674, Sir Edmund Andros, whom we have spoken of in the history of *New England*, under colour of a commission from the duke of York, wrested the government from lord Berkley's assignees; but they recovered it, and having obtained a new grant in 1680, they chose Edward Bylling, Esq; for their governor. In 1690, Dr. Daniel Cox, of the college of physicians in London, Andros go-
vernor of West
Jersey.

*Its charter
surrendered.*

Instructions.

don, having purchased the greatest part of the property of *West Jersey*, appointed himself a governor, but never went over thither, and at last sold all his interest there for good to Sir *Thomas Lane*. All this while, the contentions amongst the sharers of both the *Jerseys*, both about matters of property and the right of appointing a governor, had reduced the two provinces to a most lamentable condition; and the proprietors wisely resolved to resign its government to the crown, reserving all their other rights. Accordingly, 'on the 22d of April 1702, Sir *Thomas Lane*, in the name of the proprietors of *West New Jersey*, and Mr. *William Dockwra*, in the name of those of *East New Jersey*, having resigned the governments of these respective provinces to queen *Anne*, her majesty immediately appointed the lord *Cornbury* for their governor, and his secretary was Mr. *Basse* the late governor. At the same time, the proprietors obtained of the crown, in favour of themselves and the people, a set of standing instructions, which were to serve as rules for the conduct of future governors. The heads of those instructions were well calculated for the good of the colony. The first was, that the governor should consent to no tax upon lands that were vacant or unprofitable. The second, that no lands should be purchased of the *Indians*, but by the general proprietors; and the third, which was a most excellent provision, was, that all lands purchased should be improved by the possessors. The government of the two *Jerseys* was then held by a governor, council, and assembly. The council was to be chosen by the governor, who had power to appoint his lieutenant-governor; and though the price of lands was still very low, yet after the two provinces came into one government, the affairs of the colony took a very favourable turn. It then appeared that the two provinces of the *East* and *West New Jerseys*, had in fact been made jobs of by different proprietors, who had bought them without the least regard to the good of the colonies, but that they might sell them again. For many years the governors of the province of *New Jersey* (for so it was called) was vested in the governor of *New York*; and before the peace of *Utrecht*, it was thought to contain above sixteen thousand inhabitants; but at present three times that number. Upon the death of colonel *Cosby*, whom we have already mentioned, the government of the *Jerseys* was detached from that of *New York*, and was given to *Lewis Morrice*, Esq; who had been chief justice of *New York*, and died May 14, 1744. He was succeeded by *Jonathan Belcher*, Esq; whose first meeting with the provincial assembly was on the 22d of *August* the same year. The history of *New Jersey* now falling in with that of the other *British* colonies of *America*, during the two last wars with *France*, we shall therefore proceed to its civil history.

Constitution,

IN the civil constitution of *New Jersey*, we find there are three negatives. 1. That of the governor, who is likewise vice admiral and chancellor of the province. 2. That of the council, which, with the governor, forms a court of error and chancery. 3. Of the house of representatives, twenty of whom serve for counties, and the remaining four for the two towns, or cities, as they are called, of *Perth Amboy* and *Burlington*. This house, though no court of judicature, has the privilege of enquiring into the mal-administration of the courts of justice. Upon the duke of *York's* granting the two *Jerseys* to lord *Berkley* and Sir *George Carteret*, *Nicholls*, who was then governor of *New Jersey* for that duke, apprehending that he might be superseded in his government, took advantage of the instructions of his patent, and gave leave to certain persons to purchase lands from the *Indians*, subject to certain quit-rents; and the like was done by *Carteret*, the first governor under the assignees. Such purchases being expressly against the spirit of the duke of *York's* grant, and yet good in law, created inexpressible disturbances and confusion in this government; but the *Indian* purchasers seem to have had the better in the dispute, which we apprehend is not yet quite decided.

*and trade of
New Jersey.*

NEW JERSEY, according the common maps, is bounded on the south-east by *Delaware Bay*, and by that river on the south and west; and on the north by *New York* and unknown countries; and by the *Atlantic Ocean* on the east. It lies betwixt north lat. 39 m. 10 d. and 41 m. 35 d. and betwixt west long. 73 m. 46 d. and 75 m. 15 d. It is in length on the sea-coast, and along *Hudson's* river, that is, from south to north, about 140 miles, and about 80 where broadest; but this mensuration is all conjecture. *East Jersey* is divided into four counties, viz. those of *Monmouth*, *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and *Bergen*. It contains a town called *Middleton*, which is 26 miles south of *Piscataque*; but its principal town is *Shrewsbury*, which is the most southern town in the province, and contains about 30,000 out-plantation acres. Between *Shrewsbury* and *Middleton* is an iron-work. The chief town of *Essex* county, and indeed in both the *Jerseys*, is *Elizabeth-Town*, which lies opposite to the westward of *Staten* island. The greatest part of the trade of the province is here carried on. *Newark* is another town in *Essex* county, and has annexed to it about 50,000 acres; but great part of them remains still to be cultivated. *Middlesex* county has for its chief town *Perth Amboy*, which, in reality, ought to be the provincial town of *East Jersey*. It stands near the mouth of *Delaware* river, as it runs into the mouth of *Sandy Hook Bay*, which

a which is never frozen, and is capacious enough to contain 500 ships. It is generally allowed that this might have been rendered one of the finest towns in all *North America*, had it not been for the mismanagement of the *Scotch* planters, and the practices of *Gavin Lurie*, the deputy governor before mentioned. *Bergen* county lies upon *Hudson's* river, and is extremely well watered; but in general it is but thinly inhabited. *Brunswick* is another town in this province, where a college for the instruction of youth was established October 22, 1746, by governor *Belcher*. The trustees of this college are generally presbyterians, and it is governed by a president.

As to *West Jersey*, it was intended by Dr. *Cox* to be laid out into seven counties; but this project never took effect. It is not now so well planted as *East Jersey*, though it lies equally commodious for trade. The only spot of ground that retains the name of a county is that of *Cape May*, which lies at the mouth of *Delaware Bay*, dividing the two *Jersseys*. *Burlington*, which lies in an island in the middle of *Delaware* river, opposite to *Philadelphia*, is the capital of the province, the courts and the assemblies of *West Jersey* being held here. It is well situated for trade, the town is well built, with town-houses, and two bridges. *West New Jersey* has an easy communication by the river *Æsopus* with *New York*, and with *Maryland* by another river, which comes within four miles of *Chesapeake Bay*. A project was once on foot for joining this river and the bay by an artificial canal; but it met with such opposition from the inhabitants of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, that it came to nothing.

NOTWITHSTANDING the inexpressible disadvantages under which *New Jersey* so long laboured from the nature of its constitution, the multiplicity of its owners, and the uncertainty of their tenures; yet the inhabitants have made a most surprising progress, both in trade and agriculture, since they were under the government of the crown. This is owing to their commodious situation, which in a manner invites commerce to reside amongst them, and from their being less exposed than many of their neighbours are to the insults of the savages. The people of *New Jersey* had their share of the trouble and expence of the *Canada* expedition in 1710; but since that time they have recovered their credit so great, that their paper-currency, to the amount of 60,000*l.* has more credit than that of either *Pensylvania* or *New York*, for the *Pensylvania* bills are not received at *New York*, nor those of *New York* at *Pensylvania*; but the *New Jersey* bills circulate through both those provinces. Before the peace of *Utrecht* the inhabitants of the *New Jerseys* were computed at 10,000, and at present they amount to above 60,000. During the war before the last, they contributed very considerably towards carrying it on; and in the year 1746, when there was a scheme for invading *Canada*, they raised and victualled five companies of an hundred men each. As to the trade of *New Jersey*, it is an excellent corn country; and it is said to raise more wheat than any of our other colonies; they likewise raise some flax and hemp. They chiefly trade with *New York* and *Pensylvania*, where they dispose of their grain; but of late they have come into a considerable trade for provision with the *Antilles*; and they send to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Canaries*, tobacco, oil, fish, grain, and other provisions. By means of employing negroes, as their neighbours do, in cultivating their lands, they have of late more than double their value; and they now work a copper ore mine, and manufacture iron ore into pigs and bars. To give the reader some idea of the present value of this country, the property of half of which some years ago was thought dear at 5,000*l.* and, indeed, was deemed not worth holding, we shall here insert some articles of their imports and exports from the 24th of *June*, to the same day next year. Exported. Flower, 6424 bar.; bread, 168,500; weight, beef, and pork, 314 bar.; grain, 17,941 bush.; hemp, 14,000 wt.; some firkins of butter, some hams, beer, flax-seed, bar iron, some lumber. Imported. Rum, 39,670 gall.; molasses, 31,600 gall.; sugar, 2,089 cwt.; pitch, tar, and turpentine, 437 bar.; wines, 123 pipes; salt, 12,759 bush. We shall conclude the history of *New Jersey* by observing, that the inhabitants of *New Jersey* are so industrious as to manufacture those articles of life which they cannot procure to themselves by commerce.

C A N A D A

AS *Canada* is now both by conquest and cession become part of the *English* empire in *America*, an account of it from the best authorities is a work not only of entertainment, but of importance to an *English* reader. But in this part of our history, he is not to expect the amazing exploits that fill those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, they being reserved to the final conquest of it by the *British* arms. Great part of our information consists in the natural history of the country, the adventures of those who discovered and settled it, and its last amazing catastrophe, when its capital surrendered to the *British* forces.

The boundaries of *Canada* are, perhaps, yet undiscovered; but the great bank of *Newfoundland* is said to begin on the south in the 41st degree of north latitude, and to terminate

Great bank of
Newfound-
land cod-fish-
ing.

nate towards the north in 49 deg. 25 minutes; its breadth from east to west being about 90 leagues. As to the bank itself, it is no other than a prodigious mountain under water, and, being unequal in its extremities, many mariners have supposed it to consist of separate banks. The numbers of cod-fish upon this bank are incredible; and, notwithstanding the prodigious quantities taken and sent to *Europe*, they are not sensibly diminished. We are told^a that not only cod, but shell and other fishes of all kinds and sizes, abound on this bank, and that their number seems to equal that of the grains of sand. The same author adds, that the gulph of *St. Laurence*, and the river for more than sixty leagues, with the coast of *Acadia* and *Cape Breton*, are equally well replenished as that bank is with cod. Voyagers know when they approach the bank, which may be called the empire of the cod-fish, by the air being impregnated with a cold thick fog, and the sun scarcely ever shining; though the island of *Newfoundland* enjoys a pure air and a serene sky in all other places, but on the side where the great bank is; a phænomenon which puzzles naturalists to account for. This bank is likewise subject to most violent storms of thunder and lightning, which however do not last very long.

THE fishing for and preparing of cod is a matter of the utmost importance both to the *English* and the *French*. The cod itself, when fresh, is said to be a most exquisite repast; but this, perhaps, may be owing to the tediousness and discomforts of the preceding voyage. The head, the tongue, and the liver, which are the most delicious parts of the fish, can be enjoyed in perfection only on the spot. The largest of the cod is seldom three feet in length, but its throat is prodigiously wide, and is so voracious, that pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glass, have been found in its belly. This gives occasion for believing that its stomach is of the nature of a pocket, and turns outside in, by which it disburdens itself of whatever offends it. That kind of cod which in *Holland* is called the *cabelou*, is smaller than the *American* cod; and that of the great bank, which is commonly called *white* or *green cod*, is salted only; but the dry cod, which the *French* call *la Merluche*, are taken on the coasts only, and requires great care and art to repair it, and it is carried on only from the beginning of *May* to the end of *August*. It is therefore chiefly profitable for those who reside in the country only.

Continuation
of the history
of Canada,

BESIDES the great bank there are several lesser ones in those seas, abounding with other species of fish, particularly whales, blowers, sword-fish, porpusses, and threshers, not to mention others of less note. The sword-fish and the whale are declared enemies to each other; and the former takes its name from a kind of sword, that projects about three feet from his snout, which he endeavours to bury in the body of the whale, whose only defence is his tail. The battle between them is extremely curious, and lasts for some time. It is not uncommon for two sword-fishes to attack the whale, in which case he is demolished; but one stroke of his tail proves mortal to his antagonist, who is as thick as a cow, and in length between seven and eight feet, his body tapering towards the tail. When killed, he is said to be excellent food, especially his head, which is larger than that of a calf, but much finer eating. The fléttau, otherwise called the thresher, is a large plaice, his length being generally from four to five feet, his breadth above two, and his thickness one. Voyagers and travellers into that country highly extol the deliciousness of this fish's head and gills, but his body is commonly thrown into the sea, to fatten the cod, to which he is so great an enemy, that he is said to devour three or four of them at one meal; a juice is extracted from his bones, which is said to be preferable to the finest marrow. The navigation upon all that coast is extremely difficult and dangerous, it being almost impossible to keep a reckoning on account of the fogs, and sometimes mariners meet with shoals of ice bigger than the largest cathedral.

FROM the isle of *Miquelon*, on the south of *Newfoundland*, *Cape Ray* next presents itself. The mariner passes between the island of *St. Paul* and cape *St. Laurence*, which is the most northerly point of the isle of *Cape Breton*. *St. Paul's* island is so small, that it is hardly discernible through the fog, and the passage being very narrow, it never is attempted but in clear weather, though there is another broader between that island and *Cape Ray*. The gulph of *St. Laurence* is fourscore leagues in length, and, with a good south-east wind, may be passed through in twenty-four hours. About half way lie the bird islands, or rather two rocks, so called from the prodigious quantity of sea-fowls which haunt them; so that the soil is entirely covered with their dung. The rocks themselves rise to a sharp point about sixty feet from the surface of the water, but the largest of them is only between two and three hundred feet in circumference. The number of nests upon those islands are incredible, and are built by birds of various kinds, insomuch that when they are alarmed by a cannon shot they rise so as to obscure the air with a thick cloud two or three leagues in circumference. The mariner then doubles *Cape Rose* or *Rosieres*, that he may

^a CHARLEVOIX, p. 70.

a enter the river *St. Laurence*, which runs north-east and south-west. At the mouth of the river the cold is intense, and the sea boisterous. The river itself at its opening is about thirty leagues in breadth; and towards the southward lie the bay and point of *Gaspé* or *Gachepé*. Below this bay is a steep rock, which has obtained the name of the *Bored Island*, from an aperture in its middle, through which a chaloup may pass with her sails up. At a league's distance from this *Bored-Island* lies the island *Bonaventure*; and at a like distance from that the island *Miscon*, which has an excellent harbour, and is eight leagues in circumference. A spring of fresh water spouts up to a considerable height in the offing, not far from this island. Perhaps it was the happiness of *Great Britain*, that when the *French* were possessed of the *Newfoundland* fishery and *Canada*, they were so intent upon their fur-trade, that they neglected those important posts, which are every-where surrounded with good anchoring ground, and, if improved, must have been excellent magazines, and, as they are capable of being fortified, they might even have shut the *English* out of that river.

and the river
St. Laurence.

THE next object that presents in the river *St. Laurence*, is the island of *Anticosti*, and the current setting strongly in upon it, renders the navigation here in case of a calm extremely dangerous, as the island is lined with breakers. This island is narrow, but lies in the middle of the river, and extends about forty leagues from north-east to south-west. The *French* have represented it as being absolutely good for nothing, so that no care has been taken to improve it. The *English*, however, may be of a different opinion, as the coasts of the island are well stored with fish. After passing this island the navigation becomes more tolerable, but still great precaution must be used. The mounts *Notre Dame* and *Lewis*, which lie on the larboard side, are formed by a chain of hills, where the vallies between them have been formerly inhabited by *Indians*, and some *French* plantations are now to be found near *Mount Lewis*. A very noble settlement might be made in this neighbourhood for the relief of ships, which, as is commonly the case, are in want of provisions after a tedious, uncertain navigation. It is likewise said to be proper for the whale-fishery. The next point is called *Trinity-Point*, and must be avoided with great care, and then the ship comes to an anchor a little above the paps of *Mantane*, so called from the appearance of the mountain, which is situated about two leagues from the river. d The land in the neighbourhood is said to be not only unprofitable but frightful, being covered with rocks, sands, and impenetrable thickets. It contains, however, great plenty of excellent game. On the other side of the river, and advancing two leagues into its bed, lies the shoal of *Manicouagua*, which is the most dangerous in the river for shipwrecks. It is named from a river that falls from the mountains of *Labrador*, and forms a considerable lake, which empties itself across the shore. Some call this river that of *St. Barnabas*, and others the *Black River*. From this to the *Green-Island*, the navigation is flow and uncertain. On the last-mentioned island is plenty of provisions, and about five miles farther, at a place called *Maulin Baude*, from a small rill which is sufficient to make a mill go. The country in this neighbourhood is entirely uninhabited, and as uncomfortable as can be well conceived. The river of *Saguenay*, which lies somewhat higher, carries ships twenty-five leagues above its mouth; and, on the right hand of the entrance, lies the port of *Tadoussac*. Some geographers have here fixed a city; but *Charlevoix* says, e that it consisted only of one *French* house, and a few moveable huts of *Indians*, who came to trade there at certain seasons. It appears, however, that *Tadoussac* is provided with an excellent harbour, where twenty five ships of war may be sheltered from all winds; that its anchorage is sure, and its entry very practicable. *Charlevoix* affirms, that it is excellently well situated for a whale-fishery, and that it stands upon marble. Those conveniencies made it for many years the rendezvous both of the *French* and *Indian* traders, and the missionaries never failed to repair to the same market for the purchase of souls. In f sailing from *Tadoussac*, great care must be taken to avoid the *Red-Island*, which is a dangerous rock of that colour, whose surface is equal to the water, and often proves fatal to shipping. About fifteen leagues distance, that is, mid-way between *Quebec* and *Tadoussac*, lies the isle of *Coudres*, where the passage of the river is dangerous without a fair wind. This is said to have been occasioned by a dreadful earthquake in 1663, which plucked up a mountain by its roots, and whirled it upon the isle of *Coudres*, by which it became as large again as before; and in the place where the mountain stood appears now a dangerous whirlpool. Next appears the bay of *St. Paul*, where the plantations on the north shore begin. They consist of valuable woods of pine-trees, amongst which are red pines, that are g esteemed very beautiful; here likewise is a fine lead-mine. About six leagues above this is a very high promontory, which terminates a chain of mountains, that reach above four hundred leagues to the westward, and is called *Cape Torment*. Round the anchoring-place here, which is good, lie a number of islands, the chief of them is that of *Orleans*, forming a most beautiful prospect. It is about fourteen leagues in circumference, and populous.

Isle of Anti-
costi.

Naviga-
tion
uncertain.

Tadoussac.

Bay of St.
Paul.

populous. It forms two channels, of which the south is the most navigable; here the water becomes drinkable; for it is brackish at *Cape Torment*, though it is a hundred and ten leagues from the sea. The higher up the river the flux of the tide diminishes, and the reflux encreases, and twenty leagues above *Quebec* the tide is not sensible; but indeed the tides in this river, as well as the currents, vary greatly, according to different seasons and different positions of lands. When the island of *Orleans* was first discovered by *James Cartier*, it was covered with vines, on which account he called it *The Isle of Bacchus*; but some *Normans* who succeeded him turned those vine-grounds into corn-lands and orchards; so that they now produce excellent wheat and fine fruits; and upon the whole the island itself is a most desirable spot.

Description of
Quebec.

WE are now arrived at *Quebec*, the capital of *Canada*, and, while it was in possession of the *French*, an episcopal see. Though the river of *St. Laurence*, as high as the isle of *Orleans*, which is above one hundred and thirteen leagues from the sea, is not less than four or five leagues in breadth, yet at *Quebec* it narrows so suddenly, that it is not above a mile broad; and this, is said, to have given that city its name, which, in the *Algonquin* language, signifies a streight or narrowing. The first object in the road of *Quebec* to be viewed from the westernmost point of the isle of *Orleans*, is a piece of water, which falls from a height of forty feet, and is about thirty in breadth, called the falls of *Montmorenci*. This, however, is to be understood of the lower fall; for the whole of the falls are said to be sent from the height of three hundred feet, and proceed from a kind of rivulet which has a constant supply of water from a fine lake at twelve miles distant. Between the isle of *Orleans* and *Quebec* is a basin, which is a full league in breadth, and receives the river *St. Charles*, which flows from the north-west, and between the mouth of this river and cape *Diamond*, stands the city of *Quebec*, with a fine anchoring place opposite to it. The great alterations, which time has produced in this river, appears from the following circumstance. In 1608, when *Champlain* founded *Quebec*, the tide rose to the foot of the rock on which that city is built, but has ever since gradually diminished; so that it has left dry a large piece of ground, on which a lower town has been built, the back part of which leans against the original rock, and with a large square between the houses and the water. The square is bounded by a church on the left, and a row of houses on the right, and between the church and the harbour is another row; the whole serving, in a manner, as the suburb of the city; and when the *English* made their last descent, very strongly fortified. An ascent cut out of the rock into steps leads to the upper town; but towards the right, going from the square, there is a communication by a gentle declivity. On entering the city, the bishop's palace lies on the right hand, and about 20 paces farther, two squares present themselves. That on the left contains a place of arms with the fort or citadel, which was the residence of the governor general, and a convent of recolects, with other handsome buildings; the other square contains the cathedral, opposite to which is the college of jesuits, and on the other sides of the square are handsome houses; and indeed before the bombardment of the *English* all the houses of this city are said to have made a very fine appearance. To describe all the streets in this capital of *New France*, would exceed our design, and we shall only add, that it is built on a rock, partly of marble, and partly of slate.

Its building,
fortifications,

and churches.

THE church of the lower town was built in 1690, in consequence of a vow which was made while the city was besieged. The episcopal palace is formed upon a very grand design, and stands upon one of the most magnificent situations in the world, for indeed nothing can exceed the idea that *Charlevoix* has given of it for the grandeur and beauty of its prospects. According to the same author, who was a jesuit, and possibly thought nothing could be too fine or sumptuous that related to the clergy, the cathedral is but a very ordinary building, and highly unworthy of the sole bishopric in all the *French* empire in *America*; an empire which he says was more extensive than that of the *Romans* ever was. It has been several times burnt down and rebuilt; but according to modern travellers it is far from being a contemptible edifice, and it commands a very extensive prospect over the road and the river. The fort or citadel is built on the brink of the rock, and is a fine work, being surrounded by a beautiful gallery or balcony, from whence a speaking trumpet may be heard to the middle of the road, which it commands. A pretty large esplanade, and a gentle declivity, the whole making a very fine platform, lies between the fort and the summit of *Cape Diamond*, which takes its name from a number of stones resembling diamonds, found formerly there; but now they are very scarce. The church of the fathers recolects is greatly praised, by father *Charlevoix*, who informs us, that it is large and beautiful, and would do them honour even at *Versailles*, which is saying as much as a *Frenchman* can say in the praise of any building. The house of the same fathers is answerable to their church, being large and commodious, and adorned with a spacious well cultivated garden. The ursuline nuns, from a poor establishment, have, by their industry

a industry and good economy, raised to themselves a handsome church with very commodious neat lodgings; and here is erected the tomb of the late *Monf. Montcalm*, who was killed at the battle of *Quebec*, where he commanded the *French* troops when the *English* conquered that city. The good nuns are particularly celebrated for their needle works in gold and embroidery.

According to *Charlevoix*, the college of the jesuits is a paltry ruinous building, and the fine prospect it originally had is intercepted by the cathedral and the seminary; but since *Charlevoix* wrote, those fathers have found means to erect a most sumptuous college from the very foundation, with a large well kept garden. The church has a handsome steeple, being entirely roofed with slate; all the rest of the buildings here in the time of *Charlevoix* being covered with shingles. It is very much ornamented in the inside: the gallery is very fine, and the iron balustrade, which surrounds it, is of excellent workmanship, painted, and gilt, as is the pulpit. All the other furniture and ornaments of the church are likewise in an admirable taste; and particularly it contains some good pictures. The hospital has two wards, the one for men, the other for women. It is served by nuns hospitallers of *St. Augustine* of the congregation of the mercy of *Jesus*, who originally came from *Dieppe* in *Normandy*. The house itself is pleasantly situated, and though it makes no great appearance, yet the substantial parts of charity are performed here by a due attendance upon the patients, and by keeping them in a neat, wholesome, manner. The intendant's house is, by way of distinction, called the palace, because the superior council meets in it. It is composed of a large pavilion ascended by a double flight of steps, and the garden front, which is the finest, facing the river. The king's magazines front the court on the right side, and behind them is the prison. About half a quarter of a league towards the country lies the hospital general, which is the finest house in all *Canada*, and would grace the best city in *France*. It was built by the fathers recollects, who owned the ground on which it stands; but it was purchased from them by *St. Vallier*, bishop of *Quebec*, who removed the fathers into that city, and who laid out upon the building 100,000 crowns. *Charlevoix*, however, finds fault with its marshy situation. This hospital is the residence of the bishop himself. It is filled with trades people, and those who are past their days of labour, who are served by thirty nuns, each of whom wears a silver cross on her breast, and they are all of them subject to particular regulations. *A fine college.* *Hospitals.* *Grandeur of them.*

The court of *France* from the time that *Quebec* was founded, till it fell into the hands of the *English*, spared no cost nor pains to render it a strong fortification, which it certainly is, though it does not admit of being regularly fortified. The harbour is flanked by two bastions, that are raised twenty five feet from the ground, which is about the height of the tides at the time of the equinox, so that, at such times, the bastions are level with the surface of the water. Above the bastion on the right, a half bastion is cut out of the rock, and on the side towards the gallery of the rock, is a battery of twenty-five pieces of cannon. Above that lies the citadel, and to the left of the harbour, quite along the road, as far as the river *St. Charles*, were erected strong fortifications, a bomb being drawn across the mouth of that river; and higher up, was a bridge of boats, the head of which was defended by a place of arms. In short, the fortifications of *Quebec*, at the time it was taken by the *English*, were as complete and as strong as the best engineers in the world could render them; and had it not been for the amazing good fortune, and the more amazing intrepidity of the *British* troops, they might have bid defiance to all the power of *Europe*. *Its strength.*

When *Charlevoix* was at *Quebec* he reckoned the inhabitants not to exceed 7000, but they certainly were above double that number when it was conquered by the *English*. Tho' the nature of the *French* government is not very favourable to commercial colonies, yet there surely never was a people who lived more agreeably than the *Canadians* did. Their little community at *Quebec* formed an epitome of a court; it contained a governor general, an etat-major, a body of nobility, officers and troops, an intendant, tribunals and jurisdictions of all kinds, a commissary of the marine, a grand provost, a surveyor of the highways, and a grand-master of the waters and forests, whose jurisdiction, says *Charlevoix*, is certainly the most extensive of any in the world. Besides those civil governors, here were found merchants who made a grand appearance, a bishop, a numerous seminary, and three communities of well educated women, besides recollects and jesuits. The houses of the lady governess, and the lady intendant were the rendezvous of all their polite company, who there held brilliant assemblies. To have seen the *Canadians* one could not have thought that they ever entertained the least idea of business, or that any thing ever troubled them. In summer, they had their parties of pleasure in calashes and canoes, in winter on sledges, and scates on the ice, while card-playing went on all the year round. Even the politer arts are not excluded from their conversation, though, we may easily suppose, without any great depth of study; but above all, the *Canadians* were great

Gentle, disposition, and way of living,

great politicians, as is generally the case with those who have much leisure, and very little information. The diversion of hunting is extremely well adapted to a *Canadian*, both as it is an agreeable amusement, and attended with profit: for furs and skins are the chief commodities of this country, and the tails of the inhabitants owe their principal delicacies to this manly exercise. A certain cast of politeness, superior even to any thing to be met with in *France*, distinguished the *Canadians*. Nothing rustic or illiberal was to be found in their behaviour, and they spoke with as much purity as the people of *Paris* or *Orleans* themselves. Fine cloaths are their favourite passion, and their belly often suffers, that their back may be apparell'd, though, to do them justice, they eat and drink to the full as well as their circumstances can admit of. *Charlevoix* concludes his account of the *Canadians*, which seems to be a very candid one, with the following observations, "The case is very different, as I am informed, with respect to our *English* neighbours, and to judge of the two colonies by the way of life, behaviour, and speech of the inhabitants, no body would hesitate to say that ours were the most flourishing. In *New England*, and the other provinces of the continent of *America*, subject to the *British* empire, they prevail an opulence, which they are utterly at a loss how to use; and in *New France*, a poverty hid by an air of being in easy circumstances, which seems not at all studied. Trade, and the cultivation of their plantations strengthen the first, whereas the second is supported by the industry of its inhabitants, and the taste of the nation diffuses over it something infinitely pleasing. The *English* planter amasses wealth, and never makes any superfluous expence; the *French* inhabitant again enjoys what he has acquired, and often makes a parade of what he is not possessed of. That labours for his posterity; this again leaves his offspring involved in the same necessities he was in himself at his first setting out, and to extricate themselves as they can. The *English Americans* are averse to war, because they have a great deal to lose; they take no care to manage the *Indians*, from a belief that they stand in no need of them. The *French* youth, for very different reasons, abominate the thoughts of peace, and live well with the natives, whose esteem they easily gain in time of war, and their friendship at all times."

different from the *English* planters.

Description of the *Huron* colony of *Loretto*.

ABOUT three leagues from *Quebec* lies a most awful place of retirement, which excites in all who approach it sentiments of reverence and sacred horror; and which are increased by the company of its inhabitants, who are *Hurons*, or wild *Indians*, converted to christianity, simple in their manners, and fervid in their devotions. They have a chapel built upon the same model with that of the famous holy house of *Loretto* in *Italy*, and therefore it is called the *Huron* village of *Loretto*, and nothing can be more affecting than their worship, especially the singing of the men on one side, and that of the women on the other. They are governed by a *French* missionary; but what makes this colony a greater rarity, is, that the *Hurons* were the most untamed and untractable of all the *American* savages; and yet the whole village seems to constitute but one family. Strong liquors, so pernicious to the manners of all those savages, are here prohibited under the severest penalties, and vows of abstinence from them. They therefore have no drinking songs, though music is their favourite diversion, as well as employment; but, though they are extremely solicitous to please their hearers, and, for that purpose, both men and women exert themselves to the utmost by exhibitions of music and dancing; yet both are very insipid on such occasions, which is the more extraordinary, as the women, in singing the christian hymns at church, shew some delicacy both of execution and ear. One observation, however, is to be made, that the accounts we have of this and all the other christian societies of *Indians* come from jesuits or missionaries, whose interest, zeal, or vanity may prompt them to speak favourably of their own converts. The account we have given of this *Huron* society is taken from father *Charlevoix*, the most candid as well as most judicious of all those priests; but he owns that a great deal of interest is some times mingled with their conversions: that they are very apt to relapse into their former customs, and that strong liquors often prove too powerful for the most sincere convert amongst them. It was in the year 1721, that *Charlevoix* was at *Quebec*: but, by the most undisputed accounts we have from the *English*, the morals of the natives were far from being improved by those fathers; for our countrymen found the christian savages, in every respect, as treacherous and barbarous as the unconverted. The reason is plain: those missionaries were chiefly sent, at least in latter times, not so much with a view to convert the natives to christianity, as to inspire them with an irreconcilable aversion to the *English*.

Quadrupeds of Canada.

The beavers;

THE greatest animal curiosity which this part of the world affords is the beaver, which produces one of its most valuable commodities. The beaver of *Canada* is an amphibious quadruped, which could live without water, if it had recourse to convenient bathing-places. They are generally not quite four feet in length, and about fourteen or fifteen inches in breadth over the haunches. Their colours are different, black, brown, white, yellow, and straw colour; but it is observed that the lighter their colour is, they are clothed with the

- a the less quantity of furr; which philosophers attribute to a particular distribution of providence, because the lightest coloured beavers are found in the warmest climates. We shall not take up the time of our readers in describing the figure of the beavers, for it may be much better known by the prints of them, which are very common. We must not, however, forget that the flesh of the beaver is a most delicious food, when it is parboiled to take away a disagreeable relish, which it has naturally. Their tail is pronounced to be altogether piscine, and therefore the faculty of theology at *Paris* has put the whole of the beaver in the same class of fish as a mackarel, and have declared, that it may be lawfully eaten on meagre days. A most judicious decision for those good fathers, who travel so often into wilds, and woods, where no other food but beavers can be found. But, besides the fur, the beaver produces the true castoreum, which is contained in bags in the lower part of the belly, and are different from the testicles; the vast properties of this drug is well known in physic. The furs of the beaver are of two kinds, the dry and the green; the dry fur is the skin before it is applied to any use; the green are the furs, which are worn after being sewed one to another by the *Indians*, who besmear them with unctuous substances, which not only render them more pliable, but give the fine down, that is manufactured into hats, that oily quality, which renders it proper to be worked up with the dry fur. The *Indians* wear those furs day and night, and then they are fit for manufacturing. Both the *Dutch* and *English*, however, since *Charlevoix* wrote, have found the secret of making excellent cloths, gloves and stockings, as well as hats, from the beaver fur.

THE œconomy both public and private of this animal is so wonderful, that it would be incredible were it not unquestionably well attested. As the situation of their dwellings is a capital concern of the beaver, the states of the province are, as *Charlevoix* justly calls them, assembled to the number of three or four hundred, to deliberate about the spot where they are to build, and in this consideration they are determined by the same circumstances that human beings are, that is, according to the plenty of provisions, water especially, and materials for building. When no spot proper for that purpose is to be found near a lake or pool, they stop the course of some stream, higher up than the place on which they resolved to build, by felling down trees, which always fall towards the water; and with which they make a dyke for damming up the course of the rivulet. Three or four beavers find means to cut down with their teeth the largest tree, which they afterwards cut into proper lengths, and drag them to the water, into which they are lanced, and navigated by the beavers to the places, where they are to be employed. These pieces are exactly adapted to the situation of the ground, and the purposes they are to serve. Sometimes they are trunks placed upon their bases; sometimes they are piles as big as a man's thigh, supported by strong stakes, and interlaced with a kind of wicker-work of small branches; but all the interstices or void places are so artfully filled with a fat earth, that or water passes through them. The manner in which they prepare this plaister is very amazing; for they work it with their feet, they carry it to their work upon their tails, which likewise serves them for trowels with which they smooth it over, after applying it with their feet. Those dykes towards their foundations are generally ten or twelve feet thick; but they diminish, in a certain proportion, to the thickness of two or three feet at the top; though this slope is only on the side of the water, the wall on the land side being perpendicular. Some of those banks are said to be four or five hundred yards long, and twenty feet high; but perhaps the length is exaggerated by travellers, though all agree that those works of the beavers can scarcely be exceeded in strength and regularity by the best *European* workmen. Such is the outward fortification of their city; we are now to attend their domestic conveniences or cabins.

THEIR figure is round or oval, and the roofs arched like the bottom of a basket. They are built either upon piles, in the middle of the lakes, which are formed by the dykes, or upon tongues of land advancing into the river. Their materials are not so strong, though of the same kind with those of the dykes, and their partitions are about two feet thick, but the whole so well wainscotted on the inside with clay, that no air can enter them. Two thirds of the edifice stand above water; and every beaver takes care to floor the apartment assigned him with leaves or twigs of trees. Those creatures are so cleanly, that they have several openings towards the water, (besides those which they have for the convenience of bathing, and for free ingress and egress) for the purposes of cleanliness, so that no nastiness is ever seen in their cabins, though each contains above eight or ten beavers. These form a family, and they have a common storehouse for the winter, which they begin to fill about the end of *September*, when their works are finished. In the summer-time, they live upon the fruit, bark, and leaves of trees; and fish for craw fish and the like kinds. In winter-time, their stores consist of wood of soft textures, which, before they lay up, they cut into small pieces; and the quantity of their stores are always observed to be

be proportioned to the length of the winter. They are driven out of their cabins by the melting of the snows, and then, every beaver shifts for himself; but the females return to the cabins, where they lay their young. About *July*, their states re-assemble and deliberate upon repairing their former habitations, which they sometimes find impracticable; in which case, they fall to planning and building new ones. The great enemies of the beaver are the hunters carnivorous animals, and travellers, who break down their banks for conveniency of encreasing their water-carriage. This is the substance of what is remarkable concerning the wonderful œconomy of the beavers, whom some writers have exaggerated into rational creatures, and formed them into regular governments both civil and military. But, after all that has been said, it is certain, that their sagacity in providing against danger is far inferior to what they show in providing for subsistence. When their cities are discovered by the hunters, the beaver is easily destroyed or taken by opening the ice, and by employing nets and gins, and various other methods; so that in the time of *Charlevoix* they were very scarce, though found in great abundance when the *French* first settled in *Canada*.

Account of the
musk-rat,

THE musk rat is a diminutive kind of beaver, which it resembles in every thing but its tail, which is like that of a common *European* rat, and its testicles afford a very strong musk. Their living and food does not greatly differ from those of the beaver, but they seem to vary in some particulars; for, at the approach of winter, some lodge in holes and hollows of trees, where the *Indians* say, they continue without any subsistence; while others lodge in cabins like those of the beavers, but not so well built, and always standing by water sides, so as not to require any dykes. Their furs are very useful along with those of the beaver in manufactures, and their weight is generally about four pounds each. It greatly resembles the description, which *Mr. Ray*, and other naturalists give us of the *Mus Alpinus*, found upon the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*, and in many places of his *Sardinian* majesty's dominions. Before we leave this subject, it may be proper to give an

and the elk;

Britain in *North America*. One of the most remarkable is the elk, or original, which, *Charlevoix* says, would be as advantageous to the inhabitants for hunting, as the beaver; but that the first settlers of *Canada* had almost exterminated the species, at least in the more civilized parts of the country. This animal is known in the northern parts of *Europe*, and is of the size of a horse or mule. Its crupper is broad, its tail but a finger's breadth, and its feet and legs resemble those of a stag's. The hough, or joint of the hinder leg, is very high, its neck and withers are covered with long hair; but the creature would make a good appearance, were it not for the enormous length of its head, which he stretches out, and is above two feet long, with a thick muzzle, and very wide nostrils. Though his antlers resemble those of a doe, yet they spread much longer than a stag's horns. Many extraordinary medicinal qualities, particularly for curing the falling sickness, are ascribed to the hoof of the left hind foot of this animal. Its flesh is very agreeable and nourishing; the skin is strong, comfortable, warm, yet light for wear; and its colour a mixture of light-grey and dark-red; and mattresses and hair bottoms are made of its hair. They love the cold countries, and when the winter affords them no grass, they gnaw the bark of trees; and then is the season for hunting them, they being apt to founder in the incrustations of the snow. When wounded, if not intangled in the snow, he becomes furious, and attacks the huntsman, who commonly throws him his coat, which the elk treads upon, while the huntsman dispatches him from behind a tree. Many other particularities are told by travellers of this simple useful creature, but we forbear to mention them here. The elks, as well as other game, are most successfully hunted by the *Indians* in a body, whereby they drive a great number at a time, which they surround, either into the water or into nets, where they dispatch them by arrows, and other weapons.

their huntings.

The carcajou
described.

THE carcajou is a carnivorous animal, and of the feline or cat kind, and with a tail so long, that *Charlevoix* says he can twist it several times round his body; but others say it is only eight inches long. It commonly weighs from twenty-five to thirty-five pounds, and is about two feet in length, from the end of the snout to the tail. Its eyes are small; its head short and thick; and its jaws, which are very strong, are furnished with thirty-two sharp teeth. The carcajou is strong and furious, but its motion is so slow, that it rather crawls than walks. It sometimes destroys the beaver, especially when the latter ventures to the woods to seek for fresh food. But the elk is the carcajou's favourite prey; for when the former seeks his food in the woods, the latter, discovering his tracks in the snow, is said to twist himself round a tree, from whence he darts upon the elk, and twisting his strong tail round his body, he cuts his throat in a moment (F). Father *Charlevoix* relates

(F) The elk has no means of shunning this disaster, this dangerous enemy. The carcajou, who cannot endure the water, quits his hold immediately; but, if the water

a relates something of this creature, which is still more wonderful, which the reader will find in the note.

THE *Canadian* stag is the same with the *European*, but is not hunted with such avidity by the *Indians* as the game already described. The caribou is a species of the stag, and the best description we find of it is as follows. It is very light, and runs upon the snow almost as fast as upon the ground, because his nails, which are very broad and furnished with rough hairs in their intervals, hinder him from sinking, and serve him instead of the broad shoe or raquette of the savages. When it inhabits the thick woods, it make roads in winter like the elk, and is, in the same manner, attacked there by the carcajou; but when it is in open places, where it has not need of making roads, and where it goes indifferently on all sides, the carcajou, which might wait too long without success, is not accustomed to lose his time, and therefore does not chase the caribou but in thick places, so ingenious is his ardor for prey. Prodigious numbers of those creatures are found between *Danish* river and *Port Nelson*, towards the northernmost parts of *America*.

THE buffaloe of *Canada* are larger than that of *Europe*, but their appearance are pretty much alike. His body is covered with a black wool, which is highly esteemed. They are naturally so timid that a dog will drive numerous herds of them before him. The buffaloe is very shy, and if wounded, without being killed, will turn upon a single hunter; the general way of hunting them, therefore, is for the hunters to assemble in a great body to force the buffaloes, by means of fire, which they dread, to draw up so close together, that they are perfectly hedged in, so that every shot either from the guns or the arrows does execution. It is common upon such occasions to kill 1500 or 2000 buffaloes. The flesh of the female is very good; and the buffaloe hides are as soft and pliable as chamois leather; but so very strong, that the bucklers, which the *Indians* make of them, are hardly penetrable by a musket-ball. The buffaloes in the neighbourhood of *Hudson's Bay* differ in some respects from those mentioned here, though equally valuable; but they have such a favour of musk, that at certain seasons of the year, their flesh is not eatable. The wool that grows upon them is longer than that of *Barbary* sheep, and, according to *Jeremie*, one of the *French* missionaries, when manufactured into stockings, is finer than silk. *Charlevoix* says, that their horns reach down by their eyes, almost as low as the throat, and that the ends afterwards bend upwards and form a kind of crescent, so that he has seen some of those horns, when separated from the skull, that weighed sixty pounds.

THE *Canadian* roe-buck differs little or nothing from the *European*, and is said to shed tears when hard pressed by the huntsmen. He is a domestic animal, and the female when in rut retires to the woods, and then returns home, but goes again into the woods, when her bringing-forth time approaches; and, having brought forth her young ones, returns home, but constantly visits them, and, when they are able to follow her, she brings them to her master's house. Wolves are scarce in *Canada*, but they afford the finest furs in all the country. Their flesh is white, and good to eat; and they pursue their prey to the top of the tallest trees, they having no other subsistence than the creatures they devour. The *French* missionaries, however, are of opinion they are rather cats than wolves, whom they resemble only in their howling. The black foxes are greatly esteemed, and very scarce, in *Canada*, but those of other colours are more common; and some in the *Upper Mississippi* are of a silver colour, and very beautiful. They live upon water-fowls, such as ducks, bustards, and the like, which they decoy within their clutches by a thousand antic tricks, and then spring upon them and devour them. The *Canadian* pole-cat has a most beautiful fur, and is of the size of a small cat; but, when pursued, he lets fly his urine, which according to *Charlevoix*, infects the air for a quarter of a league round, and is, therefore, called by the inhabitants the devil's brat, or the stinkard. The ermine is not so long as a squirrel, but its fur is of a beautiful white, and the tip of its tail, which is long, is as black as jet. The *Canadian* martins keep in the middle of the woods, from which they never stir, but once in two or three years, and then in large flocks. When they emigrate, the *Indians* prognosticate a large fall of snow, and consequently good hunting will follow. *Charlevoix* says, that a common martin's skin is worth a crown, and the brown ones worth seven shillings. A creature, called a pitoi, which is a pole-cat, is like it, a devourer of birds, especially hens and pigeons. The *Canadian* wood-rat is as big again as the *European*; and some of them are of a beautiful silver colour; but all of them have bushy

water happens to be at too great a distance, he will destroy the elk before he reaches it. This hunter too, as he does not possess the faculty of smelling with the greatest acuteness, carries three foxes a hunting with him, which he sends on the discovery. The moment they have got scent of an elk, two of them place them-

selves by his side, and the third takes post behind him; and all three manage matters so well, by harrassing the prey, that they compel him to go to the place where they have left the carcajou, with whom they afterwards settle about dividing the prey. *Charlevoix*.

Wood-rats.

tails. The female has a most extraordinary property ; for she carries under her belly a bag, which she opens and shuts at pleasure, and in that she places her young when she is pursued, and thereby saves them. *Canada* abounds with squirrels, of which there are three kinds ; the red, which is of the size of the *European* ones ; the swisses, which is of a smaller kind, and have long stripes of red, white, and black ; and the flying-squirrel, which has a dark grey fur, and takes its names from leaping from tree to tree, to the incredible distance of forty paces, and more, by a very particular construction of two membranes ; “ one on each side, says *Charlevoix*, reaching between their fore and hind legs, and which, when stretched, are two inches broad ; they are very thin, and covered over with a sort of cat’s hair or down. This little animal is easily tamed, and is very lively except when asleep, which is often the case, and he puts up wherever he can find a place, in one’s sleeves, pockets, and muffs. He first pitches upon his master, whom he will distinguish amongst twenty persons.” The porcupine of *Canada* is shorter, though not so tall as a middling dog, and is a most dreadful creature. Its hair is of the thickness of a small stalk of corn, and about four inches long, but very strong, and he darts them with wonderful efficacy against any creature that attacks him ; when roasted he eats full as well as a sucking pig. The *Canadian* hares and rabbits differ little from those of *Europe*. In winter they are grey, and live in their warrens or holes upon the tenderest branches of birchen trees. We can add little more to our account of the animals of *Canada*, which we have been the more full upon, because the subject is now interesting to *Great Britain* ; we shall therefore proceed to other particulars.

Porcupine.

BETWEEN *Quebec* and *Montreal*, in sailing up the river *St. Laurence*, the eye is entertained with beautiful landscapes ; and, after passing the *Richlieu Islands*, as they are called, the air becomes so mild and temperate, that the traveller thinks himself transported into another climate. The island of *Montreal*, in the river *St. Laurence*, is ten leagues in length, and almost four in breadth ; and the city is built at the foot of the mountain, which gives it its name, about half a league from the south shore. While the *French* were in possession of it, both the city and island of *Montreal* belonged to private proprietors, who improved them so well, that the whole island became a most gainful spot, and produced every thing that could administer to the conveniencies of life. Nothing can be more beautiful than the neighbourhood of the city. The streets are laid out, and the houses built, in a very handsome manner. The fortifications of it, till of late, could be no defence against a regular force, but they were sufficient to protect it from the *Iroquois*. Such is the account *Charlevoix* gives us of this city and island ; but as we are now better acquainted with it, we are enabled to give our readers a more full description of both.

Account of Montreal,

WHEN it was reduced by general *Amherst*, it was well peopled, and of an oblong form, being surrounded by a wall, flanked with eleven redoubts, which served instead of bastions. The ditch is about eight feet deep, and of a proportionable breadth, but dry. It has also a fort or citadel, the batteries of which command the streets of the town from one end to the other. The town itself is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, in which last the merchants and men of business generally reside. Here likewise is the place of arms, the royal magazines, and the nunnery-hospital. The upper town, however, contains the principal buildings, such as the palace of the governor, the houses of the chief officers of the place, the convent of recolects, the jesuit’s church and seminary, the free-school, and the parish church. The recolects are here numerous, and their convent is spacious, as is the parish church, which is built of hewn stone. The house of the jesuits is magnificent, and their church well built, though their seminary is but small. Several private houses in *Montreal* make a noble appearance, and the governor’s palace is a large fine building. The nunnery hospital has a grand well-finished saloon, its church is neat, and well built, and the sisters who serve the hospital come from *la Fleche*, a town of *Anjou* in *France*. In the neighbourhood of this town, a private gentleman, one *Charron*, formed a noble design of a general hospital, and associated with him several persons of piety and learning. This hospital was, at the same time, to be a seminary for furnishing the neighbouring country parishes with schoolmasters for instructing the *Indian* children. He persevered in this design with so much steadiness, that, though his fellow-labourers in the same good work either died or forsook him, he saw his hospital completed before his death, which happened in 1719. Besides this hospital, the neighbourhood of this city contains many elegant villas, and all the vegetables of *Europe* grow there. In short, when this island and city fell into the hands of the *English*, all the banks of the river from *Quebec* to *Montreal* were but one continued village, full of fine plantations, with gentlemen’s seats at proper distances.

and its inhabitants.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those natural advantages, such is the volatile nature of the *French Canadians*, such is their passion for shew, pleasure, and amusement, that they were rather a burden than a benefit to their mother-country, and never could establish a staple commodity

- a commodity to answer their demands upon her. All their inland trade was with the *Indian* natives; and they sent to the *West-Indies* racoon, fox, and beaver furs, skins of deer, and other branches of the peltry trade, *India* corn, with what they call lumber, or wood. Their wine, brandy, cloth, linnen, and wrought iron come from *Europe*; and the native *Indians* take from them toys and trinkets of all kinds, duffil blankets, guns, powder, ball, kettles, hatchets, tomohawks, brandy, and tobacco. The *French*, while possessed of *Montreal*, had a species of traders, called *Coueurs des bois*, who from levity, rather than industry, carry on trade with nations unknown to all the world besides. In *June*, a fair was always held at *Montreal*, while it was in possession of the *French*; and *Indians* resorted to it, from the distance of 1000 miles, with peltry, and other *Indian* commodities, as did the *French* likewise from all parts of *Canada*. This fair sometimes lasts three months, but great disorders often happen during it, chiefly occasioned by drunkenness. The *Indian* natives are not proof against brandy, and, for a dram many of them will give to the *Coueurs de bois* all that they possess in the world. This ebriety sometimes fills the place with tumults; so that the governor himself is obliged to be present in person at the fair, which is opened with many solemnities, and to place guards at proper distances for the preservation of the peace. The resort of savage nations to this fair was incredible; and so thoroughly did the *French Canadians* possess the art of pleasing the *Indians*, that the natives, especially the *Euron* savages, will carry their commodities two hundred miles, rather than dispose of them to the *English*, even to equal, if not better, advantage. The *English*, however, receive some benefit from this humour; for they find it cheaper to take their commodities from the *French* planters, than to bring them from their native country.

- The isle of *Jesus* lies between the island of *Montreal* and the continent on the north side, and is about eight leagues in length and two in breadth. It belonged to the superiors of the seminary of *Quebec*, and the soil of it is excellent. One of the arms of the river here is called *St. John's River*, or *The River with a thousand Islands*, on account of the great number it contains, some of them very fertile; and most of them, under the *French*, being the property of private gentlemen. The opening of the *Riviere des Outaouais*, or the *Great River*, into that of *St. Laurence*, forms the lake of the two mountains, which is two leagues long, and almost as many broad. That of *St. Louis* is somewhat larger, and the *French* themselves are but little acquainted with all to the westward. *Montreal* must have often been destroyed by the *Indians*, had it not been for two villages of *Iroquois* christians, and the fort of *Chambly*. One of those villages, called *Sault St. Louis*, lies on the continent three leagues above *Montreal*, on the south side of the river. This village proved a strong bulwark to *Montreal*, not only against the heathen *Iroquois*, but against the *English* of *New York*, and the church and missionary's house there, both which are delightfully situated, are two of the finest edifices in all *Canada*. The second village is called *la Montaigne*, which stands on the *Terra Firma* opposite to the western extremity of the island of *Montreal*. This village was remarkable for the christian heroes it produced, till the *French* dealers furnished them with brandy and strong liquors, which rendered the inhabitants a race of fiends. The missionaries in vain had recourse to the secular as well as spiritual power to suppress this evil; but, says father *Charlevoix*, "even in the very streets of *Montreal*, are seen the most shocking spectacles, the never-failing effects of the drunkenness of these barbarians; husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, children, brothers, and sisters, seizing one another by the throats, tearing of one another by the ears, and worrying one another with their teeth like so many enraged wolves. The air resounded during the night with their cries and howlings, much more horrible than those with which wild beasts affright the woods." This degeneracy gave courage to the idolatrous *Iroquois*, and greatly diminished the number of *Indians* trading to *Montreal*. At last, it was found necessary to erect store-houses; those store-houses improved into forts, each with a governor and a garrison; and those forts were multiplied so as to cut off all communication between the back-settlements of the *English*, and the native *Indians* towards the west; which, in fact, gave rise to the late war between *Great Britain* and *France*.

- FATHER *Charlevoix* is of opinion that the *Canadian* fishery is more likely to enrich that country than the fur-trade; and this brings us to treat of the marine productions of *Canada*. The sea-wolf is so called from his howling, and is an amphibious creature. His head resembles that of a dog. He has four very short legs; the fore ones have nails, the hind terminate in fins. His skin is hard, covered with a short variegated hair, and in all other circumstances he is a fish. The largest are said to weigh about 2000 pound, and are of different colours; the young ones being very lively, but so tractable, that the *Indians* have been known to train them up to follow them like so many dogs. The instances of sagacity in those animals are wonderful; and they are so numerous, that a *French* author says eight hundred of the young ones have been taken in one day. Their flesh is good eating; but the great profit of it lies in its oil, which is proper for burning and currying of

The isle of Jesus.

Fishery of Canada.

of leather. Their skins make excellent coverings for trunks, and though not so fine as morocco-leather, they preserve their freshness better, and are less liable to cracks. The shoes and boots made of those skins let in no water, and, when properly tanned, make excellent and lasting covers for seats. The *Canadian* sea-cow is larger than the sea-wolf, but resembling it in figure. It has two teeth of the thickness and length of a man's arm, that, when grown, look like horns, and are very fine ivory, as well as its other teeth, each of which is four fingers long. The porpoises of the river *St. Laurence* gives as much oil as the sea-wolf does; the white porpoise being said to yield a hoghead. According to father *Charlevoix*, the skin of this animal is naturally an inch thick; and, at first, as tender as fat or lard; but the *Canadians* have a way of shaving it down till it becomes transparent, and then it may be manufactured into waistcoats, which, he says, are excessively strong, and musket-proof. While the *French* held *Canada*, some attempts were made to establish porpoise, as well as whale, fisheries; but the genius of the people could not accommodate itself to such laborious undertakings, and they fell to nothing. It is probable, however, that the *English*, a more hardy and persevering people, will cultivate those fisheries to the full, and save to their country all that it expends upon the dangerous, and at present unprofitable, trade to *Greenland*.

Fort Chambly.

HAVING already mentioned *Fort Chambly*, as being one of the principal bulwarks to *Montreal*, it is here proper to give some account of it, as we can hardly be too particular in treating of a country, that is so late and so valuable an acquisition to *Great Britain*. *Fort Chambly* lies upon the river *Sorel*, which takes its name from a *French* officer, and is built about seventeen leagues up the river. It first was built of wood, by Mr. *de Chambly*, who likewise was a *French* officer; but the situation being excellent, and the soil fertile, plantations were multiplied all around it; the wooden fort was converted into one of stone fortified by four bastions, and defended by a strong garrison. About eight leagues from *Fort Chambly*, to the southward, lies *Lake Champlain*, through which the river *Sorel* runs. No place in all *North America* is more proper for a populous settlement, than the banks of this lake, where the air is mild, and the soil fertile. *Charlevoix* enumerates many resources, which the inhabitants of such a colony might have for living, particularly by their fisheries. Amongst other fishes, he mentions the *Lencornet*, which is a kind of a cuttle-fish. "It is, says he, quite round, or rather oval; it has above the tail a sort of border, which serves it instead of a target, and its head is surrounded with prickles half a foot long, which he uses to catch other fishes; there are two sorts of them, which differ only in size, some are as large as a hoghead, and others but a foot long; they catch only these last, and that with a torch; they are very fond of light, they hold it out to them from the shore at high-water, and they come to it, and so are left a-ground. The *lencornet* roasted, boiled, or fricased, is excellent eating; but it makes the sauce quite black." The *gobergue* has the taste and form of a small cod. The sea-plaice is excellent eating, and they, as well as the lobster, are taken with long poles armed with iron hooks. The pools in the neighbourhood abound with salmon-trouts, and turtles, about two feet diameter. The *chaourasou*, with which *Lake Champlain*, and the river that fall into it abound, is an armed fish, resembling a pike, but is covered with scales that are proof against a dagger. Some of them are said by the *Indians* to be eight or ten feet broad; but the largest that *Charlevoix* saw was not above five, and about the thickness of a man's thigh. Its colour is of a silver grey, "and, says he, from under its throat proceeds a bone, which is flat, indented, hollow, and pierced or open at the end, from which it is probable the animal breathes through. The skin, which covers this bone, is tender, and its length is in proportion to that of the fish, of which it is one third part. Its breadth is two fingers in those of the smallest size. We may well imagine, continues he, this to be a real pirate amongst the inhabitants of the waters; but no body could ever dream that he is full as dangerous an enemy to the citizens of the air; this is, however, one of his trades, in which he acts like an humble huntsman: the way he does it is as follows. He conceals himself amongst the canes or reeds in such a manner, that nothing is to be seen besides his weapon, which he holds raised perpendicularly above the surface of the water. The fowls which come to take rest imagining the weapon to be only a withered reed, make no scruple of perching upon it. They are no sooner alighted, than the fish opens his throat, and so suddenly makes at his prey that it rarely escapes him. The teeth, which are placed on the sides of the bone which he uses so dextrously, are pretty long and very sharp. The *Indians* pretend they are a sovereign remedy against the tooth-ach, and that, by pricking the part most affected with one of these teeth, the pain vanishes that instant.

The animals in its neighbourhood.

The surgeon.

MANY people imagine that the *Canadian* seas and lakes contain the true dolphin of the ancients, in the sturgeon, which is both a fresh and salt water fish, and which is there from eight to twelve feet long, and of a proportionable thickness. The *Indians* catch them by darting them, and when wounded the sturgeon dies. The smallest sturgeons caught

a caught there have a flesh of a most delicate grain, and are excellent eating. The achi-gau and the gilt head are fishes peculiar to the river *St. Laurence*. The missionaries and others have given out, but with what degree of credibility, we must leave to our readers, that there have been seen in the seas and rivers of *Canada* fishes that have a human appearance. We should not have mentioned this assertion, had not many writers of great authority spoken of the like monsters appearing in the *European*, and other, seas; though, after all, if the matter was closely examined by, one of those monsters being produced, there would be found very little correspondence between it and the human species.

THE forests of *Canada* are not so well stocked with birds as its rivets are with fishes. b They contain two kinds of eagles, one, which is the largest, has a white head and neck, and chase hares and rabbits, which they carry up in their talons to their nests and airies. The other eagles are grey, and prey on birds or fishes. The falcon, the goshawk, and the tercel, are the same as in *Europe*, and they often live upon fish. The *Canadian* partridges are grey, red, and black; they have all long tails, which they spread out as a fan, like a turkey-cock, and make a very beautiful appearance. Woodcocks in *Canada* are very scarce; but snipes, and other water game, plentiful. A *Canadian* raven is, by some writers, said to eat as well as a pullet; and an owl better. Blackbirds and swallows are birds of passage there, as well as in *Europe*; and three kinds of larks are found there, one species little different from *European* ones. No fewer than two and twenty different species is enumerated in this coun- c try, of them the bough species is best for the spit, and, when alive, is finely variegated. Great numbers of swans, turkeys, geese, bustards, teal, water-hens, cranes, and other large water-fowl; are to be here found, but always at a distance from houses. The cranes, of which some are white, and others light-grey, are said to make excellent soup; and the *Canadian* wood-pecker is a beautiful bird. The thrushes and gold-finches of *Canada* differ little from those of *Europe*; but the chief *Canadian* bird of melody, that is mentioned, is the whitebird, which is a kind of ortolan, very shewy, and remarkable for announcing the return of spring. The fly-bird; which is found in *Canada*, is thought by some to be the most beautiful of any in nature; with all its plumage, it is no larger than an ordinary cock-chaffer, and he makes a noise with his wings, like the humming of a large fly. Its d legs, which are about an inch long, are like two needles, and from its bill, which is of the same thickness, a small sting proceeds, with which he pierces the flowers, and thereby nourishes himself with the sap. "The female, says *Charlevoix*, has nothing striking in her appearance, is of a tolerable agreeable white under the belly, and of a bright grey all over the rest of the body; but the male is a perfect jewel, he has on the crown of his head, a small tuft of the most beautiful black, the breast red, the belly white, the back, wings, and tail of a green, like that of a rose-bush; specks of gold, scattered all over the plu- mage, add a prodigious *eclat* to it, and an imperceptible down produces on it the most delightful shadings that can possibly be seen." "This bird, continues he, has an ex- tremely strong and an amazingly rapid flight; you behold him on some flower, and in a moment he will dart upwards into the air almost perpendicularly: it is an enemy to the e raven, and a dangerous one too. I have heard a man, worthy of credit, affirm, that he has seen one boldly quit a flower he was sucking, launch upwards into the air like light- ning, get under the wing of the raven, that lay motionless on his extended wings, at a vast height, pierce it with his sting, and make him tumble down dead, either of his fall or the wound he had received." The same writer recounts several other curious particu- lars of this remarkable bird, which he thinks to be a bird of passage, and that they go in the winter time to *Carolina*.

The birds of Canada.

RATTLE-SNAKES are found in *Canada*; some of them as thick or thicker than a man's f leg with a small head, and a flat broad neck. Their tail is covered with rows of scales, and their age may be known by the number of those rows, of which one grows every year. When he moves, his tail rattles, from whence he has his name. Its bite is mor- tal, but an herb grows wherever this reptile is found in this country, called the rattle snake plant, which is an infallible antidote to the poison of his bite, by chewing it and apply- ing it, in the nature of a plaister to the wound. "This plant is beautiful and easily known. Its stem is round, and somewhat thicker than a goose-quill, rises to the height of three or four feet, and terminates in a yellow flower of the figure and size of a single daisy; this flower has a very sweet scent, the leaves of the plant are oval, narrow, sus- tained, five and five, in form of a turkey-cock's foot, by a pedicle, or foot-stalk, an inch long." This reptile seldom bites passengers, unless he is provoked or trod upon. The g Indians, however, pursue them, and greatly prize their flesh, which they eat.

Rattle-snakes.

THE forests of *Canada* present a most beautiful and awful appearance, and contain a vast variety of trees. The pines are of two sorts, the white and the red, but both of them are resinous, and fit for making pitch and tar. A kind of a mushroom, called guarigua, shoots out at the upper

Great variety of trees in the forests of Canada.

upper end of some of the white pines, and is held by the *Indians* to be medicinal, in a dysenteries and pectoral disorders. The *Canadian* fir trees are of four sorts: the first is like the *European*; the second and third are called the white and red prickly firs; and the fourth is called the perusse, which, with the white prickly fir, grows to a vast height, and are fit for masts and carpenter's work. Upon the white prickly fir, there grows in small blisters of the size of kidney-beans, a kind of turpentine called the white balsam, which is reckoned a specific for wounds, fevers, and pains in the breast and stomach, by the patient taking two drops of it, in some kind of broth. All those firs require different soils to thrive in, and each has its peculiar properties. The *Canadian* cedar is of two sorts, the white and the red. The most sensible difference between them is, that the fragrance of the former lies in its leaf, and of the latter in its wood. The oaks here are b likewise distinguished into the white and the red; but the white is most esteemed. The maple is distinguished into male and female; it grows on high grounds, and is very serviceable for household furniture; the female maple is streaked and clouded. The cherry-tree, which grows along with the maple, is likewise fit for household furniture, and the *Indians* use its bark as a medicine. Their ash-trees are of three sorts, the free, the mungrel, and the bastard; the first is most useful, both for carpenter's work, and dry cask staves: they require low and good soils to thrive in. The *Canadian* walnut-trees are of three kinds likewise, the hard, the soft, and the smooth; the first bears a small nut, but very costly, and the wood is only good for fuel; the soft produces an excellent walnut, with a very hard shell, the wood of this tree is not to be affected by water; the smooth, c or thin-rinded walnut tree, yields a small bitter-kernel'd walnut, of which excellent oil is made; and all of them grow upon the best soil. The *Canadian* woods produce vast quantities of beech trees, which grow on all kinds of soil, and yield nuts which serve as nourishment both for beasts and birds; the wood is tender, and fit for oars, the white wood, which grows here to a great thickness and very strait, is likewise very common, and may be manufactured into planks and staves for dry-ware casks; the *Indians* cover their cabins with the bark, which they peel off. The elms of this country are white and red, and the wood very lasting. The *Iroquois* hollow the red elms into canoes; some of which made out of one piece, will contain twenty persons. About *November*, the bears and wild cats take up their habitations in the hollow elms, and remain there till *April*. The d poplar tree is found in *Canada*, on the banks of rivers, and on the sea-shore.

Shrubs.

PLUMB trees, bearing a very sour fruit, are found in their thickest woods; and the vinage tree, which is a kind of shrub, produces a red clustering fruit, which, when infused in water, becomes vinegar. The *Canadian* goose-berry trees differ little or nothing from those of *Europe*. The atoca is an aquatic plant, which creeps along the ground, and produces its fruit, which is of the size of a cherry, in water: this fruit is sharp, and may be made into a confection. The fruit of the white thorn is the food of several wild beasts. The cotton tree, which grows here like asparagus, to the height of three feet, is a most curious plant; upon its top grow several tufts of flowers, which, when shaken in the morning, before the dew falls off, produce honey, that may be boiled up into sugar; e the seed of this plant is a pod containing a very fine kind of cotton. The sun-plant resembles the marigold, and grows to the height of seven or eight feet; the *Indians* anoint their hair with an oily extract from it. *Canada* produces great quantities of turkey-corn, french-beans, gourds, and melons; their common melons are excellent. Capillaire and the hop-plant are natives of *Canada*, the former excels that of *Europe*, and grows to a much greater height. Having thus given a concise account of the animals and vegetables of *Canada*, we shall now proceed to the history of the human native, which is very proper at this time for the study of every *British* subject.

*Account of the
Esquimaux
Indians;*

WE have already mentioned the *Esquimaux*, which is an *Indian* word signifying an eater of raw-flesh; they are, of all *Indians*, the fiercest, the most mischievous, and untameable. f By their beards they are thought originally to proceed from *Greenland*, and they have something excessively shocking in their air and mien; their stature is advantageous and their skin is white, because they never go naked; they wear a kind of shirt made of bladders, or the intestines of fish, neatly sewed together; above this, they wear a surtout made of a bear or some other skin. To the shirt is fixed a cowl or hood which covers the head, and terminates in a tuft of hair that hangs down over their fore heads; their shirt falls no lower than their loins, and their surtout hangs lower behind, but that of the woman descends to her mid-leg; the men wear breeches made of skins with the hair inwards, and faced on the outside with furs or ermine. They likewise wear pumps or shoes made of skins, and boots of the same above them, and, over those, other pumps g and boots, with the hair side always inwards, and they are sometimes shod three or four times in that manner. Their weapons are arrows, pointed with the teeth of a sea-cow, or, when they can procure it, iron; they are very active, and all the summer live in the open

- a open air, and in winter they lie promiscuously in caverns. On the south of *Hudson's Bay*, being the western part of *Canada*, lies a vast tract of unknown countries, inhabited by nations to which we are strangers. *Charlevoix* mentions the *Mataffins*, the *Monsonis*, the *Christinaux*, and *Affiniboils*. The latter have a dialect of their own, and are thought to inhabit a very distant country; the other three speak the *Algonquin* language. The *Christinaux* live to the northward of *Lake Superior*. The *Indians* in the neighbourhood of the river *Bourbon*, and those on the river *St. Teresa*, differ entirely in their language; but it is said, that a hundred leagues from the mouth of this river, it is unnavigable for fifty more; but that a passage is found by means of rivers and lakes which fall into it, and that afterwards it runs through the middle of a very fine country, which continues as far as the lake of the *Affiniboils*, from whence the river takes its rise. Those *Indians* are extremely superstitious, and, like the other *Indians* of *Canada*, they have notions of a good and an evil genius; and believe the sun to be the great divinity of the world. They have even a species of sacrifices, and when they deliberate upon any matter of importance, their councils are attended with several solemnities. They assemble at the house or cabin of some of their chiefs by break of day, and the master of it, after lighting his pipe, presents it three times to the rising sun; he then turns it with both his hands from the east to the west, and invokes the favour of the deity. After this, all the assembly smokes in the same pipe. Those nations, though various and distinct from each other, go under the common name of *Savannois*, because of the savannahs, or low lying grounds, which they inhabit. The most curious and most probable account, however, that we have of those unknown regions is given us by *M. le Page du Pratz*, in a memoir laid before the *French academy*.

and the other natives.

- THIS learned man is of opinion, that *America* in general is not peopled from any one single nation, but from sundry nations remote from each other. According to him, the *Mexicans*, and the inhabitants of the western coasts of *South America*, are originally *Chinese* or *Japanese*; and that those of the country we are now treating of, come from the north-east parts of *Asia*. Mention is even made of a *Chinese* book in the *French king's* library, asserting that *America* was peopled by the inhabitants of *Corea*. The famous passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, which mentions a great western island discovered by the *Phenicians*, confirms the same opinion; even the *Canadians* themselves seem to have a tradition that their ancestors came from the north-east part of *Asia*: for when they are asked concerning their origin, they constantly point to the regions which lie between the north and west; and by what can be gathered from them, it seems that the country they mean should lie in fifty-five degrees north latitude. Besides this, some time ago, the skeletons of two large and two small elephants were found in a morass upon the banks of the river of the *Oubaches*: now there are no elephants in *America*, they are not natives of the country, and consequently these four must have come there at the time when the continents of *Asia* and *America* were joined, and it is probable not many years ago since they were separated by an earthquake; as *Sicily* is supposed to have been from *Italy*, *Asia Minor* from *Europe*, and *England* from *France*. *M. le Page du Pratz* confirms this opinion by the travels of *Moncachtape*, a civilized *Indian* of *Canada*, to the north-west parts of *America*, which tend to shew that the north-east part of *Asia*, and the north-west part of *America*, are only separated by a narrow strait, or arm of the sea, and give the most authentic and satisfactory account of these unknown regions, yet published. This account is so great an *American* curiosity, and so important to our history, that we shall make no apology for giving to our readers a translation of the whole of it in a note (E).

The population of Canada.

THE

(E) *M. Le Page du Pratz*, extremely desirous to inform himself of the origin of the *American* nations, was continually enquiring of the old *Indians* concerning it, and was at last so fortunate as to meet with an old man, belonging to the nation of the *Jaxous*, called *Moncachtape*, who was a man of sense and genius, and having been possessed with the same curiosity as himself, had spared no pains nor fatigue to get information of the country from whence the *North American* nations came. With this view he travelled from nation to nation, expecting to discover the country from whence their fathers had come, or to approach so near it, as to get some surer intelligence and more particular traditions concerning their origin. In this expedition he spent eight years, and *M. Le Page du Pratz*, having insinuated himself into his good graces, by all sorts of kindness, had from him the following account.

Having lost my wife and children, I resolved to travel in order to discover our original country, notwith-

standing all the persuasions of my parents and relations to the contrary.

I took my way by the high grounds that are on the eastern bank of the river *St. Louis*, that I might only have the river *Oubache* to cross, in order to join the *Illinois*, at the village of *Tamaroua*, a considerable settlement of the *Canadian French*. As the grass was short, I arrived there in a little time. I stayed there eight days to rest myself, and then continued my route along the eastern bank of the same river *St. Louis*, till I was a little above the place where the river *Missouri* falls into it.

I then made a raft of canes or reeds, and crossed the river *St. Louis*; and when I was near the opposite side, I suffered my raft to be carried down the stream, till I came to the conflux of the two rivers. Here I had the pleasure of seeing the rivers mix, and of observing how clear the waters of the river *St. Louis* are, before they receive the muddy streams of the *Missouri*. I landed here, and travelled along the north side of the *Missouri*, for

THE *Savannais* are often at war with a kind of *Indians* inhabiting the banks of the *Danish* river and the sea-wolf river to the north of *Hudson's* bay, which go by the name of flat-sided

for a great many days, till at last I came to the nation of the *Missouris*; with them I stayed a considerable time, not only to repose myself after my fatigue, but also to learn their language, which is spoken or understood by a great many nations. In this country one scarce sees any thing but large meads, above a day's journey, and covered with large cattle. The *Missouris* seldom eat any thing but flesh; they only cultivate as much maiz as may serve for a change, and prevent their being cloyed with beef and game, with which their country abounds. During the winter, which I spent with them, the snow fell to the depth of six feet.

As soon as the winter was over, I resumed my journey along the banks of the *Missouri*, and travelled till I came to the nation of the west. There I was told, that it was a long journey to the country, from whence both they and we came; that I must yet travel during the space of a moon [a month] towards the source of the *Missouri*, that then I should turn to the right, and go directly north, and, at the end of a few days, I should meet with another river, which ran from east to west, quite contrary to the course of the *Missouri*; then I might fall down this river at my ease upon rafts, until I came to the nation of the *Loutres*, or *Otters*, where I might rest, and receive more ample and particular instructions.

In pursuance of these directions, I travelled up the *Missouri* above a month, being afraid of turning off to the right too soon; when one night after I had lighted my fire, and was going to rest, I perceived some smoke at a distance, towards the place where the sun set; I immediately concluded, that this was a party of hunters, who proposed to pass the night there, and that probably they might be of the nation of the *Loutres*. I immediately made towards them, and found about thirty men and some women. They seemed to be surprized, but received me civilly enough. We could only understand each other by signs. After I had been with them three days, one of the women being near her delivery, she and her husband left the company, in order to return home by the easiest road, and took me along with them.

We travelled yet up the *Missouri* seven easy days journey, and then went directly north for five days, at the end of which time we came to a river of very fine clear water. When we came to the place where the hunters had left their canoes, we all three embarked in one of them, and fell down the river till we came to their village. I was very well received by them, and soon found that this was indeed the nation of the *Loutres*, which I was in quest of. I spent the winter with them, and employed myself in learning their language, which they told me was understood by all the nations, which lay between them and the great water [the sea].

The winter was scarce ended, when I embarked in a canoe with some provisions, a pot to cook them, and something to lie on, and descended the river. In a little time, I came to a very small nation, whose chief happening to be upon the banks, bluntly demanded, who art thou? what business hast thou here with thy short hairs? I told him my name was *Moncacht-ape*; that I came from the nation of the *Loutres*; that, though my hair was short, my heart was good; and then hinted the design of my journey: he replied, that though I might come from the nation of the *Loutres*, he saw plainly I was not one of that nation, and wondered at my speaking the language. I told him that I had learned it of an old man, whose name was *Salt-tear*. He no sooner heard the name of *Salt-tear*, who was one of his friends, than he invited me to stay in his village as long as I would. Upon this I landed, and told him, that *Salt-tear* had ordered me to see an old man, whose name was the *Great Roebuck*. This happened to be the father of the chief: he ordered him to be called, and the old man received me as if I had been his own son; and led me to his cottage.

The next day he informed me of every thing I wanted to know, and told me that I should be very hospitably received by all the nations between them and the great water, on telling them I was the friend of the *Great Roebuck*. I only staid two days longer; I then put on board my canoe a stock of provision, prepared from certain small grains, less than *French* pease, which afforded an excellent food, and immediately embarked, and continued to sail down the river, not staying above a day with each nation I met with in my way.

The last of these nations is settled about a day's journey from the sea, and about the race of a man [near a league] from the river. They live concealed in the woods for fear of the bearded men. I was received by them, as if I had been one of their own countrymen. They are continually upon their guard, on account of the bearded men, who do all they can to carry off young people, without doubt, to make them slaves. They told me these bearded men were whites; that they had a long black beard, which fell down upon their breast; that their bodies were thick and short; that their heads were large, and covered with stuffs; that they were always cloathed, even in the hottest seasons; and that their cloaths reached to the middle of their legs, which, as well as their feet, were also covered with red or yellow stuffs; that their weapons made a great noise, and a great fire, and that when they saw the red men [the natives] were more numerous than themselves, they retired to a great canoe [a small ship without doubt] which contained about thirty of them. They added, that these strangers came from the place where the sun sets [the west] in quest of a soft yellow wood, which yields a yellow liquor of a fine smell, and which dyes a fine yellow colour; and that observing they came every year as soon as the winter was over to fetch this wood, they had, according to the advice of one of their old men, cut down and destroyed all the trees, since which time they had not been so often troubled with the visits of these bearded men: but that they still visited every year two adjacent nations, who could not imitate their policy, because the yellow wood was the only wood their country produced, and that all the neighbouring nations had agreed to arm and join together the approaching summer, in order to destroy these bearded men, at their next coming, and rid their country of them.

As I had seen fire-arms, and was not afraid of them, and as the route they purposed to take was the way to the nation I was in quest of, they proposed my going along with them: I readily agreed, and as soon as the summer came, I marched with the warriors of this nation to the general rendezvous. The bearded men came later than usual this year: whilst we waited for them the natives shewed me the place where the bearded men laid their great canoe [the ship]. It was between two high and long rocks, which formed the mouth of a shallow river, the banks whereof were covered with yellow wood. It was agreed to lie in ambush for the bearded men, and that when they had landed, and were busy cutting the yellow wood, we should rise, surround them, and cut them off. At the end of seventeen days two great canoes [ships] appeared; they came to their usual place between the rocks; the first thing the bearded men did after their arrival (for there were two men privately placed upon the rocks to observe them) was to fill certain wooden vessels with water. At the end of the fourth day they armed and landed, and went to cut wood. They had no sooner begun to cut than they were attacked on all sides; but notwithstanding our utmost efforts, we killed but eleven; all the rest gained their little canoes [boats], and fled to their great ones [ships], which soon launched into the great water and disappeared.

Upon examining the dead, I found them to be less than we are, and very white; their bodies were thick, and their heads large: about the middle of their head

- a sided dogs; but it is observed that such wars are not attended with those circumstances of horror and cruelty as amongst the other *Canadians*, for they are contented with keeping one another's captives in prison. The *Savanois* have a notion of a future state; they think that a man who dies old is born again in the other world at the age of a sucking child; and that if a man goes young out of the world, when he arrives at the country of souls he becomes old. Either their natural indolence, or the barrenness of their country, renders the life of the *Savanois* so miserable, that when their hunting season is over, being destitute of all kind of provisions, they often eat one another, on which occasions they always begin with the weakest. Their doctrine of transmigration has a very singular effect; for when a man grows to be a burden to himself and his family, he fixes a rope about his neck, and presents the two extremities of it to the son he loves best, who instantly strangles him with the utmost alacrity. The son-in law is obliged to live with the father-in law in a kind of servitude till he has children; and their marriages are always made with the consent of their parents. They burn their dead bodies, and, after wrapping the ashes in the bark of a tree, they bury them in the ground, and raise a monument to the deceased, to which they affix tobacco, and if he was a hunter, his bow and arrows; for, with all the barbarians in almost every part of the globe, they believe that the deceased are fond of the same enjoyments in the next world, that gave them delight in this. The character of a hunter is higher with them than that of a warrior, and the candidates take a degree in it much in the nature of that of the ancient knights-errant. To qualify themselves for this degree, the candidate's face must be painted with black, and for three days he must taste nothing; a feast is then prepared, and a morsel of each of the animals, commonly the tongue and muzzle, which on other occasions is the perquisite of the hunter himself, is offered up as a sacrifice to the great spirit. As to the character of those *Indians*, they are held to be a faithful, disinterested, kind of people, and hate nothing so much as a lie.

In all the vast extent of *Canada*, there are but three radical or modern tongues, the *Sioux*, *Algonquin*, and *Huron*. As to the first, it is impossible to say how far it extends; and neither *French* nor *English* are much acquainted with those who speak it. In their manner of life, all we know, is, that they greatly resemble the *Tartars*; for they wander from place to place, but generally dwell in meadows, under large tents of well wrought skins. Their food is wild oats, and the flesh of the buffalo. It is thought by their situation, and their roving disposition, as well as the commerce they carry on, that the *Sioux*, which by the bye is only a contraction of the word *Nadocceffieux*, know more than any other people do of the western parts of *North America*, to which the *Europeans* are as yet so much strangers. They cut off the tips of their noses, and part of the skin upon the top of their heads, and some imagine that they greatly resemble the *Chinese* in their accent and language. Before the *Iroquois* forced the *Hurons* and *Outawais* to take refuge amongst the *Sioux*, the latter were a harmless people; and though the most populous of all the *Indian* nations, till they became warlike by their intercourse with those two people, they knew little of the use of arms.

The three Indian languages.

- e THE *Astiniboils* inhabit the borders of a lake of that name, of which *Europeans* know very little. This perhaps is the reason why so many wonders are reported of it. It probably is the reservoir or source of the greatest rivers and lakes in *North America*; but it is certain that

Their characters.

their hair was long. They wore no hats as you do, but had their heads bound about with a great deal of some sort of stuff; their cloaths were neither of wool nor bark, but of something like your old shirts, very soft and fine, and of different colours. [silk without doubt]. The covers of their legs and feet were all of a piece: I endeavoured to put on one of them, but my feet were too large. Of the eleven that were killed, only two had fire-arms, powder, and ball. I tried these pieces, and found they did not carry so far as yours: their powder was mixed of three sorts of grain, large, middle, and fine, but the large made the greatest part.

These were the remarks I made upon the bearded men, after which, leaving the warriors with whom I came to return home, I joined those nations who were settled upon the coast further towards the west; we followed the course of the coast, which is directly between the north and the west. When we came to their settlements, I observed that the days were a great deal longer than with us, and the nights very short. I asked them the reason of it, but they could give me none. I rested with them a considerable time. Their old men told me, that it was in vain for me to proceed any further; they said that the coast extended itself yet a great way between the north and west; that it afterwards

turned short to the west, and having run for a considerable distance in that direction, it was cut by the sea directly from north to south. One of them added, that when he was young he knew a very old man, who had seen this tract of land before the sea broke through it, and that to this day at low water one might see rocks and shallows in the channel, which had formerly been dry land. They all joined to dissuade me from travelling any farther, assuring me, that the country was cold and desert, destitute of animals and inhabitants, and advised me to return to my own country. I accordingly took their advice, and returned by the way that I came.

Such is the account *Montachat-ape* gave of his travels. *M. le Page du Pratz* observes, that the conformity of this account with the late discoveries of the *Russians*, and the good sense and probity of the man, left him no room to doubt of the truth of it. He thinks it probable that the bearded men are the inhabitants of some isles in the neighbourhood of *Japan*. The distance in a straight line from the *Yazous* to the farthest nation *Montachat-ape* visited, upon the shores of the north western ocean, according to the best estimate *M. du Pratz* could make, from the number of his days journies, and rate of travelling, seems to be about eight hundred leagues.

it is next to inaccessible by the mountains and woods which surround it; though its circumference is said to be six hundred leagues. Though it lies to the north-west of lake *Superior*, the climate is said to be mild. The natives say that men are settled in their neighbourhood resembling *Europeans*, and in a country where gold and silver is put to the most common uses; but all those reports are very uncertain. As to the *Astiniboils* themselves, they are remarkably phlegmatic, and in this they differ from their neighbours the *Christinaux*, the most volatile and talkative nation of all the *Indians*, being perpetually dancing and singing. The *Astiniboils* are great travellers, formed for fatigue, tall and robust in their persons.

A MAN by an acquaintance with the *Algonquin* and *Huron* languages can travel 1500 leagues in this country without an interpreter; for though he may visit above one hundred different nations, each of which has a particular idiom, yet he can make himself understood by all; and even amongst the *Indians* of *New England* and *Virginia*. It is not our intention to trace out all those different tribes or nations; many of them are hardly known, even by name, to *Europeans*. Some of them mentioned in the most early accounts are now not to be found; for those barbarians often carry on wars to the extermination of one another. Towards the north of the island of *Montreal* the country is thinly peopled; but a few villages belonging to the old inhabitants are still to be met with. Mention is made, particularly, of the *Nipissings*, so called from a lake of that name, who are the true descendants of the *Algonquins*, and still preserve the purity of that language. As to the *Outawais*, tho' formerly a numerous nation, few of them are now to be met with. The *French* established some posts on the banks of lake *Superior*, where they carried on trade with the *Christinaux* and *Astiniboils*. In short, a traveller can know very little more of this country than any man may learn by an inspection of the map. He may wander over thousands of miles on the banks of the finest lakes and rivers in the world, without meeting with a human creature; and those he does meet with, are generally so stupid, so cruel, so barbarous, or shy, that they scarcely deserve that denomination. The few *Algonquin* nations still to be seen, appear to be void of all notions of agriculture, and subsist upon fishing and hunting; and they daily decrease in populousness, though they allow themselves a plurality of wives. Few or none of their nations contain above 6000 souls, and many of them not 2000.

Conjecture
about the Hu-
ron language.

THE *Indians* to the southward of the river *St. Laurence*, as far as *Virginia*, speak the *Huron* language, or, as some call it, the *Iroquois*, though a different dialect is used in every village; even the five nations or cantons, which form the *Iroquois* commonwealth, have, each, a different pronounciation. *Charlevoix* observes, that the three radical languages we have mentioned have annexed to them three different original properties. The *Sioux*, so far as the *Europeans* are acquainted with it, is rather a hissing than an articulation of words. The *Huron* language has great energy, pathos, and elevation. The missionaries do not even scruple to compare it with the finest language that is known. Many have imagined, that it has a common origin with the *Greek* tongue, and many words of a similar sound and signification occur in both. This, if true, bids fair to derive the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* from the ancient *Celts*, whose language was the mother of the *Greek*. The *Algonquin* tongue excels that of the *Hurons* in smoothness and elegance; but the nature of this undertaking does not admit of any criticism upon language. It is agreed by all, that not only the sound of their voice is elevated and expressive, but every part of their body is thrown into the noblest and most graceful attitudes, when they speak in public. As to the great precision, the purity, the correctness, equal to those of the *Greek* and *Latin*, of those *Indian* languages, we must take them upon the credit of the missionaries, who are unanimous in reporting them. There is, however, an evident partiality in the *French* missionaries in favour of the *Huron* nation. According to them the true *Hurons*, who are called *Tionnontatez*, and who appear to have been a prerogative tribe amongst those *Indians*, have an hereditary chieftainship answering to the *European* royalty, and their police and form of government is more rational and regular than those of the other *Indian* nations, who likewise fall short of them in fortifying and improving their land, and in their buildings. They did not admit of polygamy; and yet they were more populous than any of their neighbouring sects, and they are in every respect more social and better polished than their neighbours. But in vain have all *European* authors searched for the maxims, and even the forms by which the *Hurons* govern themselves. According to *Charlevoix*, the true *Hurons* are now reduced to two middling villages at a great distance from each other, and yet they govern the councils of all the *Indian* nations round them; but, notwithstanding all that the good fathers say of this favourite race, they seem to have been inferior in war to the *Iroquois*; and this makes it necessary to give some account of those two nations immediately before the *French* settlement at *Quebec*; for, as they have no historical monuments, the reader cannot expect any particulars of them farther back.

Rise of the
war between
the Hurons
and the Iro-
quois,

SOME years before the time I speak of, the *Iroquois* had made a league with the *Algonquins*, who possessed great tracts of land between *Quebec*, possibly from *Tadoussac* to the lake *Nipissing*, and all along the north shore of the river *St. Laurence*. The *Algonquins* had no rivals in all *North America*, as hunters and warriors, the only two manly characters that those barbarians have any idea of. In the alliance between those two people, the *Algonquins* were obliged to protect the *Iroquois* from all invaders, and to let them have a share of their venison. The *Iroquois*, on the other hand, were to pay a tribute out of the culture of the earth to their allies, and to perform for them all the labours of agriculture and the menial duties, such as slaying the game, curing the flesh, and dressing the skins. By this compromise it is plain, that the *Algonquin* nation had the post of honour, but the *Iroquois* at last came to be piqued at the small esteem in which they thought their neighbours held them. By degrees they associated in the hunting matches and warlike expeditions of the *Algonquins*, who, at first, were far from having any jealousy of them; but in process of time the *Iroquois* began to fancy themselves as well qualified as the *Algonquins* were, both for war and hunting. One winter, a large detachment of both nations went out a-hunting, and when they thought they had secured a vast quantity of game, six young *Algonquins*, and as many *Iroquois*, were sent out to begin the slaughter. The *Algonquins* by this time probably had become a little jealous of their associates, and upon seeing a few elks wanted them to go back, on pretence that the *Iroquois* would have employment sufficient in slaying the game they should kill. The six *Algonquins*, however, after three days hunting, killed none, on which the *Iroquois* exulted, and in a day or two they privately set out to hunt by themselves, being provoked by the reproaches of the *Algonquins* for their inferiority. The *Algonquins* finding the *Iroquois* gone, and seeing them at night return laden with game, conceived against them so violent a hatred, that, before morning, they butchered all the *Iroquois* who were in the expedition. This bloody massacre was the effect of that capricious jealousy, of which those barbarians in general are so susceptible. In vain did the *Iroquois* demand satisfaction, for they received nothing but insults; so great was the contempt the *Algonquins* had for them. Exasperated by this treatment, and yet afraid to try their strength with the *Algonquins*, they stifled their resentment; and to ensure themselves to war, they fell upon other less powerful nations. In a short time, they became so well practised in the art of blood (for war it ought not to be called) that they thought themselves a match for the *Algonquins*, and fell upon them with a fury, which shewed that they could be satiated with nothing less than the extermination of the *Algonquin* race.

THE *Hurons* could not be neutral, for their country was environed by those of the two belligerent powers; they, therefore, took part with the *Algonquins*, and the war was carried on, on the part of the exasperated *Iroquois*, with diabolical fury. The *Iroquois*, it is true, were generally victorious: but no quarter being given on either side, the war threatened an utter extinction of all the three nations. Amongst those barbarians no victory can be decisive: for the numbers in which they fight are seldom above three or four hundred of a side, and every thing being done by surprise, the inhabitants of a whole village, even of the conquering party, may be cut off all at once. Bloodshed and losses serve only to exasperate them, and the victors seek death and danger at such distances from their own homes, that conquest itself is sure to diminish their numbers. It is at this period, however, that we are properly to take up the history of *Canada*, which begins with its first discovery, while those wars between the *Iroquois*, the *Algonquins*, and *Hurons*, were raging.

who defeat
their enemies.

It is past dispute, that *Cabot*, the famous *Italian* adventurer, who sailed under a commission from *Henry* the seventh of *England*, discovered the vast extent of country, that now goes under the name of *Canada*; but the frugal maxims of that prince probably hindered his making any regular settlement there. The discovery however took air, and we find the *French* fishing for cod on the banks of *Newfoundland*, and along the sea-coast of *Canada* in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nay, about the year 1506, one *Denys*, a *Frenchman*, drew a map of the gulph of *St. Laurence*, and two years after, one *Aubert*, a ship-master of *Dieppe*, carried over to *France* some of the natives of *Canada*. A few years after, the *Spanish* conquests in *South America* began to make a vast noise all over *Europe*; but the discovery of this new country not promising the same amazing mines of gold and silver that *Peru* and *Mexico* contained, the *French*, for some years, seem to have neglected the discovery. *Francis I.* of *France*, a sensible and enterprising prince, at last in the year 1523, sent four ships under the command of *Verazani*, a *Florentine*, to prosecute discoveries in that country. We are in the dark as to the particulars of *Verazani's* first expedition. All we know, is, that he returned to *France*, and next year he undertook a second, in which he touched at the island of *Madeira*, from whence he directed his course to the *American* coast. In approaching it he met with a violent storm; but came so near the coast, that he saw natives on the shore, and could discern them making friendly signs inviting him to land. This being found impracticable by reason of the surf upon the coast, one of the sailors threw himself

History of
French Ca-
nada.

into

into the sea; but, endeavouring to swim back to the ship, a surge threw him on shore without signs of life. He was, however, treated by the natives with such care and humanity, that he recovered his strength, and was suffered to swim back to the ship, which immediately returned to *France*; and this is all we know of *Verazani's* second expedition. *Verazani*, after this, embarked on the third expedition, but was no more heard of, and it is thought that he, and all his company, perished before he could form any colony.

Jaques Cartier sent
hither.

His discoveries.

THOUGH *Canada* gave the *French* no assurance of gold, silver, or diamond mines, yet they knew enough of the country to be sensible of the vast importance to which it might arrive. Not discouraged, therefore, by *Verazani's* want of success, one *Jaques Cartier*, a native of *St. Malo*, in *April*, 1534, set sail under a commission from the *French* king; and on the 10th of *May* thereafter, he arrived at *Cape Bonavista* in *Newfoundland*. He had with him two small ships, containing one hundred and twenty-two men, and he cruized along the coast of *Newfoundland*, on which he discerned inhabitants, probably the *Esquimaux* in the dress we have described. But tho' he found many commodious harbours, yet the land was so uninviting, and the climate so cold, that he set sail for the gulph, and entered the bay of *Chaleurs*, or *Heats*, as he called it, on account of the sultry weather he then met with. This bay is, by some called, *Spanish bay*. Leaving this bay, *Cartier* landed at several places along the coast of the gulph, and took possession of the country in the name of his most Christian majesty; a cheap method of obtaining dominion. Returning to *France*, that monarch, upon his report in 1535, gave him a commission, and sent him out with a large force. After meeting with various storms and separations, the three ships he had with him rendezvoused in the gulph; but he was compelled by a fresh storm to take refuge in the port of *St. Nicholas*. From thence he sailed on the 10th of *August*, and gave the gulph the name of *St. Laurence* from his entering it on the day of that festival; and the river now retains the same name. Passing by the isle of *Anticosti*, to which he gave the name of *Assumption*, he sailed up the river *Saguenay*, and anchored by a small island to which he gave the name of *Coudres*, or *Hazels*, from the numbers of those trees growing upon it. Returning from thence, and proceeding up the river *St. Laurence*, he came to an island so full of vines, that he called it the isle of *Bacchus*; but it now goes by the name of *Orleans*. He had, the last time he was in *Canada*, the precaution to carry two *Americans* with him to *France*, where they learned as much of the language as enabled them to serve as interpreters between him and their countrymen. Sailing up a small river he had an interview with an *Indian* chief called *Donnacona*, and he then heard of an *Indian* town, called *Hochelaga*, which was as it were the metropolis of the whole country, lying on an island, now known by the name of *Montreal*, provided with some kind of palisadoes, and other works sufficient to defend it against a sudden attack. The inhabitants probably were the *Hurons*, whom we have already mentioned to have been the most tractable of all the *Indian* nations, and who treated *Cartier* and his attendants with an equal degree of hospitality and astonishment at their persons, dress, and accoutrements. He had at this time with him only one ship, and two long boats, having left the rest at *St. Croix*, to which he returned, and there spent the winter, which proved so severe, that he and his people must have perished of the scurvy, had they not, by the advice of the natives, made use of a decoction of the bark and tops of the white pine already described. *Cartier* was ungenerous enough to kidnap his *Indian* friend *Donnacona*, and to carry him in the spring to *France*. But not being able to produce gold and silver, all he said about the utility of the settlement, and the fruitfulness of the country, was despised by the public; so that in the year 1540, he was obliged to serve as pilot to mons. *de Roberval*, who was by the *French* king appointed viceroy of *Canada*, and who sailed from *France* with five vessels. Arriving in the gulph of *St. Laurence*, they built a fort, and *Roberval* left *Cartier* to command a garrison in it, and went back in person to *France*, from whence he returned with additional recruits to his new settlement. He afterwards sailed up the river *St. Laurence*, as far as that of *Saguenay*, where, by means of a *Portuguese*, he endeavoured, but in vain, to find out the north-west passage to the *East Indies*. The expeditions and captivity of *Francis I.* for some time, diverted the attention of the *French* from improving this settlement; but in 1549, *Roberval* and his brother, of whom we have a great character, with a numerous train of adventurers, embarked for the river *St. Laurence*, and never were heard of more.

La Roche
made lieutenant-general
of Canada.

THIS fatal accident discouraged the public, and government of *France* so greatly, that for fifty years no measures were taken for supplying the few *French* settlers that still remained in *Canada*. At last *Henry IV.* appointed the marquis *de la Roche*, a *Breton* gentleman, lieutenant-general of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Newfoundland*, *Labrador*, and the bay and river of *St. Laurence*. This gentleman set sail in a ship from *France*, in the year 1598, and landed on the isle of *Sable*, which lies about fifty leagues to the south-east of *Cape Breton*, and thirty-five east of *Canso*. The marquis absurdly thought this to be a proper place for erecting a settlement, and left there about forty malefactors, the refuse of the *French* jails; but no place

a place was ever more unfit for a settlement than this, being small, and without any port, or product but briars. It is narrow, and has the shape of a bow. In the middle of it is a lake about five leagues in compass, and the isle itself is about ten. It has a sand-bank at each end, one of which runs north-east and by east, and the other south-east. It has sand-hills which may be seen seven or eight leagues off. The history of those poor wretches contains the history of this expedition. The marquis, after cruising for some time on the coast of *Nova Scotia*, returned to *France*, without being able to carry them off the miserable island, and there he died of grief for having lost all his interest at that court. As for his wretched colony, they must have perished had not a *French* ship been wrecked upon the island, and a few sheep driven upon it at the same time. With the boards of the wreck they erected huts, with the sheep they supported nature, and when they had eat them up they lived on fish; but their clothes wearing out, they made coats of seals skins, and in this miserable condition they spent seven years, when *Henry IV.* ordered *Chedotel*, who had been pilot to *la Roche*, to bring them to *France*. *Chedotel* found only twelve of them alive, and when he returned, *Henry* had the curiosity to see them in their seal skin dresses; and their appearance moved him so much, that he ordered them a general pardon for their offences, and gave each of them fifty crowns to begin the world with anew.

His injudicious settlement.

THOUGH *la Roche*'s patent had been very ample and exclusive, yet private adventurers had still traded to the river *St. Laurence*, without any notice being taken of them by the government. Amongst others was one *Pontgravé*, a merchant of *St. Malo*, who had made several trading voyages for furs to *Tadoussac*. Upon the death of *la Roche*, his patent was renewed in favour of *Chauvin*, a commander in the *French* navy, and he put himself under the direction of *Pontgravé*. In the year 1600, *Chauvin*, attended by *Pontgravé*, made a voyage to *Tadoussac*, where he left some of his people and returned with a very gainful quantity of furs to *France*. Next year he renewed the same voyage with the like good fortune, but he died when he was preparing for the third. The many specimens of profit to be made by the *Canadian* trade led the public to think favourably of it: and *de Chatte*, the governor of *Dieppe*, succeeded *Chauvin*, as governor of *Canada*. *De Chatte*'s scheme seems to have been to have carried on that trade with *France* by a company of *Rouen* merchants and adventurers. An armament for this purpose was accordingly equipped, and the command of it given to *Pontgravé*, with powers to extend his discoveries up the river *St. Laurence*. *Pontgravé* with his squadron sailed in 1603, having in his company *Samuel Champlain*, afterwards the famous founder of *Quebec*, who had been a captain in the navy, and was a man of parts and spirit. Arriving at *Tadoussac*, they left their ships there, and in a long boat they proceeded up the river as far as the falls of *St. Louis*, and then returned to *France*. By this time *de Chatte* was dead, and was succeeded in his patent by the sieur *de Monts*, whose commission for an exclusive fur trade extended from forty to fifty-five degrees of north latitude, that is, from *Virginia* to almost the top of *Hudson's Bay*. He had likewise the power of granting lands as far as forty-six; and being lieutenant-general of that whole extensive province, it may be said that it was at his disposal. The *French* merchants were now so well reconciled to the *Canadian* trade, that *de Monts* was soon enabled to form a company, more considerable than any that had yet undertaken it, and who resolved to avail themselves of their exclusive patent.

De Chatte governor of Canada.

WITH this view they fitted out four ships; *de Monts* in person took the command of two of them, and was attended by *Champlain*, and a gentleman called *Pontrincourt*, with a number of volunteer adventurers. Another of the ships was destined to carry on the fur trade at *Tadoussac*, and the fourth was given to *Pontgravé*, who, after touching at *Canso* in *Nova Scotia*, was ordered to scour the sea between *Cape Breton* and *St. John's* island; and to clear it of all interlopers. It was the 7th of *March*, 1614, when *de Monts* sailed from *Havre de Grace*, and touching at *Acadia*, he there confiscated the *Nightingale*, an interloping vessel in the harbour, where he found her, to which he gave the *French* name of the ship, the *Nightingale*. He then steered for another haven, which he called *Mutton-haven*, on account of a sheep, which tumbled over board there, and where he remained for a month. *Champlain* was, all this while, in search, in a long boat, of a proper situation for a settlement, and at last he pitched upon a little island to which he gave the name of *L'isle de St. Croix*, about twenty leagues to the westward of *St. John's* river, and about half a league in circumference. He was followed to this island by *Monf. de Monts*; but it soon appeared that they had made a very injudicious choice of a situation for a settlement. For though the corn they sowed there produced very fine crops, and though they had been very successful in clearing the ground, they found themselves, when winter came on, without fresh water, without wood for firing, and, to crown their misfortunes, without fresh provisions. To save themselves the trouble of bringing fresh water from the continent, many of the new settlers drank melted snow, which filled the little colony with diseases, particularly the scurvy, and swept many of them off. Those inconveniencies determined *de Monts* to re-

Succeeded by de Monts.

Settlement of
Port Royal.

move his settlement to *Port Royal*, which has since been called *Annapolis Royal*, and which, during the winter, had been discovered by *Champlain*. By this time, *Pontgravé* was returned to *St. Croix* from *France*; and found that colony almost ruined, but agreed with *de Monts* in settling at *Port Royal*. *Pontrincourt* was so much enamoured with this new situation, that *de Monts*, in virtue of his commission, made it over to him, and appointed him at the same time to be his lieutenant-general, upon *Pontrincourt* proposing to send for all his family to settle at *Port Royal*. *De Monts* then returned to *France*, where matters had taken a turn not at all in his favour; for the *French* court began to think they had gone upon very mistaken maxims in the exclusive privilege that had been granted him. The masters of the fishing vessels, the best trade which *France* then had, made the ministry sensible that *de Monts*, on pretence of preventing the trade with the natives, kept them from the necessities fit for fishing, and that they were upon the point of abandoning the fisheries; upon which *de Monts*'s patent was revoked, though ten years of it were still to run. This did not damp *de Monts*; he entered into new engagements with *Pontrincourt*, who was then likewise in *France*; and the latter again sailed for *America* in an armed vessel from *Rockelle* in 1606. By the time they had arrived at *Canso*, the settlement at *Port Royal*, which had been left to the care of *Pontgravé*, was reduced to such difficulties, that he was obliged to reembark all the inhabitants but two, whom he left to take care of the effects he could not carry off. Before he left the bay of *Fundy*, he heard of *Pontrincourt*'s arrival at *Canso*; upon which he returned to *Port Royal*, where *Pontrincourt* arrived about the same time. The relief which *Pontrincourt* brought to his infant colony, came so seasonably, that it again held up its head; but its prosperity was, in a great measure, owing to the spirit and abilities of *Le Carbot*, a *French* lawyer, who partly from friendship to *Pontrincourt*, and partly thro' curiosity, had made this voyage. At this time, *Pontgravé*, the ablest man by far of any concerned in the project, had resigned his command, and all concerns with *Pontrincourt*; and *de Monts*, who had somewhat retrieved his affairs, abandoned all connexion with *Acadia*, and was applying himself to the fur trade at *Tadoussac*. His company, who never had forsaken him, fitted out two ships, which sailed for the river *St. Laurence* in the spring of the year 1608. The fur trade was now become very considerable, and the company, which was mostly composed of *St. Malo* merchants, thrived exceedingly; but *de Monts* finding their interests were hurt by his remaining at their head, entirely withdrew from the association; upon which the company was re-instated in their privileges, all the use of which they made, was for their private emolument.

Champlain
founds Que-
bec.

VERY different were the views of *Champlain*, who, after examining all the most promising places in *Acadia*, and on the river *St. Laurence*, at last chose *Quebec* to settle in. He arrived there on the third of *July*, 1608, and after building some barracks for lodgings for his people, he began to clear the ground, where they sowed wheat and rye, which produced vast returns. *Champlain* then returned to *France*, but revisited his colony in 1610, and found them in a healthful, prosperous condition. It was at this time that the *Iroquois* had fair to exterminate the *Algonquins*, and the *Hurons*, in whose country *Quebec* was situated, and who, in hopes of the *French* assistance, were extremely complaisant to the new settlers. *Champlain*, on the other hand, did not fail to give them all the encouragement they could desire, and supplied them with provisions when the hunting season was over, and when they were reduced to the greatest distress. The *Hurons* in the spring of the year 1610, with their associates, prepared to take the field; and *Champlain*, ignorant of the great power and fierceness of their enemies, was persuaded to join the *Hurons*. This step was impolitic in *Champlain*, who did not foresee, that instead of humbling the *Iroquois*, and uniting all the *Indians* of that continent with *France*, he was forcing the *Iroquois* to throw themselves under the protection of the *English* and *Dutch*. He embarked on the river *Sorel*, then called the river of the *Iroquois*, with his allies; but after advancing up the river about fifteen leagues, he was stopped by the fall of *Chambly*, and forced to send back his chaloup to *Quebec*. Though he had been assured that this fall would stop his chaloup, he continued to march, attended only by two *Frenchmen*, who refused to leave him. Having carried their canoes over the bearing places, as they are called, they launched them again above the fall, and they pursued their voyage through a lake to which he gave his own name, which it still retains, and where the river *Sorel* ends. They then found a second fall at the farther end at the communication with lake *Sacrament*.

His expedition
and victory.

DURING this voyage, *Champlain* received great pleasure from the promising appearance of the islands by which he had passed, but was shocked by the superstitions of his new allies, and the impositions of their spiritual jugglers. One of those always attends upon their armies, and covering himself up with skins, from thence he emits various sounds, but such as do not resemble human, and which he pretends comes from the god of war. The same jugglers pretend to the spirit of divination, and when *Champlain* used to reproach them for their

a their repeated failures, in what they had foretold, they had always some ready excuse. The tricks of those mountebanks, however, were attended with one very bad effect, that they inspired their votaries with a spirit of rashness and carelessness, by always predicting to them good success.

UPON the borders of the lake *Sacrament* stood the *Iroquois* in battle array, though the *Hurons* thought to have surprized them in their village. It being then late, it was agreed, on both sides, to defer the battle till next morning. *Champlain* in the mean while, attended by a party of his savages, and his two *Frenchmen*, withdrew to a neighbouring wood; so that the *Iroquois*, who were in number about two hundred, seeing but a handful of their enemies, made themselves sure of victory. They were commanded by three chiefs, who were distinguished by larger plumes of feathers on their heads, than those the others wore, and were pointed out by the *Hurons* to *Champlain*, who, as soon as the battle began, issued with his party out of his retreat, and, with the first discharge of his firelock, killed two of their chiefs, and dangerously wounded the third. The consternation and astonishment of the *Iroquois* at the appearance of *Champlain*, with his two companions, as well as at the report and execution of his fire-arms, was inexpressible; and while he was recharging his musket, his two companions having killed some more of the *Iroquois* with theirs, the enemy fell into a total rout, and fled as fast as they could before the victorious allies, who killed some, and took others prisoners. The allies then, having none killed, and only fourteen or fifteen wounded, fell upon the spoils of the field, consisting of some maize, which they devoured, and it proved a very seasonable relief to them, their own provisions being now entirely exhausted.

over the *Iro-*
quois.

AMONGST those barbarians, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, make their retreat with all the dispatch they can; and the victor *Hurons*, after travelling about eight leagues, stopt and intimated to one of their captives, that he must die by the same cruel torments, that his nation had so often inflicted upon their brethren, who had fallen into their hands. *Champlain* strongly remonstrated against this inhumanity; but all he could gain, either by his authority, or his entreaties, was, that he should be master of the captive's fate, upon which he immediately shot him dead. The victors then opened the body, threw the bowels into the lake, cut off the head, the arms, and the legs, but without touching the trunk, though before they generally had used to feed upon it. They, however, preserved the scalp, and cut the heart in pieces, which they forced the prisoners to eat in small gobbets, but the brother of the deceased, who was amongst the captives, spit out his part after it had been crammed into his mouth. The nations of the allies in this expedition were the *Algonquins*, the *Hurons*, and the *Montagnez*. The first remained at *Quebec*; the second retreated to their own country; and the last to *Tadoussac*, where they were joined by *Champlain*. As they approached that village they tied the scalps to long poles, as the signals of their triumph. Their women no sooner saw them than they threw themselves into the river, swam to their canoes, and seizing upon the scalps, hung them round their necks by way of ornament. They offered one to *Champlain*, but he refused it; and they made him a present of some bows and arrows, which they had taken from the enemy, and which they begged him to present to the *French* king, he being now upon his return to *France*.

His second
expedition.

CHAMPLAIN, not meeting with a ship at *Tadoussac*, returned to *Quebec*, from whence he and *Pontgravé* once more embarked for *France*, leaving the command of their promising colony to *Peter Chauvin*. They waited upon his most Christian majesty at *Fontainebleau*; and then it was that *Canada* received the name of *New France*, by which the *French*, afterwards, affected to distinguish it. Two merchants, *le Gendre* and *Collier*, chiefs of the company, soon procured two new ships for *Champlain* and *Pontgravé*, and embarking on the 7th of *March*, 1610, they arrived on the 26th of *April* at *Tadoussac*. There they put themselves at the head of the *Montagnez*, and proceeding to *Quebec*, the allies again marched to the river *Sorel*, which was the place of rendezvous: but when *Champlain* arrived there, he was not joined by near so many *Indians* as he expected; and he was there obliged to abandon his chaloup. No sooner was he landed than all his *Indians* dispersed, and he was left alone with four *Frenchmen*, the rest of the crew remaining to guard his chaloup. He began now to be distressed by the swampiness of the ground over which he was obliged to march, and the continual bitings of the gnats and vermin that infested the air, when one of his savages came running to tell him that his allies were engaged with their enemies. Upon this he quickened his pace, and found that his allies the *Hurons* and *Algonquins*, having attacked their enemies in their intrenchments, had met with a repulse; but at the sight of *Champlain* and his *French* companions, they renewed the charge. The *Iroquois*, however, made a gallant resistance, *Champlain* and another *Frenchman* were wounded, but they plied their muskets so vigorously, that they killed many of the *Iroquois*, who at last took shelter against the shot. All the ammunition, that is, the arrows, of the *Hurons*, was, by this time, exhausted, and they were preparing, by *Champlain's* advice, to storm the intrenchment,

His farther
adventures.

ment, when they were reinforced by six or seven *Frenchmen*, who made so furious an attack, ^a that almost all the *Iroquois* were killed or taken prisoners. The *French* stripped the vanquished of their beaver-skin coats, and the *Hurons* began to devour their prisoners. The *Hurons* despised the *French* for their avarice. The *French* abhorred the *Hurons* for their inhumanity, and each people considered the other as barbarians. While the victors were exercising their cruelties upon the vanquished, *Champlain* requested his allies to give him one of the *Iroquois* captives, which they did. He likewise prevailed upon them to receive a *Frenchman* into their society, that he might learn their language, and to send a young *Huron* to *France* to see that kingdom, and the glory thereof, that he might make a favourable report of the same to his countrymen upon his return.

State of Canada under Lewis XIII.

HENRY IV. was dead by this time, and *de Monts's* interest being thereby entirely ruined, ^b *Champlain* was obliged to abandon, for that time, a settlement he had planned out at *Montreal*, and to go to *France*, which he did in 1611. By *de Monts's* advice, *Champlain* applied to *Charles of Bourbon*, count of *Soissons*, to be the father of *New France*, an honour which that prince readily accepted of; and, having got a proper commission from the queen-regent, nominated *Champlain* to be his lieutenant with unlimited powers. The count dying soon after, the government of *Canada* or *New France* devolved upon the prince of *Conde*, who continued *Champlain* in his government. Some commercial differences that happened amongst the company detained *Champlain* in *France* all the year 1612, and on the 6th of *March* 1613, he embarked on board a vessel commanded by *Pontgravé* for *Quebec*, before which place he landed on the 7th of *May*. They found the *Quebec* colony in so thriving a state, that they ^c immediately proceeded up to *Montreal*, and soon after *Champlain* returned to *France* with *Pontgravé*. The reason of those frequent voyages to, and from, *Old* and *New France*, seem to have been occasioned by disputes that still subsisted among the company; but *Champlain*, in 1615, formed new engagements with the merchants of *Paris*, *Rouen*, and *Rochelle*; which were confirmed by the prince of *Conde*, who had now assumed the title of viceroy of *New France*.

Character of Champlain,

CHAMPLAIN, whose character seems to have been a mixture of valour, vanity, perseverance, enthusiasm, and integrity, having thus established the temporal interests of his new colony, began now to think upon its spiritual ones, and procured four father recollects, who were fitted out at the charge of the company, to attend him to *Canada*; and they ^d accordingly arrived at *Tadoussac* the 25th of *March*, 1615. It would perhaps be difficult to reconcile *Champlain's* making himself a party against the *Iroquois*, who never had offended him, and slaughtering them as he did, to the principles, either of humanity, religion, or policy. It were to be wished, that the same observation did not occur upon the conduct of other *European* nations, which is so much the more unjust, as no people in the world, perhaps, has so strong an affection for their native soil, as those *North American* savages. Be this as it will, *Champlain* leaving the recollects at *Quebec*, went up to *Montreal*, where he had another interview with his savage allies, and undertook to head them in a third expedition against the *Iroquois*. By this conduct, he made himself cheap in the eyes of the savages; but so strong was his propensity to action, that he left *Caron*, one of the recollect ^e fathers, who had attended him, with the *Hurons*, and took their promise, that they would not set out on their expeditions, till his return from *Quebec*, whither he was called by some business.

and of Caron, a missionary.

THIS *Caron* was a thorough enthusiast, and aspired to the crown of martyrdom. The savages disregarded *Champlain* so much, that they set out for *Montreal* before he returned from *Quebec*, and carried *Caron* with them, and some other *Frenchmen*. *Champlain* dispatching his business at *Quebec*, he returned to *Montreal* with two *Frenchmen*, and was there joined by ten other *Frenchmen*, that had been brought by *Caron* from *Quebec*, but found no *Hurons*. Tho' the disregard shewed him by the savages might have excused *Champlain* from fulfilling his engagements, yet, pretending to be greatly concerned about *Caron*, he ^f proceeded to the *Huron* village, where he met with his allies. *Champlain* being now at the head of twelve *Frenchmen*, besides father *Caron*, who thirsted to shed the blood of unbelievers, thought himself invincible, and setting out at the head of his allies, found his enemies intrenched in a fort, of no mean construction for defence, with trees cut down to block up the passages to it: *Champlain* immediately led his party to the assault, but was repulsed with loss. He endeavoured to set fire to the fort; but the *Iroquois* foreseeing that, had provided plenty of water, which extinguished the flames. He then constructed a kind of a wooden stage to overlook the building, so as that his musketeers being placed on it might fire down upon the enemy. Before this expedient had any effect, he was wounded in the leg and knee, which struck the savages with so much dejection, that they refused to follow him; ^g and he was obliged to abandon the attack with loss and shame, but without being pursued or losing a man in the retreat, which continued for five and twenty leagues, the savages carrying their wounded all that way upon hurdles.

Champlain wounded.

a AFTER *Champlain* was cured of his wounds, he demanded the guides that had been promised him to reconduct him to *Quebec*; but they were denied him in the harshest manner, and he was therefore obliged to spend the winter among the savages. He made the best use of his time he could. He visited all the *Huron* villages, and penetrated into those of the *Algonquins* as far as the lake *Nepissing*; and as soon as the river became navigable, having engaged some *Hurons* to be faithful to him, he secretly embarked with them, and arrived at *Quebec*, with father *Caron*, on the 11th of *July*, 1616. Both of them were there received as risen from the dead. Having staid at *Quebec* for a month, *Champlain*, the superior of the mission, and *Caron*, took shipping for *France*, leaving only two of the recollects, *D'Olbeau*, and *Duplessys*, in *New France*. Conspiracy against the French.

b DURING his absence, his *Indian* allies giving vent to the suspicions they entertained of the *French* intentions, formed a design of cutting the throats of all the *French* amongst them. *Champlain* had settled at *Trois Rivières*, a small *French* colony; and two of them were murdered by the natives, who assembled to the number of 800 near that place, to carry their bloody intentions into execution. The *French*, however, had made some friends amongst the barbarians, and father *Duplessys* being secretly informed of their intention, not only diverted it, but found means to bring the barbarians to make advances for a reconciliation. By this time, *Champlain* had returned from *France*, and demanded to have the two murderers of the two *Frenchmen* delivered up to him. One of them was sent; and along with him a quantity of furs to cover the dead, which is an *Indian* expression for making satisfaction for murder; and *Champlain* was obliged to put up with that kind of atonement.

c By this time, the civil dissensions of *France* entirely employed the attention of the prince of *Conde*, and the public concerns of *Canada* were neglected. The merchants who enjoyed the benefit of the patent, neither minded the civil nor religious interests of the new colonists; all they attended to was their own profit, and *Champlain*, in vain, made several trips backwards and forwards between *France* and *Canada*, to arouse a public spirit both in the government and the company. At last, in 1620, the prince of *Conde* sold the viceroyalty of *New France* to his brother-in-law, the marshal *Montmorenci*, who continued *Champlain* in his lieutenancy, but intrusted all the other affairs of *Canada* to M. *Dolu*. *Champlain* then carried his family over to *New France*, where they arrived in the month of *May*; and so greatly was the company abused, that at *Tadoussac*, he found traders from *Rochelle*, not only trafficking with the savages, but bargaining with them for fire-arms, the most pernicious commerce that could be introduced for the colony. Canada neglected.

d In the year 1621, the *Iroquois* assembled in three bodies, being determined, if possible, to exterminate the *French* from amongst them; not so much from any resentment against them, as to gratify that vindictive spirit which they entertained against the *Algonquins* and the *Hurons*. One of those bodies attacked the pass at the fall of *St. Louis*, but were repulsed; some of them were killed, and others fled, carrying with them *Poulain*, a *French* recollect. The *French*, in vain, endeavoured to rescue him; but they gave one of their captives liberty to repair to his countrymen, and to propose to exchange the recollect for one of the *Iroquois* chiefs, who had been made prisoner. The captive arrived at the *Iroquois* village, just as the fire was prepared, for putting the recollect to a miserable death; but the terms he proposed were accepted of, and the exchange was made. The second body of the *Iroquois* went down in 30 canoes to attack the convent of the recollects near *Quebec*; but finding the enterprize too hazardous, they fell upon a body of the *Hurons* in the neighbourhood, and, making some prisoners, they burnt them. We have no account of what became of the third body. *Champlain* attributed all those attacks to the attachment of the company to its own interest; and made such effectual representations on that head, that it was suppressed, its powers and privileges being vested in *William* and *Emeric de Caen*, uncle and nephew. *Champlain*, at the same time, received a letter from his most Christian majesty, highly approving of his conduct, and confirming him in his command; while the viceroy, by another letter, exhorted him to do all the service he could to the new patentees. The war renewed.

e LEST the reader should be misled in his ideas, we are to inform him that all the colony at *Quebec* at this time did not exceed 50 persons, men, women, and children; but an establishment had been formed at *Trois Rivières*, and a brisk trade continued to be carried on at *Tadoussac*. *William de Caen*, a Calvinist, and one of the new patentees, visited *Canada* in person, and was well received by the new colonists. Here we cannot help observing, that had it not been for the impolitic introduction of the ecclesiastics into the new colony, they might have been in a flourishing condition. But, to bigotry and enthusiasm, they joined craft and avarice, and above all, an unbounded desire to enlarge the power and riches of their several orders. For this purpose, they formed parties amongst the natives, instructing them in all the refinements of *European* falshood, in the practice of rapine, revenge, and every diabolical crime that heated fancy and selfish views can suggest. *Champlain* State of the colony.

plain was not a man of a cast either to discover or to remedy those disorders, and *Pontgravé*,^a in whom *Caen* very deservedly reposed his greatest confidence, was by the bad state of his health forced to return to *France* in 1623.

Jealousy of the
Hurons.

THE *Hurons*, at this time, notwithstanding all the services *Champlain* had done them, began to suspect the views of the *French* upon their habitations, and to hate them even worse than they did the *Iroquois*, whom they invited to join them in an attempt to exterminate the *French* settlers in their common country. *Champlain* having undoubted intelligence of their design, dispatched father *Caron* and two other missionaries to keep the *Hurons* firm to their alliance with the *French*; but not trusting to this mission, he built the fort of *Quebec* all of stone, for the better protection of his colony. No sooner was it finished, than his volatile humour, to the amazement of the colonists, led him back to *France*, to which,^b at the same time, he carried his family. He there found *Montmorenci* in a treaty with his nephew, the duke de *Ventadour*, who had taken holy orders, for the viceroyalty of *Canada*; and the bargain between them was quickly concluded. The views the duke had in this purchase were entirely religious, without the least mixture of secular considerations. He sighed for the conversion of the *Indians* to the gospel; and having given up his conscience to the jesuits, he resolved to employ them for that purpose, instead of the recolects, who, in general, were glad to have fellow-labourers in the vintage of conversions. A mission of five jesuits was accordingly appointed, and the duke de *Ventadour* obliged *William de Caen*, who conducted them in person to *Canada*, to promise they should want for nothing. *Charlevoix*, who was himself a jesuit, pretends that he falsified his word, and that the jesuits were no sooner landed at *Quebec*, than he told them, that unless the fathers recolects would provide them in their house with lodgings, they must return to *France*. The same author pretends, that *Caen* put Calvinistical treatises against the jesuits into the hands of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, to prejudice them against that order; but that the good behaviour of those fathers effaced all prejudices against them.^c

Zeal of the
jesuits.

A FEW days after their arrival, as two of the most zealous of them were preparing to set out for the conversion of the *Hurons*, they heard of the death of *Viel*, and a young Christian convert, who had been overset in a boat by those barbarians, seemingly with design, as they seized upon their baggage. The religious disputes that had then prevailed in *France*, was probably the chief reason why, about the year 1626, *Quebec* began to assume the face of a^d city; but as it was under a *Huguenot* direction, the jesuits prevailed with the duke de *Ventadour* to write a sharp letter to *Caen*, whom they represented as being the author of all the difficulties they met with. This divided state of the colony had almost ruined it. The natives massacred the *French* wherever they could securely do it, and religious disputes in the colony came to such a height, that, in 1627, when *Champlain* returned to *Quebec*, he found no advances had been made either in building houses or clearing the ground. The jesuits, some of whom were not only men of interest but quality, made strong complaints on this at the *French* court, throwing all the blame upon *Caen* and his associates, who minded nothing but the fur-trade.

The colony
taken out of
the hands of
the protestants;
and new mo-
delled.

Richelieu was then first and sole minister of *France*, and his character cannot be unknown^e to our readers. He hated the *French* protestants, and resolved entirely to alter the constitution of *Quebec*, by putting that colony and its trade into the hands of a hundred partners, under the following regulations. 1. That the partnership should next year (1628) send over to *New France* 2 or 300 workmen of all kinds; and before the year 1643 engage to augment the *French* inhabitants to the number of 16,000; to lodge, maintain, and find them in all necessaries for three years, and then make an equal distribution amongst them of the lands that should be cleared, according to their respective wants, furnishing each family with seed to sow them. 2. That no colonist, who was not a native *Frenchman*, should be admitted in *New France*; and that all *Huguenots*, as well as strangers,^f should be excluded. 3. That in every district, at least, three priests should be maintained, whom the partnership was to supply with all necessaries both for their persons and missions for 15 years; after which time they were to live upon the cleared lands that were to be assigned them.

Its constitution,

ON the other hand, his most Christian majesty, to indemnify the partnership for those expences, gave up to them in perpetuity the fort and district of *Quebec*, with all the territory of *New France*, comprehending that part of *Florida* which had been settled by his predecessors, with all the course of the *Great River* till it discharges itself into the sea; with all the isles, ports, havens, mines, and fisheries, contained in that vast extent of territory; his majesty reserving to himself only the faith and homage of the inhabitants, with a golden crown of eight marks weight, to be paid to every new king of *France*, together with the provisions for the officers of justice, who were to be named, and presented to him by the associates or partners as soon as it was found requisite to establish a civil government there. The partnership had likewise power to cast cannon, and to make all kind of arms, as well^g

- a as to fortify places. The second article gives the partnership a power of conveying lands in such proportions as his majesty shall think proper, and to annex such titles, honours, rights, and powers to them as he shall prescribe, according to the merits of the persons, but with certain restrictions and conditions; but that the erection of duchies, marquises, earldoms, and baronets, should require the royal letters of confirmation upon the presentation of cardinal *Richlieu*, great master, head and superintendant of the navigation and commerce of *France*. The third article repeals all the former grants of the same nature, and gives the partnership for ever all the fur and peltry trade, and all other trades within the fore-mentioned limits for 15 years, except the fisheries, which his majesty intends should be in common to all his subjects. By the fourth article, the *French* settled in *Canada*, and b not depending upon the partnership, might trade with the natives for furs, provided they disposed of their beavers only to the company's factors, who were obliged to take them at a certain price. The fifth article grants to the company two ships of war, each of 2 or 300 tons, to be victualled by the company, who were to replace them if lost, unless they are destroyed or taken by an enemy. By the sixth article, the company was to repay to his majesty the price of two ships, if, during the first ten years of their contract, they did not carry over 1500 *French*, men and women, to *New France*; and their patent was to be void, if they did not carry over the same number during the last five years. By the seventh and last article, all military officers, and soldiers of whatever kind, sent to *Canada* in those two ships, c the officers and soldiers of their own ships, and his majesty makes them a present of four culverins.

By another ordonnance, his most Christian majesty gave still greater encouragement to the new colonists, viz. all tradesmen and machanics employed by the company, who should chuse to return to *France*, after residing six years in *Canada*, had liberty to practise their several professions in *Paris* or any place in *France*. Merchandises manufactured there, were to pay no imposts upon being imported into *France* for fifteen years; nor was any tax to be laid upon provisions of any kind exported to the new colony. Ecclesiastics, noblemen, and others, associating in the company, might do it without derogation to their rank or honours; and his majesty was to create twelve of the company nobles; and all the natives d of *Canada* were, to all intents and purposes, to be reputed natives of *Old France*. And his majesty reserved to himself the qualification of the above articles, in case the company should meet with any obstruction from war, either civil or foreign.

We have been the more explicit with regard to the above articles, because, except what relates to religion, (and that perhaps was necessary at that time) they undoubtedly contain a most excellent system for forming a colony, and well worthy of imitation. They were signed the 19th of *April* 1627, and the duke *de Ventadour*, at the same time, resigned in- to his majesty's hands the post of viceroy. The company was called that of *New France*, and its numbers soon rose to 107; at the head of whom were the cardinal *Richelieu* him- self, the marshal *Desiat*, superintendant of the finances, and other persons of great dis- e tinction; but the bulk was composed of rich merchants and traders. It happened, how- ever, at this time, that *Charles* the First quarrelled with *France*; and *David Kirk*, whom *English* writers commonly call Sir *David Kirk*, a native of *Dieppe*, and a Calvinist, insti- gated probably by *Caen*, who was piqued at losing his exclusive privilege, received the command of three *English* ships, and came up the river *St. Laurence* as far as *Tadoussac*, where he set on shore some men, who destroyed all the houses, and took the cattle at *Cape Torment*; and he then proceeded to *Quebec*, with orders to summon the governor to deliver up the fort.

THE infant colony at that time was in a miserable situation, being reduced to seven ounces of bread a day for each man, and they had but five pounds of powder in the gar- rison. Notwithstanding this, *Champlain* and *Pontgravé* who happened to be then at *Quebec*, after some consultation, returned for answer to the *English* officer, that they were de- termined to hold out the fort to the last extremity. This bravado, perhaps, would have been ineffectual, had not *Kirk* had intelligence from *Caen* of a squadron having entered the river under *Roquemont*, with provisions and all kind of necessaries for the new colony. This *Roquemont* had been governor and lieutenant-general of *New France*, under his most Christian majesty, and instead of avoiding *Kirk*, he sought and fought him, but was de- feated, and his squadron taken. This misfortune encreased the distresses of the colony, which now had nothing to depend on but the labours of some missionaries, who had return- ed to *France* to solicit their friends for relief. They were so successful as to procure a ship g laden with provisions of all kinds; but it was wrecked before it touched *Quebec*. This disaster reduced the colony to the utmost distress, which was aggravated by the divisions

^a HENNEPIN, in the particulars here related, agrees in the main with CHARLEVOIX, but is more minute.

that prevailed amongst the colonists themselves, and the growing disrespect of the savages for the *French*; the cause of which *Charlevoix* attributes to the *Huguenots* introduced amongst them by *Caen*. In this extremity *Champlain* made war upon the savages out of mere necessity; and the colonists, who consisted but of one hundred people, were obliged to repair to the woods, and there to dig roots for their sustenance. Towards the end of *July* 1629; the *English* under *Kirk* again appeared off point *Levi*, and an officer was sent on shore to *Quebec* to summon it to surrender. *Champlain*, in the situation he then was, looked upon this summons as his deliverance, and the capitulation was soon made between him and *Kirk's* two brothers, the one of whom was to command the squadron, and the other to be governor of *Quebec*. It imported, that the *English* were to furnish a vessel, at the expence of the garrison, to carry it, and all the effects of the colonists that they could transport, to *Old France*, with other very favourable terms for the colony, which were punctually and honourably fulfilled by the *English*; even the jesuits themselves, contrary to their usual custom, extolled the good faith, humanity and politeness of the *English* upon this occasion. In short, their behaviour had so good an effect, that most part of the colony chose to remain with them rather than go to *Old France*.

Hennepin.
Charlevoix.

Taken by the
English under
Kirk.

but restored.

THE capitulation being finished, *Champlain* went on board one of the *English* ships for *Tadoussac*, and it was met, and almost taken, by a *French* ship under the command of *Emery de Caen*; but his crew being composed of *Calvinists*, according to the *French* writers, did not chuse to exert themselves against the *English*. *Charlevoix* pretends that the peace between *England* and *France* was concluded before *Kirk* entered upon his expedition, and he attributes all his success to the intelligence given him by one *Michel*, a *French Calvinist*. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Kirk* was greatly disappointed when he took possession of *Quebec*, where he found nothing but want and misery. Upon *Champlain's* return to *France*, he perceived the public there divided with regard to *Canada*; some thinking that it was not worth the reclaiming, as it had already cost the government vast sums without bringing any return; and that it only served to depopulate the mother-country. But these considerations were over-ballanced by the vast advantages of the fishery, and accordingly proving a nursery for seamen. *Champlain* supported his plan so well, that he carried his point; and not only *Canada*, but *Acadia*, and the isle of *Cape Breton*, were restored to the *French* by the treaty of *St. Germain's* in 1632. *Emery de Caen* carried the treaty to *Lewis Kirk*, who had been left governor of *Canada*, and who resigned his command to *Caen*. By this time, however, the *English* began to have some idea of the profits of the fur-trade; for though, by the treaty of *St. Germain's*, none but the *French* were to exercise it, *Kirk* carried it on for a whole year after the surrender of *Quebec*.

PERHAPS had it not been for a dash of enthusiasm, which *Champlain* had in his composition, he never could have succeeded in supporting this unpromising colony; but no difficulties were unfurmountable by his zeal: and in 1633, the company of *New France* re-entered into all its rights in *Canada*, of which *Champlain* was made governor; and so indefatigably did he act, that in a short time he was at the head of a new armament, furnished with a fresh recruit of jesuits, inhabitants, and all kind of necessaries for the welfare of the revived colony. It is almost incredible that *Champlain's* principal view was neither to advance his own, nor his country's temporal interests in this undertaking, but to convert the savages, by means of the jesuits, who now engrossed the whole of the mission, and whose views, perhaps, extended much farther than those of *Champlain*. They found, however, the task of conversions extremely difficult and discouraging. The natives were far from being so tractable as had been given out. They were invincibly obstinate in their dispositions, and their compliances in point of religion were either fictitious and interested, or so slight that the impressions soon wore off; so that the jesuits found amongst them few or no christians. *Charlevoix* attributes their apostacy to the *English*; who, he says, tyrannized over the inhabitants. But the number of ecclesiastical missionaries, exclusive of lay-brothers, were now fifteen, the chief of whom were *Le Jeune*, *De Noue*, *Masse* and *Brebeuf*. In a short time, they prevailed with the *French* court to banish all protestants out of *Canada*, so that it was entirely planted with good catholics. *Champlain* in 1634 endeavoured to settle a mission in the *Huron* country, but met with many difficulties. An *Algonquin* had killed a *Frenchman*, and *Champlain* had clapped the murderer into prison; the missionaries were then ready to depart for the country of the *Hurons*, but an *Algonquin* chief flatly refused to suffer them to embark in their canoes (the only way by which they could travel) unless his countryman was set at liberty. The reason he gave for his obstinacy in this point, was, that the parents and relations of the criminal expected him, and that they durst carry no *Frenchman* into their country without him. It was in vain for *Champlain* to reason with the chief on this occasion; for though the *Algonquin* chief seemed to be single in his opinion, yet it soon appeared that all the others were in a concert with him, and that he spoke their sense; so that *Champlain* persuaded the missionaries to drop their journey for that

The savages
outwit the je-
suits.

a that time. Thus those savages outwitted even the jesuits themselves. We shall only on this occasion take notice, that the real name of the *Huron* nation was *Tendats*, and that *Hurons* is a word of *French* original, occasioned by the frightful appearance of their hair when first discovered (A).

CHAMPLAIN's zeal seems to have been encreased by the difficulties he encountered. The *Hurons*, though, according to *French* writers, the most tractable and ingenious of all the *American* savages, could not be persuaded to admit a missionary into their country till they obtained their own terms; and even then they appeared so reserved and dogged, that the fathers looked upon themselves as so many sheep in the midst of wolves. We shall not trouble our readers with the encomiums *Charlevoix* bestows upon the first *French* missionaries in the *Huron* country. It is very probable, their difficulties were so great that none but jesuits could have surmounted them. At last they gained footing in a village called *Jouhatiri*, where they made half a dozen converts, and built a chapel which they dedicated to *St. Joseph*, whose name they likewise gave to the village; and they began to gain some footing by their inflexible perseverance. *New France*, all this while, was gaining inhabitants, and the colony was approaching to a degree of consistency. In 1635, *René Rochault*, eldest son of the marquis *de Gamache*, having entered into the society of *Jesuits*, resumed the design he had before formed, but which had been interrupted by the conquest which the *English* had made of *Quebec*, of founding a college there. While this affair was in agitation, the indefatigable *Champlain* died in *December* 1635, at *Quebec*; and, notwithstanding the encomiums the jesuits bestow on his memory, he appears to have been a weak-brained enthusiast, excessively credulous, but very proper for executing what he undertook. Notwithstanding his death, the design of the college still went on, and was of infinite service to the colony. Many of the *French* were now encouraged to embark themselves and their families for *Canada*, and the savages themselves began to lose their reluctance to associate with Christians, as the good fathers, besides giving their children education, kept up good house-keeping in their college, which greatly reconciled the natives to their interest.

Conduct of Champlain.

His death.

In the year 1606 *Monf. de Montmagny* succeeded *Champlain* in the government of *New France*; and *M. de L'Isle* commanded at the new settlement of *Trois Rivières*; both of them being knights of *Malta*, and zealous for the propagation of christianity, or rather jesuitism. *Montmagny* encouraged the *Hurons* to send their children to *Quebec*, where he had projected a seminary for them in the college of the jesuits. But those barbarians, receiving presents, they seemed to be all compliance, but retracted when they had nothing more to expect. Five or six *Indians* agreed to send their sons to the seminary; but after they were put on board the canoes, they pursued and rescued them from the hands of the fathers. The soon found that the colony lay still under great difficulties. *Montmagny* proceeded upon *Champlain's* plan, but nothing was to be done with the savages without rewards. *Montmagny* found his funds deficient in this respect, and every day cooled the ardor of the natives, till at last they came to be almost estranged from the *French*. The *Iroquois*, who were still more intractable than the *Hurons*, or the *Algonquins*, courted their enemies to take part with them against the *French*; but the *Hurons* depending on *French* assistance, gave themselves very little trouble, till the *Iroquois* surprized and massacred many of them. Whatever endowments the *French* may be possessed of as a people, they certainly acted most impolitically on this occasion; and their public was the dupe of the *European* jesuits, who thought to extend their power and influence at the expence of the company.

Succeeded by Montmagny.

Account of the jesuit missions.

For this purpose they sent to *Canada* the most resolute enthusiasts they could pitch upon, who underwent incredible fatigues in their mission, and often employed even force in converting and baptizing the savages. It happened that *Old France* itself was at this time, viz. in 1637, not a little infected with the same spirit of enthusiasm that actuated the missionaries. The flame was kept up by those fathers, who from the wilds of *Canada* wrote over to *France* in the most affecting and pathetic terms, accounts of the difficulties, the dangers, and the unspeakable fatigues they daily underwent. The *Iroquois*, notwithstanding all that *Montmagny* could do to blind them, were sensible of the real weakness of the colony, and even insulted the governor of *Trois Rivières*; so that the affairs of *New France* were in immediate danger of being ruined, when the *European* jesuits, who had the possession of the consciences of the *French* court and ministry, blew the flames of religion with such efficacy, as engaged the queen herself and the princesses of the blood in the support of the colony. In the beginning of the year 1628 a contagious distemper broke out in one of the *Huron* villages, and in a short time communicated itself to the

(A) It seems when the *French* first saw them, they called out *Quelles Hures!* what bristly heads are here!

Improvements
of Quebec.

Account of ma-
dam de Peltrie.

A new settle-
ment at Que-
bec.

Account of the
death of a
captive.

whole nation. The savages, who never reason but from appearances, till this happened, a had attributed all the calamities they met with to the incantations and witchcraft of the christians amongst them; but they were now undeceived. Those barbarians are as ignorant in treating inward maladies, as they are excellent in curing external wounds; and the jesuits administered such effectual remedies as stopt the progress of the distemper, and greatly reconciled them to their company. The accounts of this animated the court of France; so that a scheme was formed of establishing a nunnery at *Quebec*, to which the ursulins and the hospitallers offered their persons and their services with the most lively zeal. The commander of *Sylleri* was indefatigable in seconding the views of the jesuits, for erecting a settlement composed only of christians and profelytes, to be a bulwark for the colony against the insults of the *Iroquois*, and to promote the cultivation of lands. With b this view he sent workmen to *Quebec*, and requested father *Le Jeune* to pitch upon a proper spot for their settlement. The father chose one on the north-side of the river *St. Lawrence*, into which twelve christian families entered, whose numbers soon encreased, and the place at this time retains the name of the founder. A school for female children, and an hospital for the sick, were still wanting. The hospital was equally to serve the colonists as the natives, both being as yet very indigent; and the school was to be under the direction of *French* ursulins, who were to educate in it not only *French*, but savage, girls. The duchess of *Aiguillon* undertook the foundation of the hospital, and by her persuasion the religious hospitallers of *Dieppe*, all of them females, offered to sacrifice all they had to the service of sick *Canadians*. It was therefore thought proper to make choice c of no more than three, who accordingly departed for the colony. The ursulin foundation encountered new difficulties. It is possible that the company of *New France* by this time began to think that the good jesuits were engrossing too much power to themselves; and it must be confessed that the colony at that juncture wore the face rather of a religious seminary than a national undertaking. For that reason they had given no attention to the ursulin foundation. Nothing, however, could resist the ridiculous spirit of devotion that then obtained in *France*. A young widow of *Alençon*, *Madam de la Peltrie*, devoted her person and fortune to this establishment; and came to *Paris* to regulate her proceeding, and removed from thence to *Tours*. There she found two ursulins fit for her ends, viz. d the illustrious *Mary of the Incarnation*, to speak in the terms of *Charlevoix*, who has written her life, and *Mary de St. Joseph*. From *Tours* this widow removed to *Dieppe*, where she found a third ursulin proper for her purpose. Nothing can exceed the absurdity of the miracles said to be worked by those holy sisters, who have been always looked upon by the *Canadians* as their tutelar angels. They embarked on the 4th of *May* 1639, along with *Madam de la Peltrie* and father *Vimond*, who had been appointed to succeed father *Le Jeune*, as superior of the jesuit mission in *Canada*; and after a hazardous voyage they landed at *Quebec* on the first of *August*. This new kind of mission makes a great figure in the annals of *Canada*. The governor received the ladies on their debarkment at the head of his troops, who were drawn up under arms. They entered *Quebec* under a general discharge of the cannon, and proceeded in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, e to the church, where *Te Deum* was solemnly sung for their arrival. This was a period of triumph to the jesuits. They held forth not only to the savages, but to the colony, the infinite merits of those ladies, who could exchange ease and affluence in *Europe*, for fatigue and indigence in *America*; and the behaviour of the ladies themselves confirmed all they said in their praise. Far from being shocked at the indigence, poverty, and squalid appearance of the *Indian* huts, they seemed to rejoice at their having an opportunity to manifest their zeal by their intense labours for propagating christianity. The enthusiasm of *madam de la Peltrie* went to extravagance. She not only stripped herself, that she might cloath the naked savages, but worked with her own hands in cultivating the ground for their subsistence. The ursulins and the hospitallers strove to out-do one another in f their zeal; and the former settled at *Quebec*, as the latter did at *Sylleri*, where the hospital was daily crouded with patients. According to *Charlevoix*, the labours of those good sisters, as well as the charities of the inhabitants of *Quebec*, were inconceivable; but the company failed on their part, and gave them little or no assistance. About the year 1640 the war broke out afresh between the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons*; and here we shall, once for all, exhibit a scene that may give the reader some idea of the manners of those infernal barbarians.

ONE day the *Hurons* having the advantage in a skirmish, made an *Iroquois* chief captive, and he was brought to one of the *Huron* villages, where the fathers were assembled. No sooner was he arrived, than it was decreed in an assembly of the antient savages, that he g should be presented to one of their old chiefs, to replace his nephew, who had been killed in war, or to be disposed of as he should think proper. *Brebeuf*, one of the jesuits, immediately resolved to convert him to christianity. The captive was cloathed in a new beaver

a beaver habit, with a curious necklace, and his temples were circled with a kind of diadem. He was surrounded by a troop of triumphant warriors, and seemed to be quite unconcerned at his fate. When *Brebeuf* approached him, he perceived, that, before his fate was determined, he had been tortured. One of his hands had been crushed between two flints, and had lost a finger. His other hand had lost two, which had been cut off by a hatchet. The joints of his arms had been burnt, and a great gash appeared upon one of them. All this had been inflicted upon the poor wretch, before he entered the *Huron* village; for he no sooner arrived there, than he was treated with the greatest endearments, and a young woman was assigned him for his wife. Such was this barbarian's situation when he was converted by *Brebeuf*; and he is esteemed to be the first adult convert, that ever was made of the *Iroquois* nation; being baptized by the name of *Joseph*.

b ALL this while the captive was loaded with caresses, and *Brebeuf* was suffered to take him to his tent every night; but his sores now became putrid and full of worms. To increase his misery, he was carried in triumph from village to village, and wherever he came he was obliged to sing, so that sometimes his voice entirely failed him, nor had he the least respite, but when he was alone with *Brebeuf*, or some of the missionaries. At last, he was conveyed to the village where the chief lived, who was to be the disposer of his fate. The captive presented himself with an air perfectly unconcerned to his supposed uncle, who, after surveying him, talked to him in the following strain. "Nephew, said c he, you cannot imagine the joy I conceived, when I understood that you was to supply the place of him whom I have lost; I had already prepared a mat for thee in my cabin, and it was with the utmost satisfaction, that I resolved to pass the rest of my days with thee in peace; but the condition I see thee in, forces me to alter my resolution. It is plain that the pains and tortures you suffer, must render your life insupportable to yourself, and you must think that I do you service in abridging its course. They who have mangled you in this manner, have caused your death. Take courage, therefore, my dear nephew, prepare yourself this evening to shew that you are a man, and that you are superior to the force of torments." The captive heard this discourse with the greatest indifference, and only answered with a resolute voice, that it was very well. The sister of the deceased then d served him with victuals, and caressed him in the most affectionate manner, while the old chieftain put his own pipe into his mouth, and wiped the sweat from his brows, with the most tender demonstrations of paternal love. Towards noon the captive, at the expence of his supposed uncle, made his farewell feast, and while the inhabitants of the village were all assembled around him, he harangued them as follows: "Brethren, I am about to die, divert yourselves boldly around me; be convinced that I am a man, and that I neither fear death, nor all the torments you can inflict." He then began a song, in which he was joined by the warriors who were present. He was then presented with victuals, and when the feast was ended, he was carried to the place of execution, which is e called the cabin of blood (or heads cut off) and always belongs to the head of the village. About eight o'clock in the evening, all the savages of the village being assembled, the young men, who were to be executioners of the tragedy, forming the first row round the prisoner, were exhorted by one of their infernal elders to behave well, meaning thereby to put him to the most excruciating tortures. The prisoner was then seated on a mat, where his hands were tied, and then rising, he danced round the cabin, singing his death-song all the time, and then replaced himself upon the mat. One of the elders then took f from him his robe, which he said was destined for such a chief (naming him) that such a village was to cut off his head, which, with an arm, was to be given to such another village, to feast upon it. According to *Charlevoix*, whose brethren the jesuits are all of them heroes, temporal as well as spiritual, father *Brebeuf* encouraged the victim to suffer with the sentiments of christianity, which he did, with a most amazing firmness, without dropping the least reproachable word. He even talked of the affairs of his nation, with as much indifference, as if he had been at home with his family. Eleven fires had been lighted to torment him; and the elders said it was of consequence, that he should be alive at sun-rising, for which reason his tortures were prolonged to that time, when the barbarians, fearing that he should expire without iron (another of their barbarous superstitions) carried him out of the village, and cut off one of his feet, a hand, and his head, which were disposed of as proposed, while his body was thrown into a cauldron.

His resolution.

g THIS horrible story makes it doubtful, whether cruelty, stupidity, caprice, and dissimulation, do not equally form the composition of those savages. It is certain the missionaries, whose way of life *Charlevoix* describes as minutely as pathetically, underwent astonishing labours, as well as the most imminent dangers, from those barbarians. The least whim that struck them of their having lost a relation, because he had been baptized, or a friend, who was under the care of the fathers, brought them into peril of their lives; and even

Character of the savages.

even their *Huron* friends, who waited upon them as guards, beheld their dangers with the utmost indifference, without offering to interpose in their favour, and nothing but covering the dead could save them, that is, their making a present of furs by way of expiation. *Charlevoix* gives us a remarkable instance of this kind, that happened to father *Lallemant*, who, while he was under the protection of a *Huron* guard, narrowly escaped being strangled by an *Algonquin* savage in his tent.

TroisRivieres
prosper.

By this time, the settlement of *Trois Rivières* began to be greatly resorted to, not only by the *Algonquins*, but by the most distant northerly nations, particularly the *Attikamegues*, who live in the neighbourhood of the lake *St. Thomas*, whom the fathers who frequented that settlement found to be a very tractable race. Another mission was formed at *Tadoussac*, the most frequented station in all *Canada* by the savages, particularly the *Papinachies*, the *Bersiamites*, the *Mountaineers*, and the *Porcupines*. Sometimes all those nations met together at *Tadoussac*; but as soon as their traffic was over, they returned to their wilds and forests, to which they were often followed by the missionaries, who even attended them in their winter huntings, which presented the most dreadful and uncomfortable scenes, the most frightful delarts generally supplied the greatest plenty of game. Some of the savages however resided all winter in the neighbourhood of *Tadoussac*, and were there converted. Another mission was established at the island of *Miscou* in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, to which the *Indians* resorted for the benefit of fishing. The civil distractions of *France*, at last, prevented any great national assistance being afforded to those promising settlements. The *Canadian* company neglected their interests so much, that they suffered both the fur and fish trade to be ingrossed by individuals, and no pains was taken to give the colony a consistency.

The Iroquois
overawed.

THE presence of the *French*, however, in *Canada*, overawed the five *Iroquois Cantons*, who continued still the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hurons* and the *Algonquins*; and the war amongst them was still carried on with great fury, but began to turn in favour of the *Hurons*. It appears, that notwithstanding their docility to be instructed in the christian religion, the missionaries never could prevail with them to abolish the practice of putting their prisoners to death. All they could do, was, to convert and baptize them before they suffered; and, like the antient *Druids*, they often rushed into the heat of the battle, between the arms of contending nations, where they baptized the wounded, and the dying, or administered to them other spiritual assistance. The *Iroquois* having received a smart defeat, were cunning enough to lay a plan for disuniting the *French* from their savage allies, by exciting in the latter a suspicion of their fidelity. With this view in all their excursions they treated the *French* who fell into their hands with great humanity, but the natives with their usual cruelties. A body of them gathered about *Trois Rivières*, which, for some time, they had in a manner besieged. *M. Champflours* had lately succeeded *M. de L'Isle* in the government of that settlement, and when he least expected it, they sent one of their *French* captives to propose a peace with him, provided the *Hurons* and *Algonquins* were not comprehended in it. *Champflours* was in no condition to carry on the war; but the prisoner cautioning him against the insincerity of the *Iroquois*, he sent an account of what was passing to *Montmagny* at *Quebec*, who immediately came up to *Trois Rivières*, and from thence sent two deputies to demand from the *Iroquois*, that their *French* prisoners should be set at liberty. The deputies were received with great civility, and in quality of mediators seated on a buckler. After this, the *French* captives were brought forth slightly tied, and then one of the *Iroquois* chiefs began a formal harangue, expressing the great desire he and his nation had to live in friendship with the *French*. In the midst of his speech he unbound the captives, and throwing the cords over the pallisades into the river, he wished that the stream might carry them away, never to be heard of more. He then presented the two deputies with a belt of wampum as a pledge of their liberty, restored to the children of *Onontio*, or the great mountain, for so they called *Montmagny*; but when they spoke of the *French* king, they called him the grand *Onontio*. He then placed two bundles of beaver skins before the captives, to serve them for robes, it being, as he said, unjust to send them away naked; and renewed the assurances he had already given them of peace, begging in the name of his nation, that *Onontio* would conceal under his cloaths the hatchets of the *Algonquins* and the *Hurons*, during the negotiation, protesting that they themselves would commit no hostility.

Their dissimulation.

The colony
supported.

WHILE the barbarian was yet speaking, two *Algonquin* canoes came in sight, and were immediately chased by the *Iroquois*. The *Algonquins* being overpowered, swam on shore, and their canoes were plundered in sight of the *French* general, who was preparing to punish their treachery, but they instantly vanished, and soon after plundered a number of *Huron* canoes going to *Quebec*, laden with furs. But in fact, notwithstanding the accusations brought by *Charlevoix* against the *Iroquois* on this occasion, it perhaps is no easy matter to fix upon them the charge of treachery for what happened, as the treaty was not concluded, and

a and it was natural for the *Iroquois*, upon the appearance of their professed enemies, to suspect the intentions of the *French*. Be this as it will, the *Iroquois* changed their language after this accident; but the affairs of the colony continued still to be so much neglected by the company, that it was on the point of being ruined, when a spirit for the conversion of the *Indians* again broke forth amongst the great in *France*, and 35 persons of quality associated themselves together to settle *Montreal*.

THE first missionaries were sensible of the expediency of such a settlement; but the company had taken no care to have it executed. The new associates proceeded upon a rational plan; they resolved to begin by erecting upon that island a *French* fortification, strong enough to resist all the assaults of the savages; that the poor *French* inhabitants received into it, should be put into a way to earn their own bread, and that the rest of the island should be settled by savages, without respect to their tribes, provided they were christians, or willing to become such. It was likewise proposed not only to assure them of protection, against all their enemies in this new settlement, but to provide them with medicines and subsistence, till they could be so far civilized as to get their livelihood by their own labour. To carry this plan into execution, the *French* king, in 1640, vested the property of the island in the 35 associates, and next year one of them, *Maisonneuve*, a gentleman of *Champaigne*, carried thither several *French* families, together with a young lady of condition, *Mademoiselle Manse*, who was proposed to have the superintendency of the female colonists; *Maisonneuve* being declared governor of the island, on the 15th of *October* following. It was not before the 17th of *May* next year, that the *French* entered into possession of their new habitation and chapel of this island, which they did, with a superabundance of religious exercises, which we shall forbear to transcribe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the precaution taken by the *French* settlement at *Montreal*, the *Iroquois* still continued to make dreadful irruptions into *French Canada*; into which they generally penetrated, by a river called after their own name, but afterwards by those of *Richelieu* and *Sorel*. At the entrance of this river, *Montmagny*, who suspected that the *Iroquois* were instigated and supplied by the *Dutch* settled in *New Holland*, now *New York*, began to erect a fort, and completed it, though the workmen were interrupted by 700 of the *Iroquois*, who attacked them, but were repulsed with loss. This fort went by the name of *Richelieu*, and was finished with a good garrison, and a remarkable spirit of conversion to christianity now generally prevailed among the *Hurons*. Amongst other converts was *Ahasistari*, who was baptized by the name of *Eustace*. He was a *Huron* chief, of so distinguished power and authority, that his example brought an incredible number of his countrymen into the pale of christianity, whose conversions were looked upon by the missionaries as miracles. *Eustace* on this occasion served in the double capacity of missionary and champion, and persuaded his countrymen by his own example into a belief that baptism rendered them invulnerable; thereby deluding them into security, that soon after proved their ruin. After his baptism, he raised a great body of *Indian* warriors, all of them christians. About this time the jesuits received an invitation from a remote nation of *Indians*, that go by the inexplicable name of *Pauoirigoudieubak*. Those savages inhabit a country near the falls of *St. Mary*, on the canal by which the *Lake Superior* discharges itself into that of *Huron*, and may be considered as lying in the very heart of *French Canada*. The jesuit fathers *Isaac Jogues* and *Charles Raimbaut* undertook this dangerous mission to the country of the *Saulteurs*, as that nation is called by the *French*, where they were entire strangers. Following the *Saulteur* deputies, they arrived at their nation, where they were affectionately received; but before they could make any considerable progress, they were recalled to *Quebec*. By this time, the *Iroquois* had entered into a considerable commerce with the *Dutch* at *New Holland*, to whom they disposed of their peltry, and who furnished them with fire-arms, by which means they obtained a decisive superiority over the *Hurons*. Upon their recall from their mission on the 13th of *June* 1642, the two jesuits reached *Quebec*, where they had indispensable business, and on the first of *August* they set out under a convoy of 13 armed canoes, manned with christians, and converts, under the command of captain *Eustace*, and other celebrated warriors, whom mistaken christianity had now degenerated into miserable bigots; for instead of making preparations to resist an attack, nothing passed among them but mutual exhortations to suffer bravely in the cause of *Christ*. About 13 or 16 leagues from *Quebec*, they perceived the footsteps of the *Iroquois*, but were so secure in their imagined superiority, that they proceeded up the river without the least precaution, till they came to a pass where 70 *Iroquois* lay in ambush, and where they were saluted with a brisk regular fire, which wounded many of the christians, and pierced their canoes. Some of them upon this fled; but the bravest amongst them, encouraged by two or three *Frenchmen* who had accompanied father *Jogues*, made a resistance, till their canoes were full of water, and then, all of them, but a very few, who escaped in the confusion, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners.

Irruptions of the *Iroquois*.

History of a *Huron* christian,

and of father *Jogues*.

Jogues might have escaped likewise, and his companions even pressed him to it; but his a
frantic zeal for the crown of martyrdom detained him, and he resolved to run the fate of
his dear children, as he called the prisoners. He even, amidst the carnage and confu-
sion, baptized a *Catechumen* with all the composure imaginable, and then with another
Frenchman, *Couture*, who was resolved to run his fate, surrendered himself prisoner to the
barbarians. *Charlevoix* has been at great pains to recount all the particulars of the mise-
ries this jesuit and his fellow-prisoners underwent. If any thing could make us doubt of
the truth of his account, it is the improbability of human nature being able to support,
for so long a time, the dreadful torments they endured from the barbarians, the particu-
lars of which are not very instructive. Captain *Eustace* suffered at the stake; but father
Jogues was still disappointed of his crown of martyrdom, for though the barbarians had b
crushed his hands, cut off his fingers, and filled his face and whole body with wounds
and sores, that had become putrid, yet he survived all his sufferings, and continued inde-
fatigably in his profession of making proselytes, in which, according to his own account,
he was very successful. The whole of his adventures are, after himself, described by *Char-
levoix* in a style of holy romance. He now passed his time chiefly amongst the *Agniers*, who,
notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the governor of *Canada*, refused to part with him;
after a variety of adventures, some of which are not very probable, he escaped to *New
York*, and from thence to *France*.

The war con-
tinues.

THE *Iroquois*, all this while, were carrying on war with the most unrelenting fury
against the *Huron* tribes, whom they bade fair to exterminate, by cutting off, and burn- c
ing whole villages at once; but it is observable, that the jesuit fathers make those ca-
lamities fall chiefly upon the unconverted *Hurons*, as so many judgments of God for
their hardness of heart; though they cannot deny, that great numbers, even of the
converts, fell by the hands of the *Iroquois*. As we do not think the nature of this
work intitles us to enter into a detail of all the actions of those fanatics, we shall now
return to the civil history, though it is impossible to separate it entirely from the re-
ligious.

State of
Montreal.

IN the year 1644 the colony of *Montreal* had gained a great number of *Indian* profe-
lytes. The *Algonquins*, who were seated on an island formed by the *Outawois*, had the
greatest commerce with our new colonists; but they were headed by a chief who had an d
invincible aversion to the christian religion, though he pretended to be a great friend
to the *French* nation. He was rather more fierce on this head than the *Iroquois* themselves.
This barbarian had a nephew who settled at *Montreal*, together with his wife; and there,
by the persuasion of two jesuits, *Vimond* and *Poncet*, they embraced christianity, but were
grieved to think that their uncle should still continue in a state of obstinate infidelity.
After several discourses held between this proselyte and his ghostly fathers, upon the
means of converting the uncle, who had been for some time gone upon an expedition,
the latter appeared in his nephew's cabin, and pretended, that as he was traversing the
wilds of the country, he was seized with an irresistible impulse to become a christian,
that he could have no peace in his mind till he should repair to *Montreal* for baptism, e
together with his wife, who was impressed with the same sentiments. *Maisonneuve* and
the jesuits did not fail to encourage the chief and his wife in those pious dispositions;
and both of them were baptized with great pomp and ceremony. Though nothing is
more common with those barbarians, when they have the purposes either of interest or re-
venge to serve, than dissimulation; yet the good missionaries have exalted the conversions
of this chief and his wife into a miracle. The effects were suitable, and in a short space
of time most of the *Algonquin* nation became christians. Missionaries now sprung up
amongst the savages themselves, and spread not only through the missions of *Tadoussac* and
Trois Rivières, but extended to the most remote nations, but with a most profound sub-
mission to the jesuits. The *Iroquois*, however, still not only disdained all proposals for f
their conversion, but carried fire and sword to the very gates of *Quebec*, so that the settlers
at *Sillery* were in danger of being starved, as they durst not venture abroad, for fear of
being cut off by the *Iroquois*, either to hunt or cultivate their lands; but the truth is, con-
viction was not so often, as indolence was, the motive of those conversions. Enthusiasm
or vanity, or both, had taken possession of the *French Canadians*, and it was fed from *Eu-
rope*. The *Indians*, who love idleness beyond any thing in life, were supported by the cha-
rity of the *French* colonists, till they became so numerous, that they could support them
no longer.

Charges a-
gainst the je-
suits.

ABOUT this time, the enemies of the jesuits, both in *Canada* and *Europe*, gave out that
all their labours tended only to establish themselves in the fur-trade, which, in fact, was g
now ingrossed by the company of a hundred, or *Canadian* company. Though nothing
could be more unjust than this charge was against the *American* missionaries, yet we know
not how far it might be truth with regard to their *European* brethren, who certainly at
that

a that time had vast influence on the affairs of *Europe*, and were far from being either of a disinterested or enthusiastic turn; nor is it at all incredible, that they had part of the company's profits. The latter thought themselves at least obliged to contradict those reports, which they did in an authentic declaration under their hands and seals. But indeed no worldly consideration could make amends for the miseries which those missionaries amongst the *Hurons* endured. During the wandering painful life they led for three years, having received no supply of cloaths, they were almost naked. For want of communion elements, they could not administer the sacrament; and when their wine had failed them, they have been obliged to squeeze the wild grapes they found in the woods. At last, some *Hurons* ventured to go in winter-time upon the ice to *Quebec*, where they laid before the governor the distresses of the mission, and a supply of provisions was ordered for their relief. The dangers of the journey, however, were so dreadful, that even the most zealous declined it, till *Bressani*, a *Roman* jesuit, undertook it. He embarked towards the end of *April* 1644, attended by a young *Frenchman*, and six *Hurons*, two of whom had been saved out of the hands of the *Iroquois*; but when they came to the entrance of *St. Peter's* lake, their canoe was wrecked; and a thick snow happening the night after, several of the convoy were so imprudent as to fire upon some savages, which discovered them to the *Iroquois*, who instantly seized the booty, eat one of the prisoners, and forced the rest to travel night and day, sometimes swimming, and sometimes on foot, loading them all the way with severe bastinadoes; but they split the missionaries left hand between two stones, and, after coming to the first village of the canton of *Agnier*, his tortures were redoubled, so that he fell down lifeless and motionless; and to recover him, they cut off his left thumb and two fingers of his right hand. The tortures, manglings, and burnings, he afterwards underwent after this, are incredible; so that his body became one continued sore, crawling with worms and maggots, and emitted so noisome a smell, that none durst approach him. He understood at last from the elders of the barbarians, that they were resolved not to put him to death; a favour which the good father and his historian *Charlevoix* attribute to the fervor of his devotions. He was then consigned to a matron, who treated him with great humanity; but the stench issuing from his sores remained so offensive, that she sent him to the next *Dutch* settlement to be sold. d Fortunately for him, he found a *Dutchman* who bought him, and after ordering his wounds to be carefully inspected, they were cured, and the father was put on board a ship that landed him at *Rochelle* towards the end of *November*. Though we have given this history, and that of *Jogues*, from *Charlevoix*, the only authority that contains it; and though, without all doubt, those barbarians are possessed with an unbounded spirit of cruelty, and love of tormenting their fellow-creatures; yet we cannot believe all the particulars that have been published by this jesuit and his brethren, who probably thought it their duty to enhance the torments of the missionaries, for the benefit of their order in *Europe*. We may, however, observe, that the cruelty of those barbarians was of a peculiar cast, for they scarcely thought it worth their while to take the life of any man who seemed susceptible of pain, which might be the reason of *Bressani's* being consigned to the matron.

The colony distressed.

History of father Bressani.

The more conversions, as we have already hinted, that the missionaries made amongst the *Hurons* and *Algonquins*, the *French* colony in *Canada* became the weaker. The *Iroquois*, to courage and barbarity, added craft and policy. They amused *Montmagny* with proposals of peace, which he earnestly wished for; but they had no other design than to have an opportunity of learning the situation of the colony, which they found to be so weak, that they publicly vaunted they would soon oblige the *French* to repass the sea. In short, *Montmagny* was reduced to the most despicable shifts, and obliged, instead of humbling, to truckle to, the barbarians, to gain a little respite to himself and his colony. About this time, *Champflours*, governor of *Trois Rivières*, informed *Montmagny* that some *Hurons* f had arrived at *Trois Rivières*, with three *Iroquois* prisoners, one of whom they had given to the *Algonquins*, who had been with a good deal of difficulty prevailed upon not to put him to death, till he could hear from *Montmagny*. Upon this the latter immediately went up to *Trois Rivières* with some presents, and summoning together the heads of the *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, he displayed his presents before their eyes; and then informed them, that, in order to prevent any impositions from their common enemies the *Iroquois*, he only wanted liberty to send one of the prisoners to the cantons of the *Iroquois*, to inform them, that if they meant to save the lives of the other two prisoners, they must immediately send deputies, with full power to treat of an accommodation. His speech being finished, an *Algonquin* chief arose, and presenting his prisoner to *Montmagny*, he told him, g that he could refuse nothing to his father; and that if his presents were accepted of, it was only in order to dry up the tears of a family where that captive was to replace one of its dead; but that though he wished for a peace, he was afraid it would be a very difficult

Management of the colony.

Difficulties of
Montmagny.

difficult matter to effect it. *Montmagny* then turned to the *Hurons* to know their sentiments, and one of them told him with a resolute air, that he was a warrior, and not a merchant; that he had not left his home to trade, but to fight; that if the governor had so great a desire for prisoners, he might take them; that he knew where to make more captives, or to die; in which last case he would have the consolation of dying as a man, but that his nation would say, that *Onontbio* was the cause of his death. *Montmagny* appeared a good deal disconcerted at this speech; when another *Huron*, who it seems was a christian, addressed him, and gave him reasons why the elders of his nation, of whom none were then present, must take it highly amiss, if they, who were all of them young men, should return with merchandizes instead of prisoners. He observed, that the *Algonquins*, who were present, were elders, and had authority for the offer they had made; and that he did not doubt that *Onontbio*'s proposal of peace would be accepted of by the *Huron* elders, as soon as they were acquainted with it; but that the *Hurons* present could not anticipate their elders in the pleasure of their giving their father *Onontbio* a proof of their submission to his will. Another reason, continued he, that will justify our retaining our prisoners, is, that we know the river is covered with our enemies. If we meet them, and they should prove stronger than us, your presents will only serve to incommode us, and to animate them to the combat, that they may enjoy our spoils. But if they shall see amongst us some of their brethren, who shall bear testimony that we are for peace, that *Onontbio* wants to be father of all the nations, and that bearing to all an equal affection, he cannot longer behold them cutting one another's throats; their arms will then drop out of their hands, our prisoners will save our lives, and they will be much more forward to second the negotiations of peace, than if we should be too forward in granting them their liberty. The savages reasoning was unanswerable. *Montmagny* agreed to it, telling the assembly at the same time, that it was more their interest, than that of the *French*, to make peace. The *Hurons* then departed with their prisoner; and on their arrival, a general council of their nation being called, they resolved that the two prisoners should be given up to *Montmagny*, who had, by this time, sent home the captive, presented to him by the *Algonquins*. The *Iroquois*, to manifest their desire of peace at the same time, sent *Couture*, who had still remained a prisoner with them after he had been taken along with father *Jogues*, and the captive who had been taken by the *Hurons*, and five deputies, with full power to the *Hurons* for concluding a treaty. As soon as those deputies arrived at *Trois Rivières*, *Montmagny* gave them audience in the square of the castle, which was covered over-head with canvas; he himself being seated in an elbow chair, and attended by *Champflours*, father *Vimond*, and the principal inhabitants of the colony; while the *Iroquois* deputies, to shew their respect to father *Onontbio*, as they called *Montmagny*, were seated at his feet upon a mat. The *Algonquins*, and other nations of their language, ranged themselves opposite to *Montmagny*, but the *Hurons* were mixed with the *French*.

A negotiation,

and treaty.

THE reader is here to observe, that the practice of eloquence amongst those barbarians resembled that of the *Romans*, who heightened their speeches by the powers of action, and in all their pleadings had a void space left for enforcing their oratory, by walking, stopping, and other gesticulations of their limbs and bodies; and this void always was before the tribunal of the judge; such a space being left before *Montmagny*'s chair of state. The *Iroquois* had brought along with them 17 belts of wampum, and had run a string between two poles from one end to the other of the void space, on which they were severally to hang the belts (A). All the ceremonies of the conference being then adjusted, the speaker of the *Iroquois* cantons arose, and presenting *Montmagny* with one of the belts of wampum, accompanied it with the following speech: " *Onontbio*, lend an ear to my voice, all the *Iroquois* speak by my mouth, my heart harbours no bad sentiments, and all my intentions are upright. We want to forget our songs of war, and to exchange them for songs of joy." He then began to sing, and the other deputies kept time with him with a He! he! which they seemed to force from the very bottom of their breasts; and while they sung, the orator agitated himself, by walking about as fast as he could, and throwing himself into a thousand ridiculous attitudes. All this time he frequently looked at the sun, stroked his arms, as if he had been about to wrestle; but at last he resumed a more composed air, and went on as follows:

Speeches of the
barbarians.

" The belt, my father, which I here present thee, thanks thee for having rescued him from the tooth of the *Algonquin*; but how couldst thou let him return home by himself? Had his canoe been overset, who was to assist him to bring it to rights? Had he been drowned, or had he perished by any other accident, thou wouldst have heard no word of

(A) Wampum is a kind of bead, composed of shells, and strung in rows, so as to form the belt. Every belt is considered as a new subject, on which the orator is to display his eloquence.

a peace, and perhaps have imputed to us the fault committed by thyself." When the orator had finished this speech, he hung the belt upon the cord; then taking another, he fixed it to *Couture's* arm, and again, turning to *Montmagny*, addressed him as follows: "My father, this belt brings thee back thy subject; but I was far from saying to him, Nephew, take a canoe, and return home; never could I have been easy till I had certainly heard of his safe arrival. My brother, whom thou hast sent us back, suffered a great deal, and underwent many perils. He was obliged alone to carry his own bundle; to swim all day, to drag his canoe against the falls, and to be always on his guard against surprise." The orator accompanied this speech with the most expressive action, which represented a man sometimes pushing forward a canoe with a pole, sometimes paddling with an oar; sometimes he seemed to be out of breath, and then resuming his spirits, he appeared more calm. He then seemed as if he had hurt his foot against a stone in carrying his bundle; and halting along as if he had been wounded, he thus continued his discourse. "Hadst thou but assisted him in surmounting the most difficult parts of his journey—Really, my father, I know not what became of thy understanding when thou didst send us back in this manner one of thy children, without an attendant and without assistance. I did not serve *Couture* so. I said to him, Come along, my nephew, follow me, I will restore thee to thy own family at the peril of my own life."

The other belts were disposed of in the same manner as the two preceding; and each of them had a particular allusion to the terms of the peace in agitation, and was explained by the orator in a very picturesque manner. One of them levelled the roads, another smoothed the river, a third furnished the contracting parties with the means of visiting one another without distrust or danger. One was emblematical of the feasts that were to pass amongst them; others of the alliance to be concluded; of their intentions to restore the fathers, *Jogues* and *Bressani*; others, of their impatience to see them return; the cordial reception they would meet with, and their thanks for the late deliverance of the three *Iroquois* captives. When the delivery of a belt was not accompanied with a speech, it was with gesticulations and motions, sufficiently expressive of the meaning of the orator, who continued this fascinating scene for the amazing space of three hours, without appearing to be heated; for he afterwards led up a dance, and joined in the singing and feasting, which concluded the conference.

It is the custom of those savages, that they neither give nor receive an answer the same day that a public proposition is made. Two days after, *Montmagny* returned his in a meeting, which was as numerous as the former, and where he made as many presents as he had received belts of wampum. *Couture* on this occasion served as interpreter, and performed his office in a grave solemn manner, suitable to the dignity of the personage for whom he interpreted. When he had finished his speech, *Pieskaret*, who was esteemed one of the bravest men that ever *Canada* produced, made his present; "Behold, said he, a stone which I place on the tomb of those who die in war, that none may dare to remove their bones, or think of revenging their death." *Negabamat*, the chief of the mountain *Iroquois* deputies, then made a present of an elk's skin, saying, that "it was to make shoes for the nations present, probably having with them neither chief nor interpreters, made no speeches. When the conferences were over, three cannons were fired, as the governor ordered the savages to be told, to carry every where the news of the peace. The savages were then feasted by the superior of the jesuits, and his good cheer rendered them extremely eloquent, and drew from them many professions of friendship. Next day, the deputies returned home, attended by two *Frenchmen*, two *Hurons*, and two *Algonquins*, for whom three *Iroquois* remained hostages. The treaty was ratified by all the cantons, especially that of *Agnier*, the only one that had been in open war with *France*. Mean while, the fanatical *Bressani* returned to *Canada*, and understanding from the report of the two *Frenchmen*, and four savages who had attended the *Iroquois* deputies, that that people was desirous of having missionaries amongst them, he absurdly offered himself, and even made interest for the mission. Next winter, the *Iroquois*, the *Hurons*, and the *Algonquins*, went a hunting all together, as if they had been but one nation; a circumstance which had not happened since the arrival of the *French* in *Canada*; but just as the latter were beginning to taste the sweets of peace, the *Sokakis*, who were enemies to the *Algonquins*, and had done all they could to hinder the *Iroquois* from concluding the treaty, murdered several of the christian savages after they had settled at *Sylleri*. The *Agniers*, to exculpate themselves, again ratified the treaty by new deputies, who hinted to *Montmagny*, that he ought to be upon his guard against all the savages who were not expressly included in the treaty, and that he had it in his power to bring them in by procuring the release of some of their prisoners who had been taken by the allies of the *French*; but we know not the reasons why this counsel never was followed.

Their customs.

The treaty ratified.

Return of
Jogues and
Bressani.

FATHER *Jogues*, as well as *Bressani*, was now returned to *Canada*, and being, if possible, more zealous than ever for the crown of martyrdom, he petitioned the governor for leave again to visit the *Agniers*; which was granted him, provided he came back after the treaty had been ratified by the other four cantons of the *Iroquois*, and give *Montmagny* an account of the dispositions he found them in. The *Algonquins* very sagaciously insisted, that in his first expedition he should neither appear in the habit of his order, nor speak of religion, which advice he complied with. He set out on the 16th of *May*, attended by *Bourdon*, one of the most considerable inhabitants of *Quebec*, and two *Algonquins*, who carried in their canoe presents from their nation to that of the *Iroquois*. At the first *Agnier* village *Jogues* came to, he was known by some of his former tormentors, who loaded him with caresses and compliments, so that *Jogues* came to a resolution to settle among them, and hurried back to *Richelieu*, where *Montmagny* was, to be discharged of his promise. He assured that general, who well knew from what motives he spoke, that he might depend upon the friendship of the *Agniers*; and at last with some difficulty he was released from his engagement, and returned to his mission, attended by a *Frenchman* and four savages. By this time, the *Upper Iroquois*, who composed the four cantons that had not ratified the peace, had re-commenced hostilities against the *Hurons*, and had surprized one of their villages. By this it appeared, that in their pacific professions they had all along acted from motives of interest or conveniency. The missionaries, however, felicitated themselves upon the great progress their labours had made during the short interval of peace, but they were soon undeceived. Father *Jogues* had scarcely passed *Trois Rivières*, when he was abandoned by his four savage guides, and left alone with his young *Frenchman*, *La Land*. Any man but a mad enthusiast in such a situation would have turned back, but he travelled on, and the first *Iroquois* village he and his companion reached, they were seized, stripped, scourged, buffeted, and treated as prisoners of war. This sudden change was matter of amazement to the good father, who began (for he could speak their language) to expostulate very eloquently with them, but all to no purpose; all the favour they shewed him, was, that instead of burning him and his companion alive, their heads were cut off with a hatchet in their cabins.

War again
breaks out.

CHARLEVOIX, who himself writes like an enthusiast, on the madness of this missionary, by imputing his conduct to a supernatural impulse from heaven, is at great pains to attribute this sudden change of sentiment in the *Agniers* to ignorance and superstition, in believing that *Jogues* had concealed the devil in his trunk which he had left behind him, and that his enchantments were the causes of all the natural calamities they had suffered that year; but we are to observe, that the father received his crown of martyrdom only on the 16th of *October* 1646, so that those prepossessions must have come to a surprizing head in a short time. It is therefore more probable that the change was wrought by the scandalous conduct of the *French* themselves, and that the savages were not so stupid, as to be insensible that their design was to enslave them. Their love of native liberty, which the *French* undoubtedly had no right to take from them, soon got the better of all other considerations, and made them drop their mask of religion. Their hatred of christians carried them to an excess of fury, for they murdered or tormented them to death without regard to sex or age whenever they fell into their hands. Amongst others who fell martyrs to their rage, was the brave *Pieskaret*, whom one of the parties met alone, and not daring to attack him to his face, engaged in familiar conversation with him, and killed him from behind. The *Algonquin* women nobly resisted their enemies on this occasion, and fighting their way to the *French*, were the first who apprized them of their danger. The reader may form some idea of the courage of those heroines from one example.

Fury of the
Iroquois.

Remarkable
escape of a
woman.

ONE of them being taken prisoner, was carried to an *Iroquois* village, where she was stripped naked, and her hands and feet bound with ropes, in one of their cabins. In this condition she remained ten days, the savages sleeping round her every night. The eleventh night, perceiving they were all asleep, she disengaged one of her hands, and soon freeing herself from the ropes, went to the door, where she snatched up a hatchet, slew the savage that lay next her, and springing out of the cabin, concealed herself in a hollow tree, that she had observed the day before, just by the cabin. The noise the dying person made, soon alarmed the other savages, and all the young ones set out in pursuit of her. Perceiving from her tree, that all of them directed their course one way, and that no savage was near her, she left her sanctuary, and flying by an opposite direction, she ran into a forest without being perceived. The second day after this happened, her footsteps were perceived, and they pursued her with such expedition, that on the third day she discovered her pursuers at her heels; she instantly threw herself into a pond of water which was near her, and diving amongst some weeds and bulrushes, she could just breathe above water without being perceived; so that her pursuers, after making a most diligent search for her,

were

a were forced to return. For five and thirty days this poor creature held on her course, through woods and deserts, without any other sustenance than roots and wild berries. When she came to the river *St. Laurence*, she made with her own hands a kind of a wicker raft, on which she passed it. As she went by *Trois Rivières*, without well knowing where she was, she perceived a canoe full of savages, and fearing they might be *Iroquois*, she again ran into the woods, where she remained till sun set; and soon after continuing her course, she saw *Trois Rivières*. She was then discovered by a party whom she knew to be *Hurons*, and when they approached her, she squatted down behind a bush, calling out to them, that she was not in a condition to be seen, because she was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket, and conducted her to the fort of *Trois Rivières*, where she recounted her story; the most remarkable circumstance of which is her innate desire of blood, which was so strong as to induce her to kill the savage, which occasioned all the danger that afterwards pursued her. We are told that many like instances of resolution and perseverance, in the *Algonquin* women, happened at the same time.

WHILE the *Iroquois* were thus shaking off the yoke of christianity, it was taken up by the *Abenaguais*, a nation lying between *Lake Champlain* and *New England*, and divided into various tribes who live on the banks of the river *Pentagoet*^b. About this time, viz. 1646, the colony of *New England* was very strong, and many dissenting ministers, who had been driven from their native country on account of religion, having settled there, some of them grew as zealous for the conversion of the *Indians* as the jesuits themselves were, and had made a very considerable progress in it. This alarmed the *French* at *Quebec*, and father *Gabriel Dreuilletes* was sent upon a mission amongst the *Abenaguais* for their conversion. *Charlevoix* pretends that this commission was solicited by the *Cannibas*, an *Abenaguais* nation who traded with *Quebec*. Be this as it will, it is certain that this jesuit, and some capuchin fathers, who had been before settled near the river *Pentagoet*, were very successful in their missions, and the *Abenaguais*, who are commended by the *French* writers for being as brave as any *Indian* nation, but much more tractable and docile, proved ever after very useful allies to the *French* colony of *Canada*. We are however to observe, that interest and convenience might be two great motives for the conversion of those savages. Their countrymen who had been converted by the *English*, and who lay nearest to *New England*, beginning to thrive, and to live in much greater abundance than before, their lands being much better improved, and their persons better clothed; the *Abenaguais*, who lay nearest to *Canada*, being miserably poor and lazy, no doubt expected the like desirable change of circumstances from a like conversion by the *French*. Accordingly, profelytes poured in upon *Dreuilletes* and his fellow-labourers, and the ministers of superstition and delusion, the jugglers themselves, became converts, and burnt the instruments of their detestable calling.

WHILE matters were in this situation in *Canada*, a resolution was taken in the *French* court, formed upon the disobedience of *Poinci*, governor of their *West India* islands, who refused to resign his command to the successor appointed him by his master, that no *French* governor in *America* should hold his commission above three years. *Montmagny* therefore received an order from his court to deliver up his commission to *D'Ailleboust*, who had for some time commanded at *Trois Rivières*, and he departed for *France*, with a great character, both for his virtues and abilities. His successor is said to have been a worthy man, and to have been a zealot for the conversion of the *Indians*. Having great experience in the affairs of the colony, high expectations were formed of his government, and it was owing to neglect and mismanagement at home, that they were not answered.

ABOUT the year 1648, the *Andastes*, a warlike tribe of *Indians*, offered their assistance to the *Hurons*, against the *Iroquois*, who still continued to be their implacable enemies; but the *Hurons* seem to have exchanged for christianity all their native courage and love of their country. Depending on the protection of the *French*, they civilly declined the offer of the *Andastes*, and giving way to their natural indolence, they made no provision for their defence, when the *Agniers* fell upon their village of *St. Ignatius*, and gave them a complete defeat. Instead of preparing to revenge their loss, the *Hurons*, finding their enemies did not follow their blow, relapsed into all their former supineness; and for some time the colony enjoyed a state of tranquility, while the *French* followed the fur-trade about *Trois Rivières* and *Tadoussac*, with great success and profit. The *Iroquois* had foreseen the security of the *Hurons*, and watching their time, they secretly armed themselves, when they understood that the greatest number of the young *Hurons* were out a-hunting, and all of a sudden they invested the populous village of *St. Joseph*. Father *Daniel*, an obstinate enthusiastic missionary, who attended this village, was then say-

^b British Empire in America, vol. i. page 90. System of Geography, vol. ii. page 668.

ing mass, and had but just time to strip himself of his ecclesiastical habit, and to lock up the holy utensils, when he saw himself surrounded with the *Iroquois*, who slaughtered all they found. The father instantly stepped in the midst of the carnage, and dipping his handkerchief in water, he baptized by sprinkling many who implored it in their last moments; and obstinately refusing to fly, he was himself the last victim of the fury of the *Iroquois*, who killed him with their arrows, and mangled his body in a barbarous manner.

Reflections.

NOTHING better than the practice of those shocking inhumanities could arise from the fanaticism of those jesuit missionaries. All they studied was, to instruct the poor natives in ceremony, superstition, and in mysteries which they could not comprehend. They continued rude as to all the arts of civil life, and ignorant in the principles of society, industry, and moral virtue; and though nominally christians, they were as real savages as ever. That this was the case, appears evidently from the difference between them and their brethren on the borders of *New England*. The latter were, by one Mr. *Elliot*, and some other dissenting ministers, instructed in the principles of true practicable christianity. They had submitted to the practice of industry, and subjected themselves to a set of plain moral laws, on certain penalties, in case of transgressing them. They bound themselves in like penalties, never to return to any of their former barbarous customs. They learned to dig, to hoe, to clean the ground, as well as the *English* themselves. The women, as well as the men, earned money, and served for wages. They built houses in the *European* manner, and many of them could even read the Bible, which was translated into their language, and printed for their use by their zealous teachers. All this was the reverse of the character of the *Canadian* converts. Their fathers, in teaching them to be humble and patient, rendered them indolent and cowardly, and their christianity taught them to suffer themselves to be butchered without resistance, nay even with pleasure, because they died in the bosom of christianity, for so those jesuit missionaries called their religion.

Proposal from
New England

ABOUT this time, viz. in 1648, the people of *New England* sent to the governor and council of *Canada*, a very sensible proposal, that there should be a perpetual peace between the two colonies, even though their mother-countries were at war. *D'Ailleboust* and his council relished this proposal so well, that they appointed father *Dreuilletes* to go to *Boston*, and to finish the negotiation, provided the *English* would assist the *French* against the *Iroquois*. This was a most absurd and unreasonable condition, as the *Iroquois*, far from provoking the *English*, traded with them, and lay as a kind of a barrier between them and the *French Canadians*. It is no wonder, therefore, if we hear no more of this negotiation, till some time after, that it was renewed, when *Godefroid*, a member of the *French* council at *Quebec*, was made joint plenipotentiary with *Dreuilletes* in the negotiation; but all was to no effect. The *Iroquois* however had discontinued their massacres for six months, and the christian *Hurons* continued to live with their usual indolence, as if they had no enemy to guard against, when on the 16th of *March* 1649, before day, a body of 1000 *Iroquois* suddenly attacked the village of *St. Ignatius*. It was guarded by a strong pallisade, but had in it at that time no more than 400 persons, most of them asleep. The savages soon set fire to the pallisades, and breaking in, they massacred without resistance all the inhabitants excepting three, who fled and gave the alarm to the village of *St. Louis*, where all the women and children instantly fled to the woods, but fourscore of the men remained with a resolution to defend themselves to the last. The village was entrenched round, and the assailants were twice repulsed with loss. The reader is here to observe, that it appears from *Charlevoix*, who discommends their noble resolution, that those brave *Hurons* were all of them rank heathens, for the two missionaries who were amongst them, *Brebeuf* and *Lallement*, refused to make their escape with the women and children, that they might be present in the siege to baptize the wounded and the dying.

Massacre.

AT the third assault a breach was made, and the *Iroquois*, who were furnished with fire-arms, which had already destroyed the most forward of the besieged, breaking in, butchered, or, which was worse, took prisoners all the *Hurons*. They then set fire to the village, and returned with their spoil and captives to *St. Ignatius*, where they had left their provisions, and a body of reserve in case of accidents. In the mean while, a great number of the warlike, that is, the heathen *Hurons* had assembled to revenge the murders and captivity of their countrymen; and two days passed in skirmishes, especially near *St. Mary's*, which was no more than a league from *St. Louis*.

Hurons
defeated.

ST. MARY'S was a populous village, and, besides being well fortified against an attack by savages, the inhabitants kept watch and ward for fear of surprizes. Two hundred of the *Iroquois*, the main body of whom had now returned to *St. Louis*, approached *St. Mary's*, but fell into an ambuscade of the *Hurons*, who killed many of them, and forcing

a forcing the rest to fly, pursued them as far as *St. Louis*, where the *Hurons*, who were but a handful, were surprized in their turn, and surrounded by their enemies. They defended themselves, however, very bravely; all of them were wounded, many were killed, some were made prisoners, but none of them escaped, and in them fell the flower of the *Iroquois* nation. The people at *St. Mary's* were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, at hearing of this defeat; but, instead of preparing to defend themselves against the *Iroquois*, who were returning to attack them, they contented themselves with putting up prayers for their deliverance to *St. Joseph*, which *Charlevoix* thinks were so far regarded, that the *Iroquois* next day were seized with a panic, and returned home, where they put to death their two reverend captives, with circumstances of cruelty, not only too shocking to be related, but too incredible to be conceived, and therefore we shall not particularize them.

THESE scenes of butchery lay to the south-east of lake *Huron*. The inhabitants of *St. Mary's* now found themselves in a most lamentable situation. All their savage neighbours round them had fled to the woods, after setting fire to their huts; and being thus left alone they were in danger of starving, as they durst not go abroad, for fear of being surprized by the *Iroquois*. The missionaries amongst them, upon this, formed a project for collecting together the remains of the nation, and transporting them to some place of safety, where they could not be disturbed by their enemies. For this purpose they proposed the isle of *Manitoulin*; a narrow spot about forty leagues in length, lying in the south part of lake *Huron*: but this proposal was rejected by the *Hurons*, because it was of too great a distance from their native country; and they pitched upon the little isle of *St. Joseph*, lying within sight of their ancient habitations. This island soon was peopled, and the inhabitants grew numerous, on account of the conveniency of fishing and hunting in the neighbourhood. The missionaries, instead of instructing them in the rational parts of Christianity, and the arts of industry, wasted their time in idle mystic devotions, and baptized, or in other words, rendered unfit for the service of themselves, or their country, 3000 in a short time. The summer passed over without any thing remarkable happening, but winter overtook them in a most lamentable situation. So fervid had been their devotion, that they had sowed little or nothing. Their fishery had turned out very ill, and all their game was soon destroyed; so that before autumn was over they began to feel the approaches of famine. As winter advanced, their miseries became insupportable; so that they even dug the earth for half-famished bodies to devour; mothers eat up their children, and children their parents. This horrible famine was followed by a pestilence; and all those calamities were considered as the very harvest of the jesuits, for their savage conversions encreased, and all of them went out of the world with great demonstrations of devotion, and kissing the hands of their holy fathers.

Misery of the Hurons.

WHILE the inhabitants of the isle of *St. Joseph* were plunged in those miseries, news came to the *Huron* nation, that three hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and seemed to meditate some blow against the *Tionnontatez Hurons*. This tribe was so populous, that one of their villages, that of *St. John*, contained upwards of six hundred families. The *Huron* chiefs, far from keeping upon their guard, took the field in quest of their enemies, who, giving them the slip, marched directly towards *St. John's*, where they killed or took prisoners all they met with; and put to death, but not with their usual circumstances of barbarity, *Garnier*, the father of that mission.

Ravages of the Iroquois.

THE most sensible of the unconverted *Hurons*, in a village called *St. Matthew*, attributed the indolence and inactivity of their nations, to which they owed all their misfortunes, to the jesuits; and endeavoured to bring some of the converts into their own opinion. They pretended that they had seen amongst the *Iroquois*, belts of wampum, which had been sent them by the *French* governor and council at *Quebec*, inviting them to exterminate the *Hurons*. It is no wonder, if those representations made an impression upon the minds, even of the converted *Hurons*. *Charlevoix* pretends that on this occasion a settled design was formed to put to death all the missionaries who should fall into their hands. But this supposition seems only to be calculated for the sake of the following miracle. Two missionaries enter the village, and were not put to death, which might very well be; if, as probably was the case, they were under the protection of the nation. But the truth is, those missionaries had now got a vast ascendancy over the minds, even of the unconverted *Hurons*, not to mention the great interest they had in the nation, by the converts they had made. In the mean while, the miserable remains of the *St. Joseph* colony had left it, and many of them had perished in the lake, the ice breaking under them. Those who remained alive, who did not exceed three hundred, applied to father *Ragueneau*, their missionary, to shelter them from the *Iroquois*, by conducting them to *Quebec*, where, under the protection of their father *Onontio*, as they still called that governor, they might cultivate the lands that should be assigned them. The father, by the advice of his brethren, consented.

The savages jealous of the jesuits.

Their migrations.

consented. They set out by the river of the *Ouatacriais*, and, despair rendering them a
 hardy, they marched on without being attacked by their enemies. On the road they met
 father *Bressani*, attended with a good escort, returning to his old mission, without know-
 ing that it was entirely destroyed, and, after narrowly escaping being assassinated by a small
 party of the *Iroquois*. The father and his attendants, hearing of the fate of the Christian
Hurons, thought they could not do better than return with *Raguenau*; and they arrived,
 after touching at *Montreal*, at *Quebec*, where they were received very humanely by *D'Aille-
 boust*; but indeed the colony was still so miserably poor, that it was with the utmost diffi-
 culty they could subsist in that capital of *Canada*.

Such of the *Hurons* as could not be persuaded to leave their native country, experienced b
 great variety of misery. Some of them fled for shelter to other nations, who thereby drew
 upon them the arms of the *Iroquois*; some of them settled under the protection of the
English, on the borders of *Pensylvania*. The *Iroquois* wanted to decoy others of them into
 an ambuscade; but the *Hurons* trapped them in their own cunning, defeated and killed a
 great number of them. After which they retired to the isle of *Manitoualin*; from whence
 they moved and joined their countrymen at *Quebec*. Almost all the inhabitants of the
 villages which remained still undestroyed, followed a different course, and though seem-
 ingly desperate, perhaps the most rational; for they submitted to the *Iroquois*, and were
 taken into their friendship and alliance; while parties were sent out, who destroyed all the
 dispersed *Hurons* who had not yet reached any place of shelter. Thus, upon the whole, c
 the propagation of a fanatical religion, which its teachers impiously call Christianity, deso-
 lated a most populous country, and the finest in all *North America*; for all about the river
Ouatacais, with the ancient country of the *Hurons*, lay now desert.

*Distress of
 Quebec.*

THE encrease of mouths at *Quebec* laid the *French* colonists there under inconceivable
 difficulties to subsist them; and the superior general of the missions went over full fraught
 with zeal to *France*, to remonstrate to the government there, the shame and scandal that
 must result to Christianity, if so many converts, who had been brought into the pale of
 the church, should remain destitute, and unprovided for. All he could say had no effect,
 and, in a short time, the *French* themselves became as contemptible as the *Hurons* had
 been, in the eyes of the *Iroquois*. The *Hurons*, who had taken refuge under the cannon of d
Quebec, having now wherewithal to subsist on, entirely forgot their former miseries, and
 passed from despondency to presumption. They associated themselves with their country-
 men at *Sylleri*, with the *Algonquins* of *Trois Rivières*, and the gleaning of their countrymen,
 who had escaped the hatchets of the *Iroquois*, and madly formed amongst themselves a croi-
 sade to exterminate the *Iroquois*, those professed enemies to the gospel. Setting out upon
 this ill-concerted expedition, they dispatched a *Huron*, and an *Algonquin*, to reconnoitre a
 village of the *Agniers*, which they were to attack. The *Huron* fell into the hands of the
Agniers, and he betrayed the croisaders, by bringing them to the place where the *Hurons*
 were lying all of them fast asleep. They were awaked by a discharge of musketry, which
 killed or disabled their best warriors, for the *Agniers* had time to take their aim. Some of
 the croisaders, however, fought their way into a neighbouring wood, where they saved them- e
 selves; but all the rest were either killed or burnt alive, excepting two, who escaped to
Quebec with the melancholy news.

*Hurons
 defeated.*

So terrible a defeat was received by their parents and friends with the utmost dejection,
 and *Charlevoix* gives us some more of his miracles on that head; but a short time mani-
 fested the true spirit of these boasted conversions. The *French* at *Tadoussac* found it for
 their interest to indulge the *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, who repaired thither, with the use of
 brandy, which kept them in a perpetual state of intoxication, and their passion for strong
 liquors grew every day so violent, and intractable, that no authority, either civil or ec-
 clesiastic, could put a stop to it. Not only the converts at *Quebec*, but all the mountaineer f
 savages in the neighbourhood of *Tadoussac*, were infected with the same vice, and, at last,
 their elders, who remained at *Quebec*, applied to *D'Ailleboust* to build a house of correction
 for their offences. That governor was now recalled, and *M. de Lauson*, one of the chief
 directors of the *Quebec* company, was nominated to succeed him; but he did not arrive at
 his government till next year. He had great experience in the affairs of the colony, and
 had negotiated the restitution of *Quebec* by the *English*; but was amazed to find the colony
 in so miserable a state upon his arrival. The *Iroquois* marched up to the very mouth of
 the *French* cannon without fear, and insulted them on all hands. *Bochart*, a man of capa-
 city and virtue, was then the *French* governor at *Trois Rivières*, and had prevented the
 vice of drunkenness from infecting that settlement, which, under him, was in very good
 order. Perceiving that the *Iroquois* extended their insults to his government, he somewhat g
 unadvisedly marched out in person against them, and was killed. His death encreased
 the insolence of the *Iroquois*; and the new governor of *Quebec* found himself obliged to
 enclose *Sylleri* with a wall. The insatiable thirst of the *Iroquois* for blood was not confined
 to

*Lauson
 governor.*

a to the *Hurons*, but extended itself indiscriminately to the most distant Christian savages, whose countries were filled with blood and massacres by the *Iroquois*. The *Abenaguais* were the only Christian nation they did not attack; but they were probably restrained by the respect they bore for the *English*. Father *Dreuilletes*, who seems to have had the same zeal, but a much greater capacity, than his brother missionaries, had been long employed with great success in converting the *Abenaguais*, and having entirely won their affection, he formed them into a barrier against the *English*, who did not foresee that that nation one day would prove the sharpest thorn in their sides, and who, at the time we now treat of, even gave them their protection. It was about this time that father *Buteux*, in travelling to convert *Indians* in undiscovered regions of the north, was murdered by the *Iroquois*. At last, the perseverance and zeal of those good fathers began to abate, and many of them pretending, that by the destruction of the *Hurons* they had now no farther objects for their labours, returned to *Europe*; amongst whom was father *Brissani*, who after this became a very popular and admired preacher in *Italy*.

THE settlement at *Montreal*, which was not immediately under the *French* king, partook of those general calamities. *Maisonneuve*, who still continued to govern there, found himself obliged to go to *Old France* for fresh recruits; and in 1653, he returned with one hundred men, and a female housekeeper, called *Margaret Bourgeois*, who afterwards instituted the order of the daughters of the congregation. While *Maisonneuve* was employed in guarding *Montreal* from surprizes, about sixty of a savage tribe, called *Onont guese*, presented themselves at the gate of the fort, and demanded a parley, upon which some of them were admitted into the place, and declared that their nation were disposed to treat of a peace. They accompanied their speech with presents, and fresh assurances of their sincerity. Upon this, they were suffered to return to their chiefs with the terms offered by the governor, and in their way they engaged the tribes of *Onneyouth* and *Goyogouin* to join them in the negociation. The head of the latter not only named his deputies to go to *Montreal*, but sent along with him a belt of wampum, as a token, that five hundred *Iroquois* were on their march to attack *Trois Rivières*. *Maisonneuve* acquainted *Lauson* with his danger. The latter immediately assembled all the *Hurons* he could get together, and attacked a body of the *Agniers*, whom he defeated, making their chief, and many of their leaders, prisoners. Another party of the *Iroquois* marched up to the very gates of *Quebec*, where they made some prisoners, amongst whom was father *Poncet*, who was the darling of the province, whom they carried into captivity. Forty *French*, and a number of savages instantly entered into an association to deliver their missionary, and, setting out from *Quebec*, they discovered the names of *Poncet*, and his fellow-prisoners, engraved on the trunk of a tree, with the following note underneath: "Six *Hurons* now naturalized *Iroquois*, and four *Agniers* have carried us off, but as yet done us no harm." They soon had reason to alter their tone; for when they came to the *Agnier* village, where an assembly was held to deliberate on the fate of the prisoners, a woman came up to the party, and presented them with a string of wampum, that she might be permitted to cut off one of the missionaries fingers. This favour was granted her; and, to the great joy of the missionary, who it seems used to perform the sacred ceremonies with the right hand, the fore-finger of the left-hand was cut off. Next day he was abandoned to the barbarous treatment of the children of the several villages through which he was to be carried; and, at last, another council assembled, who pronounced sentence, that the *Frenchman*, his companion, should be burned alive, which was executed immediately; and that the father should be put into the hands of a matron who had lost a near relation in the war, and who gave the missionary his life. Three days after, an *Iroquois* came express from *Trois Rivières* with an account that peace was upon the point of being concluded, and that *Onontbio* had obliged the *Iroquois* to give him hostages, whose lives were to be answerable for that of father *Poncet*.

Affairs of
Montreal.

g THIS news entirely altered the father's situation. They carried him to *Orange*, the nearest *Dutch* settlement, where he was new cloathed, his own cloaths being torn to pieces. Upon his return, he was conducted from one canton to another, with all demonstrations of the most sincere friendship; and, on the 15th of *October*, he set out for *Quebec*, attended by an *Agnier* deputy, who was charged with presents for *Onontbio*, and the superior of the mission. After travelling two days they were met by an express from *Quebec*, informing the deputy, that the *Iroquois* hostages had been put in irons; that some of them had lost their heads, and that he ought to take care how he proceeded. It happened luckily for *Poncet*, that the deputy had a more than ordinary regard for him, and the father promising him an indemnification on the part of the *French*, they pursued their journey: but after many alarms of the same kind, it appeared, that there was no kind of foundation for the report, which had been raised by the father's enemies. At last he arrived, on the 5th of *November*, at *Quebec*, where he was received as a guardian angel.

By

Danger of
Monoye.

By this time the peace had been concluded, and a reciprocal confidence seemed to have been settled on both sides. Next year father *Le Moyne* was sent to *Onnontagué*, to ratify the treaty on the part of *Onontio*, and was so well satisfied with the cordial reception he had from the savages, that he offered to take up his residence with them, which was readily accepted; an apartment was assigned him, and he accordingly took possession of it. He then set out for *Quebec*, loaded with presents from all the *Iroquois* chiefs. While *Monoye* was amongst the *Iroquois*, he had the pleasure of seeing a great number of *Huron* Christians, who professed their religion amidst all the insults and cruelties of the infidel barbarians. He had, however, before he reached *Quebec*, a proof of the little dependance that is to be had upon the faith of those savages. Being in a canoe with two *Onnontaguése*, and followed by other canoes, in which were *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, when they came near to *Montreal* they were surrounded by canoes filled with *Agniers*, who poured into his canoes a fire of musketry, which killed all the *Algonquins* and *Hurons*, and one of his *Onnontaguése*; and the enemy then took and bound the father himself, as if he had been a prisoner of war. They at the same time told the surviving *Onnontague*, that he was at liberty to return home. But the savage declared, that he never would abandon the missionary, and threatened the *Agniers* with the resentment of the upper *Iroquois*; so that the barbarians, perceiving him to be resolute and inflexible in his purpose, unbound the father, and replaced him under the care of his faithful guide, who conducted him to *Montreal*. It was afterwards found, that this action was disavowed by the *Agnier* canton, and that it was owing to the treachery of a *Dutchman*'s son, begot upon an *Agnier* woman, and brought up in his mother's cabin, and who always was called the bastard *Fleming*. The father was so intent upon establishing a church amongst the *Iroquois*, that he never complained of this usage, either to the *French* or the savages, nor did it in the least discompose the observance of the lately concluded treaty.

State of the Iro-
quois cantons.

It has been already hinted, that, of all the *Iroquois* nations, the *Agniers* were the most irreconcilable to the *French* and their *Indian* allies, and they had motives of interest that stimulated their natural fierceness. They had, during the time of the war, carried on a constant trade with the *Dutch* at *Orange*, who supplied them with fire-arms and *European* goods. This had long given great umbrage to the upper cantons, who lay at a vast distance from the *Dutch* settlement, nor could they trade with it unless they came through the *Agniers* country, and this gave the latter a kind of superiority over the other cantons; besides their being always sure of support from their *Dutch* allies. But by the peace they lost all those advantages; for the upper cantons now opened a trade with the *French* as gainful, at least, as that of the *Agniers* with the *Dutch*. The *Agniers* had foreseen this, which had made them so averse to peace, nor could they ever be brought, as the upper cantons, to agree, that the allies of the *French* should be comprehended in the treaty; so that they were harassed by the *Agniers*, almost as much as ever. In short, the *Agniers* perceiving, that their own importance was every day diminishing, secretly resolved to break the peace, which obliged them never to appear armed in the *French* colony, and not to interrupt the missionaries in their functions. In a short time a missionary was found murdered and scalped near *Sylleri*, and it was plain, that the barbarians had resolved upon a rupture.

Gallant action
of an Algon-
quin woman.

At this time an *Algonquin* woman, a Christian, performed an action so brave, that it might claim a place in the history of the greatest people. As she, her husband, and their young children were in the fields, they were surrounded by a party of five *Agniers*, who seized and bound the husband, but not the wife, nor the children, who were so young that they could not escape, and the savages knew the mother would not leave them. She watched her time, and finding an opportunity, snatched up a hatchet, with which she cleft the skull of one of the barbarians, and then of another, who ran up to assist him, while the other three were so much struck with her courage and resolution, that they betook themselves to flight; upon which the woman untied her husband, and they returned with their children in triumph to their village. Those, and many other acts of treachery, at last obliged the *French* to take the field, which they did, the rather because they knew the *Agniers* could not, at that time, be supported by the upper *Iroquois*; and this had so good an effect, that those barbarians apologized for their conduct, and not only offered to enter into the treaty without any restriction, but earnestly petitioned to have a missionary sent to instruct them; and father *Le Moyne* as earnestly petitioned to be employed in that mission, which was accordingly granted him. He was a well-meaning simple enthusiast, and utterly void of all talents for converting a people at once so fierce and so subtil as the *Agniers* were. His zeal and perseverance would not suffer him to see the dangers he every day ran, particularly once from a savage, who pretended to be a demoniac, and ran up and down with a hatchet in his hand to kill him, but was prevented by some less furious of the canton.

Conversion amongst the Onnontagueſe.

a THE *Onnontagueſe*, in the year 1655, ſent deputies to *Quebec*, who were attended by a large number of their nation, to beg, that miſſionaries ſhould be ſent them. The firſt deputy's wife accompanied him, and took a liking to the *French*, and to the forms of the Chriſtian worſhip, particularly to the two religious communities of young women. The fathers *Chaumonot* and *Dablon* were aſſigned to this miſſion, the former the oldeſt miſſionary in all *Canada*, and the other juſt arrived from *New France*. The deputy's wife, and ſix or ſeven other *Iroquois*, had a great deal of diſcourſe with *Chaumonot* about Chriſtianity, with which they were ſo well ſatisfied, that upon their arrival at their own country they were immediately baptized. The reception of the miſſionaries there, *November 5*, had every appearance of reſpect and cordiality. They preſented the elders of the nation with the preſents ſent them by *Laufon*, which were received with great deference, and a cabin, with a ſpot of ground, was aſſigned in the principal village of the nation for their habitation. A general aſſembly of the canton was then called, at the requeſt of the miſſionaries, and father *Chaumonot* held forth there ſo powerfully that he made many real proſelytes. A young female *Onnontagueſe*, who, it ſeems, was the beauty of the canton, and who was courted by two lovers, diſcarded them both, becauſe they were not Chriſtians; and ſoon after, one of the head warriors, who was deſperately in love with her, attempting to violate her chaſtity, ſhe had the courage to reſiſt him, and to ſecure herſelf from his perſecutions, an inſtance of virtue ſo uncommon amongſt thoſe ſavages, that it is ranked by their jeſuits amongſt their miracles; and indeed it is one of the moſt miraculous amongſt the many they recount. But notwithſtanding the great harveſt of proſelytes amongſt the *Onnontagueſe*, the miſſionaries met with many rubs. Of all the enemies that order of men encountered amongſt the ſavages, none were ſo irreconcilable to Chriſtianity as the unconverted *Hurons*, for this plain reaſon, that their nation had been almoſt exterminated, ſince they admitted Chriſtianity into it. Some of them, at this time, reſided amongſt the *Onnontagueſe*, and they were extremely aſſiduous to attribute to Chriſtianity all the loſſes and diſeaſes that happened to the converts. The miſſionaries, however, got the better of all their arts, and ſeveral of the heads of their nation became their proſelytes, and thereby, perhaps, the fathers ſaved the *French* colony in *Canada* from deſtruction.

d THE reader may conceive ſome idea of the extreme inhumanity with which war is carried on amongſt thoſe barbarians, when he is informed, that, about this time, the *Iroquois* ſo effectually exterminated a great nation, the *Eries*, or *Cat* nation, that no traces of them now remain, nor could it be known they ever had exiſted, were it not for the great lake, on the borders of which they were ſituated, and which, for that reaſon, ſtill bears their name. The *Iroquois*, at the beginning of that war, were worſted; but they purſued it with ſuch unrelenting fury as to effect the catastrophe we have mentioned. The *Eries* lay to the weſt of the *Iroquois*, and their country is now amongſt the leaſt known of any in *North America*. The *French* were under great apprehenſions, that this ſucceſs of the *Iroquois* might encourage them to renew the war, which indeed might have been the caſe, had not the canton of the *Onnontagueſe* been ſo well diſpoſed to Chriſtianity, that they e refused to enter into the quarrel. They went farther; for they ſent father *Dablon*, with a commiſſion from their chiefs, to *Quebec*, to perſuade *M. Lauſon* to ſend a number of *French* to ſettle amongſt them. *Dablon*, attended by a numerous retinue of the natives, arrived at *Quebec*; and notwithſtanding all that an ancient *Huron*, who had lived long in the *Onnontagueſe* country, could do to diſſuade him, *Laufon* reſolved to grant the requeſt. Fifty *Frenchmen*, with the *Sieur Dupuis*, to command them, were choſen for the new ſettlement. Three miſſionaries were aſſigned them, and, though the harveſt had been but indifferent, *Dupuis* was furniſhed with provisions to ſupply his colony for a year, and to ſow all the ground that ſhould be aſſigned them.

Project of a French ſettlement amongſt the Onnontagueſe.

f THIS project, ſo new and ſo daring, amazed the other *Iroquois* cantons; and the *Agniers*, in a general aſſembly, reſolved to leave nothing undone to defeat it. They inſtantly raiſed four hundred men, whom they ſent out to attack the party under *Dupuis* on their march; but, miſſing their blow, they fell upon ſome ſtray canoes, which they pillaged, pretending that they did not know they belonged to the *French*, but that they were *Hurons* or *Algonquins*. The flower of the Chriſtian *Hurons* were at this time ſettled, to the number of ſix hundred, in the iſle of *Orleans*, where they had begun to cultivate the grounds; another miracle the jeſuits bring in proof of their religion. But, notwithſtanding their Chriſtianity, they were as preſumptuous as ever, and ſo careleſs, that the *Iroquois* found means in one day to carry off fifty of them to their own country, where they were put to death with the moſt horrible tortures, without being purſued by *Laufon*, though the barbarians on their way homewards inſulted him under his own cannon. The truth is, *Laufon*, tho' he was much blamed for his inactivity on this occaſion, was not in a condition to reſcue the *Hurons*, and was obliged to put up with the inſult.

Account of the
Outaouais.

AFTER the *Iroquois* had subdued the *Hurons*, they fell upon the *Outaouais*; but the latter prudently left their own country, and dispersed themselves through various parts of the continent, the bulk of them settling on the borders of the river, which still bears their name. After the entire destruction of the *Huron* habitations, they were joined by the *Tionnontatez Hurons*, and they moved southwards, till they came to the river *Mississippi*, where, at first, some of them made an alliance with the *Sicux*; but breaking with them, they were reduced to the greatest misery, and obliged to divide themselves into little parties, wandering wherever they could find subsistence through the vast tracts lying to the eastward of the *Mississippi*. Two *Frenchmen* came up with about twenty of them, whom they conducted from the banks of lake *Michigan*, as they had some furs with them, to *Quebec*; where they were favourably received on account of their civilities to their two *French* conductors. *Lauson* hearing that a settlement of those *Outaouais* had been made on the borders of lake *Michigan*, and seeing their furs to be of an excellent kind, immediately thought of sending some *French* to settle among them. Thirty young *French* offered themselves volunteers for that service, nor was there wanting plenty of missionaries, as usual, to attend the *Outaouais* on their return. The adventurers set out from *Quebec* about the 12th of *August*, 1656; but as they drew near *Trois Rivières*, they met with an advice-canoe sent to inform them that a party of the *Agniers* was in the neighbourhood. Being thus put upon their guard, they escaped the ambuscade the barbarians had planted for them, and arrived safe at *Trois Rivières*. The *French* adventurers landing there began seriously to reflect upon the dangers they were about to encounter, especially as they saw their savage friends but ill provided for an engagement. All of them, therefore, but three, who would not abandon their ghostly fathers, refused to proceed. The *Outaouais*, however, having provided themselves with fire-arms, with which they had been before entirely unacquainted, diverted themselves with firing them off, which, when they were re embarked, instructed the *Agniers*, who watched them, in the route they had taken; and they had sufficient leisure to prepare a fresh ambuscade. They were then above the island of *Montreal*, and the *Agniers*, having chosen a proper station, poured into the six first canoes, which were filled with *Hurons*, all but father *Garreau*, one of the missionaries, a full discharge of their fire-arms, which killed many of them; and then, the canoes being attacked hatchet in hand, all who did not fall by the first discharge were killed or made prisoners. The *Outaouais* who were not engaged, though they made all the haste they could, came too late to prevent the mischief, which they seemed resolved to revenge; but, after a brisk skirmish, they intrenched themselves, and next day they departed with all imaginable secrecy, leaving behind them the two jesuits, one of whom (*Garreau*) was mortally wounded, and the three *Frenchmen*. It was plain from this attack, that the *Agniers* wanted to break the friendship then subsisting between the *French* and the *Upper Iroquois*. The former had conceived great hopes from the projected settlement at *Onnontague*; and, in the mean while, M. *Dupuys*, in revenge of what had happened to the *Outaouais*, fell upon the canoes of the *Agniers*, and pillaged them.

Hardships of
the French.

THE *French* underwent great hardships in their march to *Onnontague*, being disappointed in their scheme of supporting themselves by hunting and fishing; and they must have perished for want of the mere necessities of life, had not the elders of the *Onontague* sent them provisions on the road in canoes. They were at the same time informed, that a vast number of the *Iroquois*, and other savages, were assembled on the borders of the lake *Gunnentaba*, to receive them; upon which M. *Dupuys* prepared to enter the country with great parade, and in such a manner as might strike the barbarians with respect. For this purpose, he landed five small pieces of cannon, which were fired; and, at the same time, he ordered his musquetry to make a general discharge. This had an excellent effect. The *French* were received with all the marks of honour, and even devotion, that the savages could express. *Te Deum* was sung, the mass was celebrated, and the sacrament administered in the most solemn manner; the whole nation of the *Onontague* seeming prepared immediately to embrace Christianity. Their most remote cantons demanded missionaries for their instruction, and they were obliged to enlarge their chapel to receive their converts. To give the utmost proof of their friendship, when the heats of the country introduced distempers amongst the *French*, the savages cured them by medicines peculiar to themselves. Those friendly appearances imposed on the greatest part of the *French*, while the most sensible amongst them advised their countrymen to be upon their guard, and to build a fort which might bridle the natives. This advice, however, could not be complied with, because of the poverty of *New France*; but the necessity of it became every day more and more apparent.

Treaties among
the savages;

THE *Hurons* of the isle of *Orleans*, thinking they were not safe there, had removed to *Quebec*, and in resentment for the *French* having, as they thought, abandoned them to their enemies, they had secretly sent a message to propose to the *Agniers* an union, and to become one

a one people. The *Agniers* willingly embraced the proposal; but the *Hurons* retracting it, the *Agniers* resolved to carry fire and sword, as they did, into their country. A great number of the straggling *Hurons* were accordingly put to death; and at last, when the *Agniers* thought they had been sufficiently humbled, they sent a deputation of thirty of their chiefs to *Quebec* to conduct the *Hurons* to their country. This deputation behaved with intolerable haughtiness. The chief of the deputation demanded an audience in a full assembly, which *Lauson* was weak enough to grant them; and there he addressed himself to the *Hurons*, in the following strain of savage eloquence: "My brother, said he, for some time past you have been stretching forth your arms, imploring me to conduct thee to my country; but as often as I prepared to do it, you retired from me, for which reason, in order to punish your inconstancy, I struck you with my hatchet. Let me beg you not to give me occasion to treat you any more in that manner, but rise and follow me." The savage then presented to the assembly two strings of wampum, the one, as he said, to enable the *Hurons* to arise, the other as an assurance that the *Agniers* were resolved to live thenceforth with them as brothers. The chief then turned towards *Lauson*, whom he addressed in the following manner: "*Onnonthio*, unfold thy arms, and suffer the children, whom thou art hugging in thy bosom, to go along with me; for if they should commit any folly, it is to be feared, that, while I am chastising them, my blows may fall upon thee. Take this belt (presenting him with one), that it may extend thy arms. I know that the *Huron* loves prayer, that he acknowledges and adores the Author of all things, and that he has recourse to him in all his necessities. I am inclined to do the same. Let *Ondesson* (meaning father *le Moyne*), who left me I know not for what, return with the *Huron* to instruct me; and as I have not a number of canoes sufficient to carry with me so many people, pray do me the favour to lend me some of yours." He then presented *Lauson* with two other belts, and left the assembly, which was greatly divided upon the proposition of the deputies. *their speeches*

THE *Hurons* in general were greatly dismayed at seeing the tameness with which the *French* governor bore the haughty behaviour of the *Iroquois*. Some of them were for joining the *Onnontague*, to whom they had already made proposals for that purpose; others were for remaining in the protection of the *French*; but the tribe of the *Bear* remained firm to their engagements with the *Agniers*. Those points being settled, the council was re-assembled, and the *Agnier* deputies called in, *Lauson* himself having the meanness to continue present all the while, though nothing could be more impolitic as well as cowardly, because it sunk the *French* in the esteem of all the savages. Father *le Moyne* served as interpreter on this occasion, and addressing himself to the *Agnier* deputation, "*Onnonthio*, said he, loves the *Hurons*; they are his children; but he does not hold them in pupilage: they are of age to chuse for themselves, he opens his arms, and he gives them liberty to go where they please; for my part, I will follow them wherever they go. If they repair, *Agnier*, to thy country, I will instruct thee likewise in what manner the Author of all things is to be prayed to and adored; but I cannot flatter myself that thou wilt hear me: I know thee and thy indocility; but I will comfort myself with the *Hurons*. As to the canoes you demand, if you want any, you must make them. Thou seest we have not enough for ourselves."

THE chief of the *Bear* tribe then addressed himself to the deputies in the following manner: "My brother, I am yours: I throw myself with my eyes shut into your canoes: I am resolved on every thing, even to die; but I intend that I and my family shall go first: I will suffer no others to embark with me; if afterwards the rest of my nation should join us, it is well; but I shall be glad to see beforehand how you treat me." He then presented the deputation with three belts to prevail with them to treat him and his family well. After this the deputies set about making canoes, on board of which they embarked with the *Bear* tribe, and father *le Moyne*. Some days after their departure, deputies came from *Onnontague* on the same errand; but were incensed when they heard that the *Bear* tribe had gone off with the *Agniers*, and began to use threats against the *Hurons*, who made the best apology they could, but to very little purpose. *Lauson* was then obliged to interpose, and to tell the deputies that they were wanting in the respect they owed to their father; that the *Hurons* in general were ready to follow them; but that their wives and children were terrified at their threats and warlike appearance, which were very improper while they were applying to them as friends and brothers; that if they would return to their country, and act regularly, the *Hurons* would wait for them at *Montreal*, and give hostages for the performance of all they had promised them. This speech, with good entertainment in eating and drinking for some days, pacified the deputies, and they returned home, seemingly well satisfied.

THE deputation of the *Onnontague* was, however, detrimental to the interests of the *French* in *Canada*, because it exposed their weakness and their inability to protect their friendly *Indians* against their enemies. The missionaries, who were best acquainted with those *Perfidy of the savages.*

those barbarians, soon perceived an alteration in their behaviour; but such was their zeal, that they comforted themselves with the great progress they made in converting the distant savages at *Montreal*. The *Onnontague* came, as had been stipulated at *Quebec* the year before, to carry with them the *Hurons*, who were accompanied by two jesuits, and some *Frenchmen*. On the day of embarkation, the latter were surprized when the *Onnontague* flatly refused to suffer any but the *Hurons* to attend them. They, however, at last agreed to some of the *French* embarking, but were so obstinate against the jesuits, who would by no means abandon their *Huron* disciples, that they were obliged to embark on board a canoe without any provision, but a small bag of meal. This specimen of the behaviour of the *Onnontague* created many melancholy apprehensions amongst the *Hurons*, which were soon verified. A *Huron* woman had her brains beat out by an *Onnontague* chief, who wanted to be rude with her; and, as if that murder had been a signal for others, in a moment after a great number of the most considerable *Hurons* were massacred, and the survivors treated as slaves, some of them being even burnt alive. The two missionaries and the four *French*, who attended the *Hurons*, expected every moment the same fate: but, for what reason does not appear, they were saved, and arrived with the convoy at *Onnontague*.

A. D. 1657.

Conspiracy against the French.

HERE they understood from *Dupuys* and the *French* colony, that a resolution had been taken by the savages to cut off all the *French* in their country. This barbarous resolution took rise from the following occasion. A body of *Onneyouths* had murdered three *Frenchmen* near *Montreal*; and *D'Ailleboût*, the *French* governor at *Quebec*, in the room of *Lauson*, who was recalled to *France*, seized and imprisoned all the *Iroquois* whom he could find in his colony, till he should receive satisfaction for the death of the *Frenchman*. This exasperated the savage tribes; but instead of proceeding immediately to violences, they coolly resolved on the following scheme of murder. Father *le Moyne* was to be sent, attended by a numerous convoy, to protect him, as they pretended, against the insults of the young savages, to treat of the ransom of the *Iroquois*. At the same time, numerous bodies of other savages were to disperse themselves through the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, who, as soon as they heard of the deliverance of their countrymen, were to fall upon the *French*, and murder them wherever they could be found, and the colony under *Dupuys* was to undergo the same fate. Those savages are inconstant in their resolutions, and impatient till they come to action, when their motive is revenge: so that without waiting for *le Moyne*, great bodies of the *Agniers*, *Onneyouths*, and *Onnontague*, took the field with all their warlike equipages. This alarmed the suspicions of *Dupuys*; and being informed by a Christian convert of the truth, he sent a courier to M. *D'Ailleboût* to warn him of his danger. As to himself and his people, he could think of no expedient for safety but to fly; and he immediately set them to work to make boats in an out-lying barn of the jesuits, that they might not be discovered by the savages.

Their wonderful escapes.

ALL his precautions, however, had probably been in vain, had not a young *Frenchman*, the adopted son of one of the savages, and therefore as dear to him as his own, persuaded his father of adoption, that he dreamed of one of those feasts, at which the guests are obliged to eat all that is served up; that one of those feasts must be made, and that he would die if the smallest morsel was left. The affectionate father granted the son's request, and invited all the tribe to the feast, which was fixed to the 14th of *March*; the day on which the *French* were to attempt their escape. Every thing succeeded as the latter could wish: the guests feasted under the sound of all the drums and trumpets of the village, till all of them fell fast asleep; and the *Frenchman*, watching his opportunity, slipped out and joined his companions, who, favoured by the noise, had by this time got off in their boats. Such, in the main, is the account that *Charlevoix*^a gives us of this escape, which, if true, was wonderfully providential. But the good father, perhaps, in some particulars, was imposed on, however the account may be true upon the whole. The savages were surprized to the last degree, when next day they found the *French* were gone; but we are told by the same father, that though the *French* went off in their boats, the savages could not follow them in their canoes, because of the ice in the river. As to M. *Dupuys*, after encountering vast difficulties and fatigues, he arrived in fifteen days at *Montreal*.

THE reader, from the success of this *Onnontague* colony, may form to himself some idea of the blind zeal of the missionaries, and the credulity of the *French*, as well as the profound dissimulation of the savages, who seem fairly to have outwitted the *Europeans* in every thing, but the next to miraculous escape of the latter. It is probable, however, from what has fallen from *Charlevoix*, that the savages had been impelled to the bloody resolution they formed, by discovering that *Dupuys* and his followers intended to enslave them, and that their settlement had been made for no other purpose. When *Dupuys* arrived at

^a CHARLEVOIX, vol. ii. p. 86.

a *Montreal*, he found consternation and confusion spread through all the colony. Parties of the *Iroquois* covered the country, and, without declaring themselves enemies, obliged the *French* to keep within their walls. Towards the end of *May*, father *le Moyne*, who had been preaching among the *Agniers*, was by them safely conducted, according to their promise, to *Montreal*; a proof of the regard those savages have for the laws of hospitality, and they afterwards joined the other *Iroquois*; upon which those savages immediately broke out into open hostilities, and murdered the *Algonquins*, even under the cannon of the fort of *Quebec*.

Such was the melancholy situation of *French Canada*, when the viscount *d'Argenson*, who had been appointed governor-general of *New France*, arrived at *Quebec* to take possession of his government. His first exercise of power there was to detach about two hundred men, *French* and natives, against the *Iroquois*, but they could not come up with them. The savages marched next to surprise the settlement of *Trois Rivières*: they proposed to do this by amusing *de la Potherie*, the *French* commandant there, with a sham conference, and dispatched eight of their countrymen to *Trois Rivières* for that purpose. *Potherie* was aware of their intention. He instantly seized on the eight savages, one of whom he detained in his own prison, and sent the other seven to the governor-general, by whose orders they were put to death; and this seasonable severity for some time restored tranquility to the province.

Situation of Canada.

The court of *France* seems, at this time, to have entertained very false notions of the state, as well as of the interests, of *Canada*, which, in 1659, was dignified with the presence of a bishop, who was to reside there, *Francis Laval*, who had been before abbot of *Montigny*. The choice of this prelate was directed by the jesuits; for when the queen-mother urged that one of the ancient missionaries should be appointed bishop of *Canada*, they pretended that it was against their institutions for any of them to accept of that dignity, and recommended to it the abbot of *Montigny*. The first thing this new prelate did, was to demand the famous father *Jerome Lallemant*, who then presided in the college of *La Flèche*, from the general of the jesuits to attend him to *Canada*; and his request was accordingly complied with. This prelate, however, introduced a total alteration into the ecclesiastical discipline and government of *Canada*, where no priests but jesuits had hitherto found access; for he first carried over with him monks of other orders, who were instituted to benefices; but *Montreal* and its dependencies remained under the direction of the fathers of the seminary of *St. Sulpice*. In 1662 (that we may keep the ecclesiastical narrative as distinct as possible from the civil) a seminary was established at *Quebec*, in favour of the seminary of foreign missions, and the tithes were ordered to be paid to the directors of the new seminary; but with an exception of all new-cleared lands for the first five years. Other ecclesiastical regulations, which are not much to our purpose, we shall omit, as well as many disputes that happened between the civil and ecclesiastical power concerning the regulation of the tithes. But we cannot omit to mention the hospital, which was founded at *Montreal* by contributions amongst some zealous souls in *France*. The seminary of *St. Sulpice* had, by this time, obtained the entire property of the isle of *Montreal*, where *Maisonneuve*, the governor, had begun to lay the foundations of a city, which was afterwards built. This undertaking was distinguished by an institution, which was called that of the Daughters of the Congregation, and it owed its rise to a female devotee, one *Margaret Bourgeois*. It consisted of a number of maidens, who undertook the education of poor female orphans; but those daughters never could be brought to become nuns, a profession which they said was absolutely inconsistent with their institution. This conduct was much more successful, as well as rational, than that of the Ursulin nuns at *Quebec*, who undertook the like employment there; but it was soon found that their pupils, by being educated within the walls of a cloister, were unfit for society, and in danger of perishing for want, when turned out into the world.

A bishop sent to Canada.

In the mean while, the new bishop, who went by the title of bishop of *Petrea*, and had obtained from the pope a brief for being apostolical vicar of *New France*, was amused with daily accounts of discoveries of nations to the north and west of lake *Huron*; and, in concert with father *Lallemant*, who had been again named superior-general of the missions, he prepared for their conversion. In this, according to *Charlevoix*, who drew his information from his brethren the jesuits, they had so great success, that they not only converted all the numerous nations of the *Abenaguese*, but many of the *Esquimaux*, who, as we have already observed, were of all *Indians* the fiercest and most intractable, differing but little from their wolves and bears. But there is great reason to believe, from some ridiculous circumstances attending the relation of those conversions, that they were no other than compliances on the part of the savages, to which they were induced by interest, but oftener by curiosity, that they might experience the wonderful effects, which they were told their being sprinkled with water, or swallowing a wafer, would produce. In the year 1660, an

Arrival of a bishop.

Account of the
Sieux.

Algouquin met with numbers of his countrymen near *Hudson's Bay*, who had fled thither from the cruelties of the *Iroquois*. He found the natives, as well as his countrymen there, so well disposed to join with the *French* against the *Iroquois*, that they sent him with presents to the governor-general of *New France* to assure him of their friendship and assistance. About the same time, two *Frenchmen*, who had wintered on the borders of the upper lake, by travelling westward discovered the nation of the *Sieux*. This was a people who had never heard of the *French*, and who were but little known, even to the *Hurons* and *Algouquins*. The *Huron* nations of the *Tionnontatez* and the *Outaouais*, whom we have already mentioned, trusting to their fire-arms, sought to make their quarters good amongst the *Sieux*, to whom they fled for protection, and even killed some of them; but the *Sieux*, though startled at first, attacked their guests in a body, and put to death great numbers of them, while they massacred others, whom they drove into a kind of a pool, where unawares they found themselves entangled in nets, and not a man escaped death from the arrows of the *Sieux*. This determined the *Hurons* to seek their habitations elsewhere, and they settled to the south-east of the western point of the upper lake. As to the *Sieux*, they are represented by the missionaries in a very advantageous light^b, and their situation, with the similarity of their persons, manners, and doctrines, scarcely leaves room to doubt that they were originally the same with the *Asiatic Tartars*. The two *Frenchmen* found them very numerous, and divided into forty large townships, which frequently changed their places of abode. They have a knowledge of one God, and are said to believe the doctrine of transmigration. They are merciful to their prisoners; and the jesuits praise them for their docility, mildness, and good sense. c

THE summer of the year 1660 had almost proved irretrievably fatal to the *French* in *Canada*. Though *Old France* was, at that time, at a high pitch of glory, no care had been taken to support their colonies in *America*, where the *Iroquois* remained masters of all the open country, which they ravaged from *Montreal* to *Quebec*. A body of seven hundred of them had defeated a numerous party of *French* and *Indians*, and many of the colonists were making dispositions to embark with their all for *Old France*. Even the nuns were obliged to fly from their monasteries to take refuge at *Montreal* and *Quebec*; and so closely had the savages blocked up the *French* within their walls, that there was all the appearance of an approaching famine; the *Frenchmen*, in many places, not daring to stir abroad, either to d reap or sow. At last, towards the end of autumn, they disappeared; but it was soon discovered to be with an insidious intent of decoying into their hands some *French* missionaries, or men of consequence, whom they might exchange for their countrymen, who were prisoners among the *French*; after which they intended to renew all their barbarities, and, particularly, to carry off all the children they could, to repeople their country. Their designs, however, were disconcerted by the accidental death of one of their chiefs; and the savages disappeared entirely till towards the end of the winter; they then appeared again in numerous bodies, and every-where butchered the *French* and *Indians*. Amongst the former, some persons of rank lost their lives; and amongst the latter, the women, rather than fall into the hands of the *Iroquois*, fought as bravely as the men. To complete e the misfortunes of the colony, the inhabitants were attacked by a kind of hooping cough, which proved epidemical, and turned into a pleurisy, that carried off great numbers. Even the physicians encouraged the belief, that this distemper was the effect of witchcraft, and this fantastic notion produced amongst the inhabitants numbers of others equally fantastic, such as apparitions of crowns, canoes, and men on fire with dreadful yellings, in the night-time; and, at last, a comet, that really appeared, heightened the general consternation.

Affairs mend
in the colony.

WHILE this deplorable state of the colony continued, the councils of the *Onnontague* took a most favourable turn for the *French*. It seems that, amongst those savages, the matrons form the most considerable part of the government, and the men, knowing that most of them were sincere converts, and friends to the missionaries, had carefully concealed from their females the intended massacre of the *French* under *Monf. Dupuys*. On discovering that the *French* and the missionaries were gone, the ladies and their daughters celebrated a general mourning, and asserted their prerogative from the usurpations of the men, so resolutely, that they set at liberty all the *French* prisoners, amounting to twenty; and they converted one of their cabins into a chapel, where great numbers of Christians prayed every day; and for effecting this great revolution, they were assisted by the Christians of the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouib*, who continued staunch in the faith. Soon after this, news came the *Iroquois* savages disappeared, and towards the end of July 1661, two canoes, with a white flag, appeared before *Montreal*. Being suffered to approach, they were found g to be deputies from the cantons of *Onnontague* and *Goyogouin*; and that the deputy from the

^b See a memoir upon the ancient navigation of the *Chinese* to *America*, by M. LE GUIGNES.

a latter had not only the best interest of any man in his canton, but was the most determined friend the *French* had amongst all the savages. They brought with them four *Frenchmen*, whom they proposed to exchange for eight *Goyogouin* prisoners, and to set at liberty all their remaining *French* prisoners, on the like terms. They presented *Maisonneuve*, at the same time, with a letter to the remaining *French* prisoners, informing him of the good treatment they received, but at the same time, that if the proposal of their exchange was rejected, they must infallibly undergo the flames. *Maisonneuve*, not thinking himself sufficiently authorized to return an answer to those propositions, sent an express with them to the governor-general, and in the mean while lodged the deputies in his fort. *D'Argenson*, who by this time had become peevish and sour by his situation, and had demanded his recal, with some difficulty agreed to the proposals; but was at a loss to find a missionary, who would venture into the savage country, which the *Indians* insisted on, as an indispensable preliminary of the accommodation; but his uneasiness was soon over, the zealous father *le Moyne* cheerfully, for a fourth time, embracing that mission.

In the mean while, *D'Argenson* was relieved in his government by the baron *D'Avaugour*, who had been bred up in the wars of *Hungary*, and was esteemed an honest man, as well as a good officer; but in other respects was very ill qualified to be a governor-general of *New France*. Having visited the posts of *Canada*, he appeared highly surprised and dissatisfied at seeing them so weak, and openly declared, that if the *French* court did not send him the supplies and reinforcements they had promised him, he would leave his government, without waiting for the appointment of his successor. By this time *le Moyne* had left *Quebec*, while the fathers *Dreuilletes* and *Dablon* sailed up the river *Saguenay*, as far as the source of the river *Nekouba*, thereby to get a passage into the north sea. The heats they endured were excessive. They perceived, that the lake of *St. John* is the real source of the *Saguenay*, and several other rivers. The description of that lake, which they said was of an oval figure, and about twenty leagues in circumference, full of beautiful islands, crowned with trees, and affording the most delightful prospect in the world, was perhaps greatly exaggerated by the remembrance of the frightful countries through which they had travelled. Notwithstanding the frightful appearance of the country, both before and after they passed this lake, they found some savages, whom they converted to Christianity, about the source of the river *Nekouba*, beyond which they could not proceed, on account of the *Iroquois*, who were approaching, and had lately destroyed a whole nation. As it is of importance for us to be acquainted with every material circumstance relating to a country now belonging to the crown of *Great Britain*, we are to mention from the journal, which *Dablon* left behind him of this expedition, a most extraordinary disease, which, he says, is common in those northern countries. A person suddenly becomes hypochondriac, and then frantic; in which state, becoming insatiably ravenous after human flesh, he darts himself like a wolf upon all who approach him, and tears them to pieces. This disease, which encreases the more the hunger is gratified, is so incurable, that the patient is knocked on the head, if possible, the moment the symptoms appear upon him.

c Though the different tribes and townships of those savages are independent of one another, and though each adopts a form of government, as custom or caprice directs, yet they commonly have some person of high distinction among them, whom they consider as the chief of their nation, and who guides them in their general deliberations. We are, therefore, to consider the resolution taken by the *Onnontague* to massacre *Dupuys* and his people, as belonging only to that tribe which had sent deputies to *Montreal*; for, from what follows, it does not appear to have been the general sense of the nation to break with the *French*. Father *le Moyne*, in his travels to the *Onnontague* country, escaped several dangers from the *Agniers*, the *Onneyouths*, and the *Tsonnonthouans*, who had no chief in the *Onnontague* deputation to *Montreal*. When he came within two leagues of *Onnontague*, he was surprised to be met by *Garakonthie*, the grand chief of the whole nation, and lord of that canton in particular; as he knew that those savages seldom or never advance above a quarter of a mile, to meet their deputies on their return. But this *Garakonthie* was a very extraordinary personage, and had nothing about him of the savage, but his birth and education. He was not only a renowned warrior, but an able statesman; for he had a particular talent in managing the popular assemblies of his countrymen; and to complete his character, he was good-natured, mild, candid, and possessed of extraordinary genius. By his great credit with his canton, he had saved the lives of all the *French* prisoners his people had made, and had even the address to deliver many who were in the hands of the *Agniers*; and, in consequence of his affection for the *French* in general, he was incessantly labouring to bring about a firm alliance between them and his countrymen. The first proof he gave of his talents for negotiation, was to carry *le Moyne* to wait upon the other chiefs, before he brought him to his cabin, that the pacification might seem to take its rise from them, and not to be entirely his own work. On the 12th of *August*, the deputies of *Onnontague*,

History and
services of
Garakonthie.

Montague, *Goygouin*, and *Tsonnontbouan*, assembled in *Garakonthie*'s cabin, to which *le Moyne* was invited. He accordingly repaired thither, and, after delivering his presents, he opened the conferences. Being perfectly acquainted with the genius, manners, and language of the parties he was treating with, he conducted the negotiation with all the solemnity, figurative expressions, and actions, which he knew those barbarians to be fond of, delivering his wampum strings at the conclusion of every article, and then quitting the character of envoy from the governor-general, he resumed that of the missionary, and turned the discourse upon religious subjects.

Negotiations
about peace.

THE savages, who affect formality in all their deliberations, took some days to consider of their answer to what *le Moyne* had proposed. The result of their consultation was, that nine *French* prisoners should be sent to *Onnontkio*, but that they would reserve the others in compliment to *Ondeffon* (meaning father *le Moyne*) to keep him company during the winter; and that *Garakonthie* should be appointed head of the deputation, which was to be sent to *Montreal* to conclude the peace. The missionary put them in mind of their promise to send back all the *French* prisoners; but being peremptorily told that that could not be, he desisted from his request, especially as he saw that they were well treated. It was the middle of *September*, when *Garakonthie* set out on his embassy; but, while he was on his journey, he encountered two accidents, which, had it not been for his great credit and prudence, must have proved fatal to his negotiation. The first was his meeting with a troop of warriors of his own canton, commanded by one *Outreoutiati*, a chief of reputation, who had been in irons at *Montreal*; but escaping, he and his party were returning loaded with the scalps and spoils of the *French* and their *Indians*, whom they had killed in revenge. The *Indians* of *Garakonthie*'s train were for returning immediately, lest reprisals should be made upon them, on their arrival at *Montreal*; but he, though somewhat embarrassed at first, satisfied them they were in no danger as long as *le Moyne* and the *French* remained in their canton; upon which they proceeded forward. A few days after he overtook a party of the *Onneyouths*, who told him they were going to eat *Frenchmen*; but upon his making them a present, he persuaded them to return. Upon his arrival at *Montreal*, he was received with distinctions due to the great services he had done the colony. In many private conferences he had there with the governor-general, the latter conceived so high an opinion of his sincerity, as well as capacity, that upon his promising him to return in the spring with the remaining *French* prisoners, all the *Iroquois* captives were delivered into his hands; a proof that the governor-general was but ill acquainted with the nature of the *American* savages; though it is true that he had other reasons for believing, that a peace would soon be concluded. He imagined, that the superior cantons of the *Iroquois* were so involved in war with the *Andastes*, and the *Agniers*, with other nations, supported by the *Abenaguese*, that the desire of peace amongst all the *Iroquois* would become general. But he soon received intelligence, that the *Iroquois* were victorious over all their enemies, whom they had either conquered, or forced to sue for peace. The *Onnontaguese* hearing of this, and that the *Agniers* had again pushed their ravages to the very gates of *Montreal*, took arms against the *French*. Being no longer awed by the presence of *Garakonthie*, two hundred of them invaded the *French* colonies; and attacking a great many of the inhabitants of *Montreal*, who were at work in the fields, they cut in pieces the *French* town-major, who had sallied out with twenty-six well armed soldiers, to bring off the people of *Montreal*. At the same time, it was known at that place, that the *Outaouais* had maltreated father *Misnard*, who had been granted to them as a missionary; so that he never was heard of more. In the mean while *le Moyne* continued to exercise his functions amongst the *Onnontaguese*, notwithstanding the hostilities their countrymen had been guilty of against the *French*, and by a prudent course of dissimulation he gained his ends. *Garakonthie*, loaded with valuable presents, and attended by the *Iroquois* captives, arrived at this critical juncture at *Onnontague*, and, though greatly startled at the alteration of his people's sentiments, he acted with so much address and firmness, that he not only obtained a ratification of the treaty he had concluded, but the delivery of all the *French* prisoners into the hands of father *le Moyne*, excepting one, who was put to death by his master, who refused, being a married man, to marry a *savage*.

The colony re-
inforced.

D'AVAUGOUR, though now convinced of the good faith of *Garakonthie*, was sensible, that his colony was in a most desperate situation, and he wrote in the strongest terms to the court of *France* for reinforcements, by *Boucher*, the commandant of *Trois Rivières*, who was an honest man, and entirely well acquainted with the affairs of *Canada*. The *French* king, upon his representations, appeared to be greatly surprised, that so promising a colony should have been so much neglected, and immediately ordered four hundred of his troops to embark for *Canada*, to strengthen the most exposed posts. Their arrival at *Quebec*, and *Dumont*'s promise of farther reinforcements next year, gave new spirits to the colony; but they were soon damped by the rash conduct of the governor-general. The strictest

a strictest orders had been issued by him for preventing the selling any brandy or spirituous liquors to the savages; and a *Quebec* woman having been detected in this fact, was immediately carried to prison. Her tears, and the intercessions of her relations, prevailed with father *Lallement* to apply for her release to the governor, who, with a frantic haughtiness, answered, that, since the crime was not punishable in that woman, it should not be so in any other person. What is still worse, he adhered so strictly to this declaration, that he thought it a point of honour not to retract it. This license introduced such a spirit of debauchery, not only among the savages, but amongst the *French* soldiers, that the clergy was insulted, and all kind of order and decency in the colony was disregarded; upon which the bishop, despairing of being able to do any service by his authority, resolved to embark for *France*, and there to lay his complaints before the king.

Upon his departure, the whole system of nature, in *French Canada*, seemed to be inverted; for nothing was to be seen or heard all over the province, but the most dreadful coruscations, balls of fire, breaking in a most terrible manner, claps of thunder, and terrible earthquakes. Those phenomena, though produced by natural causes, were urged by the clergy, and the nuns, as immediate visitations from God, upon the sins of the province; and a thousand supernatural prodigies were invented, to persuade the people, that still more judgments were waiting them, unless they repented, and turned from their wickedness. Fortunately for the colony, this prediction was fulfilled by the most dreadful earthquakes and hurricanes happening, that ever had been felt or known in those parts. The largest trees were pulled up by the roots; the courses of rivers inverted; the largest mountains torn from their foundations, and thrown upon one another; provinces enveloped in flames, issuing from the bowels of the earth; the country was covered with sea-monsters, that were cast on shore; and, in short, nothing was wanting that could announce the dissolution of the world to be at hand; while the clergy and nuns continued still to encrease those real terrors with imaginary prodigies. Those calamities were not confined to one spot, but reached from east to west for three hundred leagues, and for above one hundred and fifty from south to north. Even *New England* and *New York* felt the shocks of the earthquake, and saw the other appearances of this stupendous visitation. One circumstance, however, gives some reason to believe that the relations of it are somewhat exaggerated by the missionaries; for we are told that no life was lost during its continuance.

Amazing earthquakes and tempests.

The real effects of those calamities were incredible; for they not only brought the professors of Christianity to a sense of their crimes and irregularities, but occasioned great numbers of sincere conversions amongst the natives; so that nothing was now to be seen, but public penances, fastings, alms, pilgrimages, and processions. Above all, the illicit commerce in spirituous liquors was solemnly decried and detested. Upon the whole, though perhaps, as we have already observed, the jesuits have not stuck to strict truth in their representations of those amazing incidents, yet the face of Nature in *Canada*, to this very day, affords frequent evidences, that the earthquakes and hurricanes we have mentioned were the most dreadful any country ever suffered, that was not entirely destroyed. The consternation even reached the *Iroquois*, who were so amazed, that though they again appeared in arms near *Montreal*, they lost all courage, and were beat in several small encounters by the *French* and their *Indians*. The small-pox, soon after this, swept off great numbers of them, and at last they came to be so well disposed towards a peace, that the *Onnontague* not only invited the *French* to resume their former settlement amongst them, but offered to send their daughters as hostages to *Quebec*, there to be educated by the *Ursulin* nuns. But the affairs of *Canada* were now about to resume a new face.

The company of *Canada*, unwilling, or unable to support so unprofitable a settlement as that of *New France*, had made a voluntary surrender of all their property in it to the *French* king, who, upon the representations of the bishop of *Petrée*, resolved to put its government upon a new establishment. For this purpose, he appointed *Monf. de Mesy* to succeed the baron *D'Avaugour* as governor, and the sieur *Gaudais* to go as his commissary, and to take possession, in his name, of all *New France*. Along with those two officers a body of troops, and one hundred families, for peopling the colony, embarked, besides other officers of all denominations. The commissary began by receiving the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and establishing new courts, where new processes of justice were introduced; but those regulations had a very different effect from what his most Christian majesty expected. The *French Canadians*, till that time, had but very few differences amongst themselves, concerning matters of property, and those few were always decided by the governor-general, upon the principles of equity and good sense. But no sooner did the above-mentioned regulations take place, than the *Canadians*, from being amongst themselves the most inoffensive people in the world, became the most litigious. A council of state was likewise established this year, viz. 1663. It was composed of *Mesy*, the governor-general, the bishop of *Petrée*, *Robert* the intendant, four counsellors, whom

The government of Canada now modelled.

A. D. 1663.

they three were to name, a procurator-general, and a head secretary. It is immaterial for this history to relate the several alterations which this institution underwent afterwards, while *Canada* was in the hands of the *French*; it is sufficient to say, that the number of counsellors were at last increased to twelve, and the subaltern judges to so immoderate a number, that the inhabitants smarted more under the fees of lawyers, than they had done before from the ravages of the *Indians*.

D'Avaugour
recalled.

WHEN those regulations were going forward the *sieur Gaudais* returned, according to order, to *France*, that he might make a report to his most Christian majesty of the state and dispositions of the colony, the conduct of *D'Avaugour*, whose severity had been greatly complained of, and the manner in which the new governor and regulations had been received. All this he did, and *D'Avaugour* having returned to *Europe*, had his master's permission to re-enter into the emperor's service against the *Turks* in *Hungary*, where he was killed next year. But the arrival of the reinforcements from *France* retarded the restoration of peace with the *Iroquois*; for when it was on the point of being concluded, a *Huron*, who was a naturalized *Iroquois*, spread a report, that before he left *Trois Rivières* he saw thousands of soldiers landing at *Quebec*, and that the *French* were in full march to destroy the dwellings, and exterminate the race of the *Iroquois*. This report broke off for that time the negotiation. The savages stood on their guard, but without venturing to invade the colony. Perceiving, however, by degrees, that the *French* had no hostile intentions, towards the winter they made incursions into the northern parts, where they were guilty of enormous cruelties.

BUT such was the spirit of those barbarians, that though in all probability they believed the first report of the *French* immense reinforcements, it did not produce from them one advance towards a submission, and it required all the prudence and credit of *Garakontbie* to keep them from breaking into farther hostilities. He succeeded so far, that he assembled the *French* prisoners in the cantons, who had been taken, and gave them an escort of twenty *Onnontague* to conduct them to *Quebec*. In their voyage thither, they were attacked all of a sudden by a party of *Algonquins*, who took them for enemies, and killed several of the *Iroquois*, but the *French* escaped unhurt. This accident must have produced an immediate and a fresh rupture, had not *Garakontbie* persuaded the *Onnontague*, that it was owing to a mistake. Some months after, the *Goyogouin* chief agreeably surprised the colony at *Quebec* with a pacific visit. He presented the governor general with belts on the parts of all the cantons, excepting that of *Onneyouth*, and declared, that they were fully resolved to live in peace with the colony. The general, though pleased with the compliment, put on an air of superiority, and acquainted the savage, that he was resolved to be upon his guard against a nation that had been so often trusted by his predecessors, and had so often betrayed them. He, however, treated the chief with great politeness and civility. It was about this time that the colony of *Canada* was deeply affected by the *English* getting possession of *New York*, as we have already seen in the history of that province.

Mesly gover-
nor.

THE bishop of *Petrée* had been the main instrument in procuring the recal of the late governor *D'Avaugour*; and so highly was he in favour with *Levis XIV.* that he was left to name *D'Avaugour's* successor. *Mesly* was then major of the citadel of *Caen*, and so great a professor of piety, that the bishop recommended him to the king, who confirmed his choice. He scarcely was fixed in his government, when the bishop found he had mistaken his man. The bishop patronized the jesuits, *Mesly* hated them. Thus the colony was split into two parties. Each sent over their remonstrances to the court of *France*, where the interest of the jesuits proved too strong for that of *Mesly*. His complaints were founded upon the vast credit the jesuits had obtained in the province, which, in fact, rendered the authority of the governor a cypher; as, without their intervention and agency, he could take no step with regard to the *Indians*. It was easy for some of the most discerning amongst the counsellors of state, to know where the weight of interest would lie at the court, and therefore they took part with the bishop. *Mesly*, however, seems to have given them some handle by his arbitrary proceedings, and by sending home the counsellor *de Villeray*, and the *Sieur Bourdon*, procurator-general, without any form of trial. The bishop took advantage of this, and some other unguarded acts of power, which the governor could not disprove. But notwithstanding all the power of the jesuits, *Monf. Colbert*, then first minister of *France*, though obliged to give way to the recal of *Mesly*, did not conceal his opinion, that the good fathers were rather an overmatch for the credit that ought to be vested in a governor-general of such a province, and that care ought to be taken to circumscribe their power, and to send over governors, who could do it with more temper and prudence than *Mesly* possessed.

Tracy viceroy
of the French

WHEN the old *Canada* company resigned all their rights in that country, to his most Christian Majesty, he transferred the same to the *West India* company, together with the power

a power of nominating all the governors and officers of *Canada*. The company, however, politely enough declined that honour, and left those nominations in the hands of his majesty, on pretence that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of the province, to make a proper choice of its high officers. In consequence of this act of self-denial, *Mesly* had been appointed governor-general of *New France*, and on the 19th of Nov. 1663, his majesty nominated the marquis *de Tracy* his viceroy over all *America*, with a commission to visit first the *French* islands, and then to repair to *New France*, where he was to give orders for the future establishment of the colony, and for securing it against the *Iroquois*. This commission was expedited a little before the disputes between *Mesly* and the bishop began, and when his most Christian majesty had, in consequence of petitions from the colony, come to a most serious resolution to send thither a most effectual and powerful supply, both of troops and inhabitants. It is remarkable, that the petitioners prayed, that the colonists sent over might be natives of the isle of *France*, or the northern provinces, because a great many heretics were shipped from the southern. The recal of *Mesly* being resolved on, the king nominated *Daniel de Remi*, lord of *Courcelles*, to be his successor, and *Monf. Talon*, to be intendant, in the room of *Robert*, who never had gone to *New France*. A commission was likewise issued out on the 21st of March, 1665, to empower them, together with the marquis *de Tracy*, who was then in *America*, to enquire into the conduct of *Mesly*; and, if they thought him culpable, to put him under arrest, and to try him; at the same time orders were expedited, for raising colonists, and for sending the regiment of *Carignan Salieres*, part of which was with *Monf. de Tracy*, to *Canada*. In June, the same year, *Tracy* arrived there, with three companies of that regiment, and instantly drove back the *Iroquois*, who had again begun their inroads; by which a reasonable check the inhabitants got in their harvest without any molestation. Soon after, the rest of the regiment of *Carignan* arrived with their colonel, *Monf. de Salieres*, together with *Courcelles* and *Talon*, on board a powerful squadron, which carried a great number of families, tradesmen, artied servants, the first horses that had ever been seen in *Canada*, horned cattle, sheep, and, in short, says father *Charlevoix*^b, a more powerful colony, than that which they came to reinforce. The viceroy then gave orders for building three forts towards the mouth of the river *Richelieu*, one upon the spot where fort *Richelieu* had stood; the command of which was given to *Monf. Sorel*, from whom it is now called fort *Sorel*. The second was built at the foot of a rapid river, called *St. Louis*; but afterwards took the name of its governor, *Monf. Chambly*, who was a great proprietor of land there, and was likewise built on the ruins of a former fort. The third fort was erected by *Monf. de Salieres*, and was called *St. Theresa*. The construction of those forts, though at first they struck the *Iroquois* with consternation, is thought to have been injudicious, because the main purposes they were intended to serve, might have answered by a strong well-garrisoned fort in the canton of *Onnontague*, or that of *Agniers*; though fort *Chambly*, it is true, covered the province from the incursions of the people of *New York*, and the lower *Iroquois*. During those transactions, *Talon* remained at *Quebec*, where he made himself fully master of every thing relating to *Canada*; which he digested in a memorial to *Colbert*, acquainting him at the same time, that *Mesly* being dead, and the clergy perfectly easy, without making farther complaints, it was judged to be most conducive to his majesty's service, not to proceed to any enquiries into his conduct. In short, *Talon*, by this memorial, discovered himself to be a very able minister. He laid before *Colbert* the prodigious advantages that might accrue to its mother country, by the encouragement of this colony. But he informed the minister, that his majesty had entirely mistaken his measures for that purpose, by putting it into the hands of the *West India* company, who had already declared they would suffer no provisions to come from *France*, without their permission, even for the subsistence of the inhabitants; and that they would suffer no liberty of commerce, but what they themselves should carry on. He added, that unless his majesty took the colony into his own hands, it would not be worth either his, or his ministers attention; and that the inhabitants must be in a state of bondage to the company, who would enrich themselves by their misery. Towards the end of December, *Garakonthie* arrived with the deputies of his canton, of *Goyogouin* and of *Tsonnonihouan*. After delivering his presents, and making the general compliments of submission from the three colonies, he made a kind of a funeral oration upon the death of father *le Moyne*, which had happened some time before, in terms that equally affected and astonished his hearers. He touched, but with great modesty, on his own services to the colony, and concluded with a demand of peace, and the freedom of all the prisoners of the three cantons, that had been made since the last exchange. This request was granted by *Tracy*, who highly caressed *Garakonthie* both in public and private, and, at parting, loaded him and the other deputies with presents.

^b CHARLEVOIX, vol. ii. p. 151.

*Expedition
against the
natives.*

No sooner had they taken leave of the viceroy, than two bodies of regulars were ordered out against the *Agniers* and the *Onneyouths*, under *Courcelles* and *Sorel*. The *Onneyouths* immediately offered to make their submission, by sending deputies to *Quebec*, who are said to have been charged with the like commission on the part of the *Agniers*; but they failed in the negotiation; for the last mentioned savages had still parties in the field, one of which killed *Chafy*, the viceroy's nephew, and two other *French* officers. *Sorel* was all this while upon his march against the *Agniers*, but on approaching one of their villages, he was met by a troop of the warriors, with the bastard *Fleming*, we have already mentioned, at their head. What follows, though we take the relation from the *French* themselves, cannot be easily justified on the principles of either good faith, hospitality, or humanity, and yet it is mentioned by them with an air of applause. The *Fleming*, making signals for a parley, acquainted *Sorel*, that he was going to *Quebec* to treat of peace with the viceroy; upon which *Sorel*, without any hesitation, accompanied him thither; and being well received by the viceroy, he was followed in a day or two by another *Agnier* deputy. He too was well received; and so far were they from being suspected not to be real deputies, that the viceroy entertained them at his table, where mention was made of *Monf. de Chafy's* death. Upon this, the last arrived barbarian, with a savage air of triumph, stretching forth his arm, There, said he, is the hand that killed him. Then, replied the viceroy, it never shall kill another, and he ordered him immediately to be strangled, by the common hangman, which was performed in the presence of the bastard *Fleming*, who was sent to prison.

COURCELLES, who knew nothing of what had passed at *Quebec*, was then at *Corlar*, a settlement belonging to *Albany*, upon the borders of the *Iroquois* country; where, before he entered upon hostilities with the *Iroquois*, he prevailed with the *English* commandant to promise, that he would give no assistance to the *Agniers*. *Courcelles* performed this journey in the midst of winter, walking with snow shoes, and carrying his arms and provisions like the meanest soldier, many of whom were disabled by the cold from attending him. The precautions he took for success, defeated it; for when he entered the country of the *Agniers*, he found their villages abandoned, and that their children, women, and old men, had secured themselves in the woods, while their warriors had marched against other nations, till they should know the result of the *Onneyouths* negotiation. All he could do was to kill or pick up a few stragglers of the savages. Returning to *Quebec*, he found *Tracy*, though then above seventy years of age, ready to set out on an expedition against the *Onneyouths* and the *Agniers*. His army was composed of six hundred regulars, the same number of *Canadians*, savages of different nations; but he carried with him no more than two pieces of artillery. While he was setting out new deputies came from the two cantons to endeavour an accommodation, but they were detained prisoners, and the army began its march in three divisions on the 14th of *September*. Their magazines of provisions were calculated to serve them till they should arrive in the enemy's country, where they counted upon being plentifully supplied; but, before they had got half way, they found their provisions at an end; and they must actually have returned, had it not been for a wood of chestnuts; on which they lived, till they reached the enemy's country. A body of *Algonquins*, who marched before the first division, alarmed the inhabitants of the first village they reached, which the *French* general entered with all the display of military pomp: but he found no inhabitant there, excepting a few old men and women, who were too decrepid to fly. The *French* were surprized to meet here with cabins well built, and properly ornamented; some of them six score feet in length, of a proportionable breadth, and all of them wainscotted within. Upon searching farther they discovered an amazing quantity of provisions buried under-ground, sufficient to serve all the colony for two years.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, never was a worse conducted, or a more ill-judged expedition than this was on the part of the *French*. *Tracy*, instead of burning the provisions he could not carry off, contented himself with burning the cabins, of which he did not leave one standing, in the whole canton; and instead of building forts for bridling so fine a country, he amused himself with drawing up his men in order of battle, and marching against the savages, who were too wise to hazard an engagement with him, but bade him defiance in their woods and fastnesses. He excused himself from those omissions, by saying, that the security of the colony was provided for by the forts he had already raised against the barbarians, whom he had sufficiently chastised, and taught to respect the *French* power. He likewise alledged the instructions, which directed the governors of *New France* to keep their possessions as compact as possible together upon the banks of the river *St. Laurence*, where the land should be first cleared; so that there should be none of those straggling settlements, which had been so often the objects of the *Indian* ravages. *Charles-voix*, however, is of opinion, that those ends might have been more effectually obtained, by fortifying the frontiers against the enemy. But, in fact, the regulations of the *French* king

a king in this respect never were complied with ; for the desire of gain led the colonists to pitch upon, and clear those situations, however dangerous they might be, that were most convenient for trade.

It was now towards the end of *October*, and consequently too late for *Tracy*, who seems to have been now in a state of military dotage, to proceed against the canton of *Onneyouth*. He had rather exasperated than chastised the savages, and a little more delay would have rendered his return impracticable, by the rivers being frozen, and the attacks he must have been exposed to from the *Indians*. In his return his troops suffered greatly from the fatigues of their march, and an officer and some soldiers were drowned in passing lake *Champlain*. Upon *Tracy's* arrival at *Quebec* he ordered some of his prisoners to be hanged, and sent home the others with the *Flemish* bastard. The last act of his government in *New France* was to establish the *West India* company, in all the rights of the whole *Canada* company, and then he returned to *France*. *Canada*, notwithstanding all his omissions, might, however, date the æra of her importance from his administration. The late expedition against the *Iroquois*, had it been properly pursued, must have rendered her colonists respectable ; but her government, notwithstanding the sensible remonstrances of *Talon*, went upon wrong principles. The bigots at the court of *Old France*, who guided that king's conscience, were devoted to the jesuits, who appear, by all their own relations, to have made the conversion of the *Indians* the primary object of the colony, whereas, in pursuing those conversions, as they did, it was threatened with ruin ; because the savages no sooner became converts than they lived like drones, upon the public stock, and indulged their irresistible propensity to indolence. It is in vain for the jesuit historians to pretend, that the interests of the colony were connected with those of religion. Had the savages, instead of being taught the fopperies of their religion, been taught to taste the sweets of commerce with the *French*, they would soon have come into the habits of civil life, and the practice of christianity ; if the religion of the jesuits can be called such. The *French Canadian* laity were fully sensible of all this, and, after the last establishment of the colony, those conversions, to the no small mortification of the jesuits, began to be discontinued ; and even the converts already made insensibly dwindled and disappeared, partly through diseases, introduced by their indolence, and partly from other causes.

Tracy's expedition against the savages.

d THE ascendancy of the jesuit counsellors at the court of *France* could not render it entirely insensible of their engrossing practices amongst the savages ; and therefore repeated orders were sent to *Talon*, that the missionaries should by all means instruct the children of the savages in the *French* language. The jesuits have not informed us, why that instruction, so evidently beneficial to the colony, was not followed ; but we are given to understand, that they had the address to gain over to their interest *Colbert* as well as *Tracy* ; and, in general, that the instruction was dropt, because of the difficulties attending it. In the mean while, *Talon* exerted amazing talents in promoting the prosperity and commerce of the colony. He had been told of silver mines that were to be found in *Canada* ; but in this he was soon undeceived by experience : other mines, however, were discovered in great abundance, and especially those of iron ; and *Talon* formed a scheme for manufacturing it, and shipping it to *Europe* from *Gaspey*, then in possession of the *French*. In *August*, 1666, he employed *la Tessarie* to discover mines ; and he found a very fine one of iron, with a prospect of copper and other mines. Soon after, *Talon* went to *France*, and prevailed with *Colbert* to lend *la Potardiere*, a famous miner, to *Canada*, where he made a most favourable report of the mines, particularly those about the town of *Champlain*, and *Cape Magdalen*, between *Quebec* and *Trois Rivières*. In the year 1668, full liberty of commerce was published in *Canada* ; and this, together with the discovery of the mines, and a tannery manufacture, which had been set up with great appearance of success, raised very high expectations in all who had the least concern with *Canada*. It may perhaps give some information to a *British* reader, at this time, to be informed, that, notwithstanding all the promising appearances of this colony, from its mines and manufactures, they came to nothing ; unaccountably, as father *Charlevoix* says, though the reason is very plain. It was against the interest of the jesuits, his brethren, that any thing but their own commerce should flourish in *Canada*. They knew that if the inhabitants should once be possessed of a spirit of commerce, their functions must cease of course. It is true, they encouraged the fur trade, the only commerce we can discover that was carried on in the inland parts of *Canada*, for an obvious reason, because they themselves had a great interest in it, on account of their vast credit with the savages. The *Outaouais*, whom we have already mentioned to be seated on the upper lake, in particular, now drove a great trade with the *French Canadians* in furs, and solicited that a jesuit might be sent amongst them, in hopes that other *French* would follow him, and make a settlement in their country. This request was granted, notwithstanding the dreadful fate of *Garreau* and *Mej-*

Interested conduct of the jesuits.

Mines in Canada.

Mission of father Allouez amongst the Outaouais.

hard ; and father Allouez was employed in that mission. He surmounted incredible hardships, in his voyage thither, and was greatly scandalized to see the inhabitants apply to the sun for the cure of some of their countrymen, who had been miserably scorched by a barrel of gun-powder taking fire. On the first of October, he arrived at *Chagouamigon*, where he found a township, containing, at least, eight hundred warriors of different nations, and there he built a chapel, to which proselytes of all nations resorted. Charlevoix himself owns that he made little or no progress in the works of his mission, because of the idolatry of the people, who erected idols to which they sacrificed dogs, and made offerings that they might be cured of an epidemical distemper then raging amongst them. Those savages undoubtedly had notions of a superior being, and even their absurdities are proofs of it. When they were in storms, they sacrificed dogs, and other animals, to appease the raging of the sea, and they had amongst them customs that evidently marked their belief of a transmigration of souls. This was exemplified in a variety of instances ; and so strongly were they prepossessed with those notions, that even the proselytes to christianity could not be kept from sacrificing to the true God. Every thing amongst them was transacted as a religious matter from the highest pitch of their worship to the lowest obscenity. Their physicians attributed all their diseases to the neglect of superstitious duties, especially their omitting making a feast, when the hunting and fishing season was over, and their priests, or, more properly, their jugglers, prescribed a feast for removing every disease they were subject to. Though a great many christian *Hurons* lived amongst them, yet they were so degenerated, and retained so many of their native superstitions, that their religion could scarcely be discerned. Allouez endeavoured to reclaim them, and understanding that the whole nation was congregated from the islands, where they resided, he paid them a visit. The first thing the barbarian who served as porter required of him was to deliver his shoes, which, after examining them carefully, he returned to the father ; as being a mark of the greatest respect he could shew him. When introduced to them, he was charmed with their gentleness and docility. He there found a man, who had lived almost a hundred years. He had the gift of fasting for twenty days at once, and so high an opinion did the savages entertain of his virtue, that they said he often saw the Author of all things. This aged *Indian* had two daughters, who were proselytes to christianity, and so assiduous were they with their father, that, some days before his death, they prevailed upon him to be instructed by Allouez, who baptized him. The missionary intended to give this venerable father a christian burial ; but his countrymen burnt him for some reasons too fanciful to be repeated here.

His great success.

If we are to believe Charlevoix, this missionary had vast success in converting the *Outagamis*, the *Illinois*, and even the *Sieux* ; but he could converse with the latter, as well as several other nations he there met with, only by interpreters. The *Sieux* informed him, that their nation was the most northerly in the world ; but probably they included the *Astiniboils*, and all the other tribes, who spoke dialects of their language. Their neighbours, towards the west, were the *Karefis*, who lay in the neighbourhood of a nation, who were man-eaters, and sold human flesh ready dressed. Father Allouez had there an opportunity of seeing the *Cristinaux*, or, as they are called, the *Creek Indians*, who, as he says, adored the sun, to whom they sacrificed dogs hanged on trees. He gave them the character of being great talkers, and said that they spoke a dialect of the *Algonquin*. About the beginning of the year 1667, father Allouez, understanding that the *Nipissings* had taken refuge in great numbers on the borders of the lake *Alimipegou*, to the north of the upper lake, at the distance of 1500 miles from the spot where he was, set out, attended only by two savages to visit them. He found them for the most part christians ; but as degenerated in their religion as the *Outaouais*, and the *Hurons*. After performing the functions of his mission amongst them, he returned to *Chagouamigon*, where he took an opportunity of joining a large company of *Outaouais*, who were going with furs to *Montreal*, from whence he went to *Quebec*, where he was joined by father Nicholas, a friar, and four labourers or volunteers in the service of conversion. From *Quebec* they went to *Montreal*, where they found the *Outaouais* had finished their business, and were ready to embark ; but they obstinately refused to suffer the friar and the four volunteers to go on board their canoes ; so that the two fathers were obliged to embark by themselves, without provisions, or even necessaries of any kind. But it is now time to return to *Quebec*.

Submissions of the Iroquois.

THE *Iroquois* cantons of *Agnier* and *Onneyouth*, at the departure of *Tracy*, the French viceroy, perceiving the French were now grown too powerful for them in *Canada*, made their submissions to *Courcelles*, the governor-general, who, at their request, sent the fathers *Bruyas* and *Fremin* to labour among them in the vineyard of conversions. Father *Garnier*

- a was sent after to assist them; but visiting the christians of *Onnontague*, he was detained there by *Garakontie*, who built him a cabin and a chapel; and engaged him to remain there till he should return from *Quebec*, where he was going to solicit for missionaries to his own canton; and that of *Goyequin*. *Garakontie*, after some stay at *Quebec*, returned to *Onnontague*, with the fathers *Carheil* and *Milet*; and the bishop of *Petrée* was so active, that, excepting the canton of *Tsonnonthouan*, all the savage nations in *America* were provided with missionaries; but, notwithstanding all the pains the good fathers took, their success in conversions was but very moderate. The savages, all but a few weak *Hurons*, began to despise them; and *Charlevoix*, with great reason, says, that the neighbourhood of the *Dutch* and *English* was a great obstacle to the conversion of the *Indians*. The truth is, those savages now knew the sweets of trade. Gain was their only religion, and commerce their worship. We ought to repeat it, that the missionaries employed in *Canada* were a set of indefatigable, dauntless, enthusiasts; the tools of *European* jesuits, who practised on the weakness of the *French*, and other zealots in courts, and raised contribution upon the public, by publishing splendid accounts of the progress the gospel was making amongst the savages. *Charlevoix*, in his part of this history, takes occasion to launch out into high encomiums upon several religious ladies and jesuits, who then lived in *Canada*, and who, if we are to believe his characters of them, were sufficient by their lives and exemplary zeal to have converted half the globe from idolatry to christianity: but he thinks that their labours were defeated by the *Iroquois* dealing so much as they did in strong liquors with the people of *New York*, though, at the same time, he frankly owns that his own countrymen, the *French*, were far from being irreproachable on that head.

- In the year 1668, so great was the attention of the court of *France* to the prosperity of *Canada*, that the affairs of that colony had a most promising aspect. Gentlemen of Prosperous State of Canada. ancient families and small fortunes in *Old France* transported themselves to the *New*, where they had lands and lordships assigned them; and, with a very moderate share of industry, they were soon enabled to live like men of quality. The soldiers of the regiment of *Carignan Salieres* were now become planters and colonists, and every officer amongst them was a great landholder; a policy that cannot be sufficiently admired in the court of *France*, as every man thereby had an interest and a property in what he fought for. New troops were sent over, which still added not only to the strength, but the tranquility of the colony; and the habits of industry, application, and labour, became now to be fashionable. Happily for their neighbours, the subjects of *Great Britain*, those habits were forced, and of no long continuance. The moment the *French* planter found means to subsist himself with a little outward shew and splendour, all toil and application was laid aside; which always gave the *English* an important superiority in the solid possessions of life. The tranquility, however, which the colony enjoyed was a proof of its prosperity; so that, towards the end of this year, even the *Tsonnonthouans* applied to M. *Courcelles* for a missionary to instruct them, and he sent them father *Fremin*. The *Agniers*, who had hitherto appeared the most determined enemies of the missionaries and who had so often embroiled their hands in their blood, became now reconciled to their doctrines; and vast numbers of converts were made about the falls of *St Lewis*, and the mountain; but the *Onneyouths* and *Goyogouins* were less tractable. By this time, the *Iroquois*, remaining in perfect peace, the *Algonquins*, whom they had dislodged and driven away, returned to their former habitations, all of them converts to christianity, or rather to popery, though *Charlevoix* ingenuously confesses^a, that most of those conversions were the effect of interest and convenience only, and seldom sincere. About this time, father *Nicholas*, who was labouring with *Allouez* at *Chagouamigon*, conducted to *Quebec* savages who are known by the name of *Pierced noses*, from their practice of piercing their noses, and hanging beads and plates to them. After disposing of their merchandizes they returned to *Chagouamigon*.

- ABOUT the year 1668, or 1669, a misunderstanding grew up between *Courcelles* the governor-general, and *Talon*, the intendant general of *New France*. Both of them were men of great and acknowledged abilities. *Talon* understood the interests of the colony and had done it great services; but being an accomplished courtier, he espoused on all occasions the interests of the jesuits, whom *Courcelles* disliked. The latter had fine parts, and would have been a most excellent governor, had he been a little more active; or if he could have suffered *Talon* to have supplied his place. *Talon* saw this weakness, and often ventured to dispatch business without consulting the governor-general, so that they lived uneasy together, and *Talon* going over to *France* was succeeded by M. *Bouteroue*. This minister brought along with him a letter from M. *Colbert* to *Courcelles*, which politely gave him to understand that he ought to live upon better terms than he did with

^a CHARLEVOIX, vol. ii. p. 187.

the bishop of *Petrée* and the jesuits, and that M. *Bouteroue* was preferred to the intendence of the province, chiefly on account of the great regard he had for that order.

Quebec made
a bishopric.

For some years past a negotiation had been on foot between the courts of *France* and *Rome* about erecting *Quebec* into a bishopric. As there was at this time but a very indifferent understanding between the two courts, his holiness made great difficulties on account of the independency, which a bishop of *Quebec* might affect in so distant a country. At last, all difficulties were got over; his most Christian majesty, to make suitable provision for the new bishopric, gave to it, and the chapter of the cathedral, the rents of the abbey of *Maubec*, which was afterwards encreased with those of the abbey of *Benevent*. So miserably poor, however, was the new bishop of *Quebec*, and so griping the papal court, that the bulls of his creation lay for four years at *Rome* for want of money to defray the expence of passing them. About this time, *Maisonneuve*, who had so long and so worthily governed *Montreal*, resigned his post, and M. *Bretonvilliers*, as superior general of the seminary of *St. Sulpice*, named M. *Perrot* to succeed him. The latter, who had married a niece of *Talon*, thought it beneath his character to act under a commission from a private subject, and, therefore, had interest enough to obtain commission from the king, which, however, expressly mentioned that it was granted upon the nomination of M. *Bretonvilliers*.

Conduct of
Courcelles.

NOTWITHSTANDING the natural inactivity of *Courcelles*, yet he was extremely alert in every thing relating to the interest of *New France*, especially with regard to the savages. Understanding that the *Iroquois*, who lay towards the lake *Ontario*, had sent presents to the *Outaouais* to engage them to bring their furs to them that they might dispose of them to the *English* of *New York*, he resolved to check them. For that purpose he embarked with a body of troops on the river *St. Laurence*, and notwithstanding the great number of falls and rapids he met with between *Montreal* and lake *Ontario*, he shewed the savages that it would always be in the power of the *French* to invade them by boats; which had all the effect he could have wished for, by their breaking off their commerce with the *Outaouais*, and the other northern savages. This voyage, however, did so much prejudice to his health, that he soon after desired to be recalled. The remaining term of his government was chiefly taken up in replacing the *French* settlements of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, which had been ceded to the crown of *France*, by the treaty of *Breda*. In the year 1670, M. *Talon*, who had retired from the intendency of *New France*, only that he might resume it with greater advantages, returned to *Canada*. That able minister, notwithstanding all his attachment to the jesuits, was convinced that their ministry was prejudicial to the temporal affairs of the colony; and, during his absence in *France*, he had obtained the re-establishment of the fathers recollects, who the reader may remember, were the first missionaries in *Canada*, before the conquest of *Quebec* by the *English*, and whose successors were extremely desirous of resuming their functions in that colony. *Talon's* views in this re-establishment was to moderate the influence and power of the jesuits over the natives, whom they absolutely governed, not only by the sway they had over their consciences, but by debarring them from, or indulging them in, the use of spirituous liquors. He obtained at the same time a recruit of five hundred families from his most Christian majesty for peopling *Canada*; but after setting sail with part of them, the ship they were in was wrecked and many of them lost. *Talon*, however, soon raised fresh recruits both of recollects and inhabitants, with whom he arrived at *Quebec*, where he found that the same storm, which had wrecked his ship had done damage to the amount of 100,000 francs.

Irregularities
of the French
soldiers.

TALON's zeal for peopling *Canada*, though founded on right maxims of policy, was not without its inconveniences; for his colonists imported, into the country, vices, till then unknown to the inhabitants. Three *French* soldiers meeting with an *Iroquois* chief, who had with him a valuable cargo of furs, first made him drunk and then murdered him; but notwithstanding all the precautions they took, they were discovered and thrown into prison. While their process was preparing, six *Makingan Indians*, who were possessed of furs to the amount of 1000 crowns, after being made drunk, were murdered and robbed by three other *French* soldiers, who sold the furs as their own property, and had so little precaution, that they did not even bury the dead bodies, which were discovered by their countrymen. The latter, imagining the *Iroquois* were the perpetrators of the murders, flew to arms, and demanded satisfaction; but one of the *French* soldiers, quarrelling with his confederates, discovered the truth, and then both the *Makingans* and *Iroquois* united in a war against the *French*. Four of the *Makingans* burnt the house of a *French* lady with herself in it; and the *Iroquois* were equally exasperated by the impeaching murderer, accusing his two confederates of designing to poison all the savages they met with. Matters, however, were but just coming to extremities, when *Courcelles* arrived at *Montreal*, and, in the presence both of the *Makingans* and *Iroquois* who were there, put to death

a death the *French* soldiers, who had murdered the *Iroquois* chief, promising that the assassins of the three *Mahingans* should meet with the same fate, as soon as they could be discovered. This example of speedy justice charmed the savages, and disarmed them of their wrath; and, upon *Courcelles* promising to make good all the damages that had been done, they laid aside all farther resentment. *Courcelles*, having thus established his authority by his justice, applied himself to compose the differences between the *Iroquois* and the *Ou-taouais*, which had broken out into hostilities, and so highly was he respected, that both sides sent deputies to *Quebec*, where, chiefly by the prudence of *Garakontbie*, all interests were reconciled. *Garakontbie*, who, no doubt, had a secret understanding with the *French* before the departure of the deputies to their own country, publicly professed his having been long a christian in his heart, and his detesting the errors in which he had been educated, and earnestly desiring the bishop to baptize him, which he accordingly performed with great state and ceremony. The name he received at the font was *Daniel*; and the ceremony was attended with a noble entertainment given to the savage deputies, which had a most excellent effect upon the unconverted natives in general.

WHILE the province of *Canada* was in this desirable situation; a most dreadful mortality broke out amongst the northern natives, which carried off whole tribes, particularly that of the *Attikamegues*, who never have been since heard of under that name. About the same time, *Tadoussac*, which had hitherto been the chief mart of the *Indian* savages in the fur trade with the *French*, began to be entirely deserted, as likewise did *Trois Rivières*, by means of the small pox breaking out, which carried off 1500 savages at once. The *French*, however, maintained their settlement at *Trois Rivières*, though they could not do that at *Tadoussac*. The same loathsome distemper made likewise great havock at *Sylleri*, *Loretto*, which we have already mentioned, was instituted by father *Chaumonot*; and that the *English* subjects of *New York*, in the neighbourhood of the canton of *Agnier*, began to tamper with the natives, and to endeavour to bring them over to protestantism; but, according to *Charlevoix*, without effect. They then endeavoured to intimidate the women, by telling them that the government of *New York* would not suffer them to appear with beads and other marks of popery in their province; but all was to no purpose; for the ladies, on the head of religion, proved still more intractable than the men. Notwithstanding this, many of the *Agniers* continued to insult the missionaries. A chief of one of their cantons turned father *Perron* out of the assembly of the natives, and imposed silence upon them; upon which *Perron* threatened them with the resentment of the great *Onnontio*, and to complain of the affront to the governor-general. We are told that this shew of resolution in the missionary so greatly daunted the *Iroquois* chief, that he came and asked pardon of the father, who reproached him soundly for his insolence and impiety, and would not even hear what the savage had to urge in behalf of himself. The haughtiness of the father produced an effect very contrary to what might have been naturally expected, for the chief immediately undertook to bring all his canton into the pale of Christianity. For this purpose, he went round to all its elders, and persuaded them to agree to a general assembly, which being accordingly held, was opened by a speech from the chief, which might have proceeded from the most zealous missionary. He was seconded by father *Perron*, and *Garakontbie* happening providentially to be there, he harangued in his turn, on the same subject, with so much energy, that the assembly unanimously came to the following resolutions. First, no longer to acknowledge *Agreskoue* (which it seems was the name of the supreme deity of those savages) as the author of life, and that he should be no longer worshipped. Secondly, that their jugglers or empirics should no longer be called to visit their sick; and, thirdly, that they abolish all indecent and superstitious dances.

Mortality amongst the savages.

Zeal of their women.

Ill success of the missionaries.

WE have mentioned these particulars, rather to give our countrymen, now that they are become possessed of *New France*, some idea of the manners and dispositions of the savages and the true method of treating them, than for any material information they contain. *Charlevoix* acknowledges that the event was far from answering those promising appearances. In the canton of *Onneyouth*, father *Bruyas*, the missionary there, had very indifferent success, though he was seconded by the indefatigable zeal of *Garakontbie*. The missionaries attributed the aversion of the natives for them to the neighbourhood of *New York*, from which they were furnished with spirituous liquors. All the zeal of *Garakontbie*, and his assistant-missionary, could not prevail with a single savage of either sex to declare for them, or to hear their instructions. They comforted themselves, however, by peopling heaven with a great number of children, whom they baptized in the last stages of their lives. They had better success with the other cantons of the *Upper Iroquois*, who were farther removed from the *English*, and had been greatly mortified by the late

c Id. ibid. p. 223.

d Ibid. p. 226.

wars. They had still greater success with the *Upper Algonquins*, in whose conversion not only the missionaries, but the government of *New France*, took great concern. A large quantity of ground was cleared and sown with grain of all kind, near the fall of *St. Mary*, which was in the heart of their settlements, and was the center of a considerable commerce. But after all, there is reason for believing that their success in propagating their religion, even there, was nothing equal to what they gave it out to be, as appeared on every occasion.

Differences
with the
Tsonnon-
thouans.

COURCELLES, ever since the *French* expeditions against the *Agniers*, had affected to treat all the savage nations in the neighbourhood of *New France* as his master's subjects, and had been at great pains in prescribing them the terms of their pacifications with one another; of which he gave them to understand he was to be the guarantee. This haughtiness had a considerable effect upon the savages lying in the neighbourhood of the *French*, who found their account in the same; but was by no means relished by the *Tsonnonthouans*, who fell upon the *Pouteouatamis*, notwithstanding *Courcelles* had but very lately concluded a peace between them. He immediately sent a threatening message to the assailants, and charged them to keep the peace on pain of his high displeasure. The *Tsonnonthouans* resented this haughtiness in a manner worthy a free people, and told the governor-general, that they neither were, nor ever would be, subjects to *France*. *Courcelles* had ordered them to give up the *Pouteouatamis* prisoners. This, at first, they refused to do; but, after some deliberation, the great chief of the *Goyogouins*, who has been already mentioned, and who was next in credit with all the *Iroquois* to *Garakonthie*, persuaded them to put into his hands eight prisoners, out of thirty-five of the *Pouteouatamis*. He then delivered them up to *Courcelles*, who received them as the whole, being glad of getting off with some shew of credit in so ticklish an affair. The *Goyogouin* chief, in presenting the captives, acquainted *Courcelles*, that he had undertaken that commission only with a view of being baptized by the hands of the bishop. This gave great pleasure to all the *French*. *M. Talon*, who was by this time returned to *Canada*, was his godfather, and gave him the name of *Lewis*, together with a grand entertainment to all the Christian savages at *Quebec*, *Loretto*, and *Sylleri*, in the name of the new convert. About this time, most of the Christian *Agniers*, amongst whom were some eminent female converts, removed to the *Huron* settlement of *Loretto*, where they were encouraged by *Courcelles* to reside, in hopes that they would in time prove a barrier against their savage countrymen, if they should renew their inroads. As their numbers considerably increased, he formed a settlement for the Christian *Iroquois* almost opposite to *Montreal*, in a place called *Magdalen's Meadow*, from whence it was removed soon after two leagues farther to the south; and it is now called *The Mission of the Fall of St. Lewis*. In the mean while, *Talon* began to carry into execution a project he had formed when he was last in *France*, which was to send a proper messenger through the most distant parts of *Canada*, to engage all the different nations of the savages to send deputies to a certain place to treat with them about putting themselves under the protection of *France*. Having communicated his project to *Courcelles*, the latter recommended as a proper person for this negotiation, one *Nicholas Perrot*, who was in the service of the jesuits, and, being a man of address, had been employed by them in different parts of *Canada*.

A grand con-
gress between
the French
and the sa-
vages.

TALON having approved of this choice, *Perrot* received his instructions, and visited all the northern tribes, who were known to the *French*, and invited them to send their deputies, by a certain time, to the falls of *St. Mary*, there to meet one of the great *Onontio's* commanders. From thence he went towards the west, and edging to the south, he fell down to *Chicagou*, which is situated at the bottom of *Lake Michigan*, then the residence of the *Miamis*, being escorted all the way by a party of *Pouteouatamis* to prevent them from insults; the savages being then at war with each other. *Perrot* found the chief of the *Miamis*, as well as his subjects, to be very different from the other savages. He could raise four or five hundred warriors, and was always attended by forty of them as his body-guard. He lived in some kind of state, and had his ministers, to whom he issued his orders, without communicating them to any other. *Tetinchoua*, for that was his name, being apprized of *Perrot's* approach, who travelled under the title of envoy-general of *France*, received him and his escort in a warlike manner, and ordered him a splendid apartment with a guard of fifty men. In short, nothing could be wanting to testify their high esteem for the *French* nation; and when *Perrot* set out for *St. Mary's* fall, *Tetinchoua* would have attended him; but was dissuaded by his subjects, on account of his great age and infirmities. *Perrot* then would have visited a great many nations lying towards the *Mississippi*, particularly the *Mascoutins*, the *Kicapous*, and the *Illinois*, but had not time. In May, 1671, the grand assembly was held at *St. Mary's* fall, and savages resorted to the meeting even from the southern part of *Hudson's Bay*. The reader, however, is to judge for himself of the credibility of the *French* relations of this congress, as even *Charlevoix* himself

a himself seems to be somewhat scrupulous of *Perrot's* strict adherence to veracity in his relations. He certainly had an interest in magnifying his services with his employers, whose professed purpose on this occasion was to intimidate, or trick the ignorant inhabitants out of their country.

On the day appointed for the great congress at *St. Mary's* fall, the sieur *Luffon*, a sub-^{His event,} delegate for the intendant of *New France*, acted under a special commission to take possession of all the country held by those people, and to receive them under the *French* king's protection. The assembly was opened by father *Allouez* pronouncing a speech in the *Algonquin* tongue, magnifying the power of *France*; and explaining to the deputies the infinite advantages they would receive by their becoming slaves to his most Christian majesty, or, as he expressed it, by their acknowledging him for their great head. *Luffon* then asked in *French*, which was interpreted by *Allouez* into *Algonquin*, whether all of them agreed to what was proposed; which all having done, with loud acclamations of "long live the king," a cross and the arms of *France* were immediately erected, and his most Christian majesty was, by the sieur *Luffon*, graciously pleased to take possession of all the countries from which the said deputies came, and to receive the inhabitants into his protection. After this, the assembly was concluded with great civilities and caresses, that passed on both sides, and by a grand entertainment given by the subdelegate, the expectation of which, more than probably, was the great inducement to their submissions. *Luffon*, after this, by *Talon's* order, paid a visit to the southern part of *Canada*, where he found many well-built *English* settlements on the banks of *Kennebeck* river; but he acquainted the owners, that, by the transactions of the late congress, the lands, on which they had been built, had been ceded to his most Christian majesty; and that they were now his subjects. *Luffon* most absurdly pretended, in the memoirs he sent on this occasion to his superiors, that they willingly promised obedience and fidelity to his most Christian majesty; notwithstanding which, they still remained the subjects of the *English*, even by the acknowledgment of the *French* court.

THE year, viz. 1671, the *Tionnontatez Hurons* established themselves near *Michillimackinac*, upon a spot lying on the strait that divides lake *Michigan* from lake *Huron*, and in the center of those two lakes and the upper lake. This situation was chosen for them by father *Marquette*; though extremely incommodious on account of the bitter cold occasioned by the neighbourhood of those immense lakes. This year is distinguished in the annals of the jesuits by many supernatural appearances of mock suns, and other phenomena in those savage countries, which are of little consequence to our history, though, no doubt, the fathers improved them to their own ends amongst the ignorant inhabitants.

ALL this while, the savages seem to have purchased no repose by their pretended submission to his most Christian majesty. It appears, even from the *French* accounts, that some of the most powerful cantons had refused or neglected to send deputies to the congress at *St. Mary's* fall; and the *Iroquois*, in the mean while, continued a most cruel war with the *Andastes* and the *Chaouanons*, two nations whom they almost exterminated. The few who remained unbutchered were incorporated into the cantons of the victors, especially those of the *Tsonnonthouans*, to repeople their country. *Courcelles* soon became sensible that the pretended submission of the *Indians* was a most precarious dependance, and that the *Iroquois* paid very little regard to his authority. He therefore resolved, as he could not subdue them, to endeavour to out-wit them. For this purpose he sent messages through their cantons, informing them that he had something of great consequence to propose, and desiring them to meet him at *Cataracouy*, as soon as possible. The savages, curious to know what this important business was, resorted thither in great numbers, and were met by the governor. After the usual introduction of some presents, and a vast number of caresses, he informed them that he had their welfare so much at heart, that he intended to erect near that spot a commodious building, to serve as a place of trade and resort in their dealings with the *French*. The savages, little suspecting that *Courcelles* intended to erect a strong fort for bridling them, highly approved of his intention, and pressed him to set about it immediately; but this was incompatible with his private views of returning to *France*.

He had already solicited his recall at that court, and upon his return from *Cataracouy* to *Quebec*, he there found count *Frontenac*, who had been appointed to succeed him. After conferring together about the design of the fort, the new governor highly approved of the same, and early in the spring set out for *Cataracouy*, where he built it, and gave it his own name; by which it was afterwards so greatly distinguished; but as that fort was thus fraudulently erected upon the lands belonging to the allies, if not the subjects, of *England*, we mean the northern *Iroquois*, the legality of the *French* title to it was even then, very doubtful. This important fort stands upon the bay of *Cataracouy*, at the place where the river *St. Laurence* discharges itself into lake *Ontario*, and thereby commands the passages

ages between *Montreal* and that lake; so that, while in the hands of the *French*, it served to connect that dangerous chain of forts, which they had raised for 3000 miles, along the frontiers of the *British* colonies. As to the new general, it is agreed on all hands that he was a man of capacity and courage; that he had studied and understood the true interests of *New France*; that he was most indefatigable in promoting them; and that he had a remarkable talent of making himself respected by the *French Canadians*, and their *Indian* subjects, or, as they are called, their allies. At the same time, the general faults of almost all *American* governors entered into his composition. He was positive, haughty, overbearing, susceptible of prepossessions which he could never shake off, and stuck at no means, had they been even so violent, to remove all who opposed, or disputed, his pleasure. But all his faults were counterbalanced, in the eye of his court, by his zeal for the honour of the crown, and the prosperity of *Canada*.

Discovery of
the Mississippi.

TALON soon understood the true character of *Frontenac*, and soon after the latter's arrival he applied to the *French* court for his recal. It was owing to this great minister, that about this time the famous river of *Mississippi* was discovered. It was known, in general, from the accounts of the savages, that there was such a river towards the southern parts of *New France*; but the public were ignorant where it discharged itself, whether in the gulph of *Mexico*, or in the *South Sea*. *Talon* thought that the prosecution of this discovery was a matter of so great importance, that he employed father *Marquette*, and an inhabitant of *Quebec*, one *Joliet*, a spirited able adventurer, and well acquainted with those countries, in the attempt (A). Before they set out they drew a map of the countries, through which they supposed they were to pass, from the information of the savages, and laid in their provisions, which consisted of boiled flesh and *Indian* corn. They then set out for the bay of *Puantes*, or lake *Michigan*^d, but found all the people, through which they passed extremely, ignorant and superstitious. Embarking on the river *des Renards*, they sailed up it, notwithstanding its rapids, and after travelling some days by land they re embarked upon the river *Ouisconsin*, or *Misconsin*. The particulars of their voyages and travels, though curious and entertaining, are foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say, that on the 17th of *June*, 1673, they entered the great river *Mississippi*, which answered all the high ideas they had conceived of it from the relations of the savages. Having sailed down it a great way, they met with the *Illinois*, who lived in three townships three leagues below the place where the river *Missouri* discharges itself into the *Mississippi*. Those *Indians* entertained the travellers with great marks of savage politeness, and afterwards, to the number of about eight hundred, conducted them to their canoes. During their stay with the *Illinois*, they understood that the latter were apprehensive of being invaded by the *Iroquois*, for whom their nation was no match; and they implored the good offices of the governor-general of *Canada* in their favour. *Marquette* and *Joliet*, then re-embarking, fell down the river till they came to the mouth of the river *Ouabouskigou*, where they found a numerous, harmless, nation, who inhabited thirty-eight villages, called the *Chuoanous*, who were greatly harrassed by the *Iroquois*. Soon after they met with a nation of savages, who had fire-arms, who informed them that they purchased them, and their working utensils from *Europeans*, who lived to the eastward, and that they were only ten days journey from the sea. Before they reached the great village of *Akamfca*, they met with another race of savages, not so polished, but friendly. The natives of *Akamfca* received them with great civility; but some of them were for murdering the father and his companions, from which they were diverted by the authority of their chief. *Marquette* and *Joliet* here held a consultation with their companions, who were five *Frenchmen*, concerning their future proceedings, and observing by their reckoning, that they were within three days journey of the gulph of *Mexico*, where they could expect nothing but death from the *Spaniards*, and considering their provisions were now almost spent, they turned back towards *Canada*. Arriving at *Chicagou* on the lake *Michigan*, *Marquette* remained with the *Miamis*, and *Joliet* went to *Quebec*, where he found *Talon* preparing to return to *France*. *Marquette* was received with great civility by the grand chief of the *Miamis*. About the same time, the fathers *Allouez* and *Dablon* went up the river *des Renards*, and preached, but without much success, to the *Indians*, that inhabited to the south of lake *Michigan*. In

Account of
farther discoveries.

^d Relation de pere MARQUETTE.

(A) The reader is to observe, that father *Hennepin*, who has wrote an account of the discoveries we are now to mention, was a kind of a renegade from the *Romish* religion, and therefore his relation is much discredited by *Charlevoix*, and other jesuits, in their accounts of *New France*. Notwithstanding this, and some immaterial inaccuracies he has fallen into, his accounts agree

in the main, and in their material substance with what they have themselves related, and it is evident, that in many important particulars relating to the savages and their situations, as well as in their subsequent discoveries and travels, they were greatly indebted to *Hennepin's* work, in which we find *Marquette's* journal of the voyage mentioned in the text.

their

a their travels, they met with the fragment of a rock, which, at a certain distance, bore
resemblance to a human head, and was worshipped by the savages as an idol. The two
fathers had the courage not only to preach against this idolatry, but to tumble the idol
from its station; so that neither it, nor its worship, was ever heard of again. In the course
of those voyages, it appeared, that the river *des Renards* or *Foxes*, after the falls are past,
rolls through a most delightful country, where woods and meadows are agreeably inter-
persed, while the borders of the river itself, and those of several smaller streams, which
fall into it, produce a kind of wild oats, that, in the winter time, attracts a vast quantity
of game. In short, nothing but cultivation is wanting to render it one of the most agree-
able countries on the globe; for vines producing large grapes grow spontaneously in its
b woods, as do plums, apples, and other fruits; which, though wild, are not disagreeable
to the taste, but if cultivated, would become delicious.

TOWARDS the south, the missionaries entered the country of the *Mascoutins*, which, Frontenac's
by the similitude of its name to an *Indian* word, signifying fire, is by some geographers haughty be-
called the country of fire; though its real etymology imports, that it is an open country; haviour.
the land there being more free from wood than any in *North America*. The *Kicapous* are
the neighbours, and constant allies, of the *Mascoutins*. Here the two missionaries found
the *Miamis* chief at the head of 3000 of his own subjects, *Mascoutins* and *Kicapous*, whom
the fear of the *Iroquois* and the *Sioux* had brought to the field. The missionaries were dis-
appointed in their labours to convert those people. They were indeed received and treated
c by them with great civility, but all the fruit they gained from their exhortations, was,
that the savages hearing them talk so well, took them for divinities, and inviting them to
a great war-feast, petitioned them to grant them the victory over their enemies. Soon
after *Dablon*, to his great regret, was recalled to *Quebec*, and father *Allouez* went to reside
with the *Outagamis*, who, at that time, consisted of about 1000 families. As there was
no good understanding between them and the *French*, the *Miamis* and the *Mascoutins*,
were earnest to dissuade him from venturing himself amongst those savages; but he was
deaf to their remonstrances, and proceeded in his mission with much greater success than
he had reason to expect.

IN the mean while, every thing was in confusion in the government of *Canada*. Fron-
d tenac, as we have already seen, was violent and arbitrary, and had imprisoned the abbot
of *Salignac Fenelon*, who belonged to the seminary of *St. Sulpice*, as well as *Monf. Perrot*,
late governor of *Montreal*. In short, he not only quarrelled with all the clergy and mis-
sionaries, but with *Monf. de Chesneau*, who had succeeded *Talon* as intendant of *New*
France. He likewise garbled the upper council, so that it consisted entirely of his own
friends and creatures, and he issued more warrants in one year, than had been for sixty
before, so that the whole colony was in the utmost confusion. We have already men-
tioned the settlements of the savage *Iroquois* at *Magdalen's* meadow; but experience soon
convinced them, that the soil there could not produce that kind of corn that was proper
for their subsistence; so that the settlement was in danger of being entirely abandoned.
e The missionaries, to prevent this, applied to the governor for leave to remove to the fall
of *St. Lewis*, and he taking no notice of their request, *Chesneau*, as intendant-general,
granted them the spot they petitioned for; and notwithstanding the resentment of *Fronte-*
nac, which he discovered in a most violent manner, they kept possession of it. About
this time the missionaries were driven by the *Dutch* out of the canton of *Agniers*, and
Canada was threatened by the *Iroquois* savages with a fresh invasion. *Frontenac*, to increase
his credit at the *French* court, wrote to that ministry, in such terms, as if he had by his
address in gaining over the heads of the *Iroquois*, saved *New France* from entire destruc-
tion. His intelligence, however, only served to confirm the opinion of the necessity of
maintaining the *Iroquois* settlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*.

f THE breach now grew every day wider between the governor-general on one part, and
the bishop and intendant on the other. Both parties had great friends at court, and those
of *Frontenac* had credit enough to prevent his being recalled, and perhaps punished for
his injustice and violences. He engrossed to himself the whole power of the upper coun-
cil, by acting as its president. By his own authority he banished the procurator-general,
and two counsellors, and even disregarded the orders that came from *France*. That king,
had in *June* 1675, emitted an ordonnance, by which the governor-general was to have the
first seat in the council, the bishop the second, and the intendant the third, but that the
latter should collect the voices and pronounce the sentences. *Frontenac* paid no regard to
this ordonnance, and even threatened to throw the intendant into prison. His interest,
g however, at the *French* court prevented his most Christian majesty from knowing the whole
of his behaviour, and both he and the intendant received reprimands, though that of
Frontenac was the most severe, because he had expressly disobeyed the king's ordonnance.
The letters, which brought over those reprimands, established several other regulations,
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Difference be-
tween the go-
vernor and the
clergy.

particularly, against a set of men called *coureurs des bois*, or rangers, who carried on an illicit trade, both with the *English* and the natives, whom they furnished with strong liquors. *Frontenac*, on the other hand, and his friends with some justice perhaps, pretended, that the strong liquor trade was absolutely necessary for preserving the interest of the *French* amongst the savages; that the bishop and the jesuits greatly exaggerated the evils attending it; and that their real design was by getting that trade into their own hands, to engross the management of the colony, and the affections of the natives. *Colbert* himself became at last so much of the same opinion, that he checked *Chefsneau* for opposing the strong liquor traffic. At last, the matter began to be very serious; but the jesuits carried their point. The opinions of twenty of the principal inhabitants of *New France* were taken as to the commerce in question, and the whole matter was referred by the king to the archbishop of *Paris*, and the famous father *la Chaise*, the king's confessor, and himself a jesuit, who pronounced sentence entirely in favour of the bishop and the missionaries; and the most express orders were given against the traffic, under the most heavy penalties.

An account of
la Sale.

ALL this while, by the absence of *Talon*, and the death of father *Marquette*, the discovery of the great river *Mississippi* remained unprosecuted; but it was now resumed by the *Sieur la Sale*, one of the most extraordinary adventurers of that age. He was a native of *Rouen*, and, having lived for some years with the jesuits, he forfeited his patrimony. Throwing himself upon fortune, he resolved to do something that might distinguish him in the world. His first scheme was to discover a passage by the north, or the west, of *Canada*, to *Japan*, or *China*. It was with this view that he came from *France* to *Canada*, though unprovided with money, and every requisite that could promote his undertaking. Being, however, possessed of great presence of mind, invincible resolution, and a good address, he found friends and protectors, and amongst them the count *de Frontenac* himself. He was at *Montreal* at the time when *Joliet* returned from his discoveries of the *Mississippi*, *la Sale*, and after discoursing with him, he resolved to prosecute the discovery, and to sail northward up the same river. Being furnished with all necessary informations and arguments to make good his point, he artfully applied himself to *Frontenac*, on a subject which he knew was his ruling passion, the improving and fortifying his post at *Cataracouy*, which, at this time^b, was surrounded only with stakes, pallisadoes, and earthen ramparts. His reasons for making this fort a barrier against the *Iroquois*, and all the hostile *Indians*, were so flattering to *Frontenac's* views, that he agreed *la Sale* should return to *France*, where he was to lay before the court his plans, not only for sailing up the *Mississippi*, but for building, peopling, and garrisoning the fort at *Cataracouy*, and rendering its neighbourhood a populous and thriving plantation; so as to produce all the necessaries of life, and docks, and materials for building vessels proper for the navigation of lake *Ontario*. Being furnished with proper credentials from *Frontenac*, he immediately repaired to *France*, where he found *Colbert* dead; but his post of the marine department, occupied by his son, the marquis *de Seignelay*. After conferring with that minister, *la Sale* obtained, to the full, all he wanted. Letters of nobility were expedited in his favour. The lordship of *Cataracouy* was granted him, together with the government of the fort, provided he would build it with stones, and he likewise received full powers for the extension of commerce and prosecuting his intended discoveries. In the course of his solicitations, the prince of *Conti* became his patron with the *French* king, and was of vast service to him; while all the acknowledgment he required, was *la Sale* receiving the chevalier *Tonti*, an officer of courage and experience, into a command under him. On the 14th of *July*, 1678, *la Sale* and *Tonti*, with thirty other persons, some of whom were pilots, and other workmen, embarked at *Rochelle* for *Quebec*, where they arrived on the 15th of *September* following. After a very short stay there, they repaired to *Cataracouy*, carrying with them father *Hennepin*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was a *Flemish* recollect. This expedition, in which *la Sale* worked at the fort, and at building a vessel, gave very promising appearance of his future government. As soon as the vessel was ready, he repaired to *Niagara*, where he formed the design of another fort at the entrance of lake *Erie*, above the famous fall of *Niagara*. After that he travelled on foot through all the canton of *Tsonnonthouan*, lying to the east of *Niagara*, and returned by land to *Cataracouy*; all the while carrying on a trade by means of his bark, which was, soon after, wrecked through the negligence of the pilot.

Arrival of la
Sale and
Tonti.

LA SALE applied himself with great spirit and diligence, as did *Tonti* likewise, in repairing this loss; and in the mean while both of them visited the different savages in the neighbourhood, with whom they settled a commerce; and about the middle of *August*, 1679, the vessel being now ready, *la Sale* embarked on board of it, with forty persons, of

^b HENNEPIN'S Travels, p. 17.

whom

a whom three were fathers recollects from *Michillimakinac*. In his voyage he met with so severe a storm, that most part of his attendants left him; but happening to fall in with the chevalier *Tonti*, who had taken another route, he persuaded them to return. His vessel then failed to the bay of *Puantes*, from whence it returned to *Niagara*, loaded with furs, while he himself went in a canoe to the river *St. Joseph*, where *Tonti* joined him. After remaining there a short while, *Tonti* went to the country of the *Illinois*, while *la Sale* returned to *Cataracouy*, where he received undoubted intelligence, that his new vessel, which was called the *Griphon*, was lost or destroyed. It is certain that *la Sale*, who, with all his good qualities, was opinionated and overbearing, did not consult the true rules of policy in launching so large a vessel upon the lakes of *Canada*. The barbarians considered it as big with their destruction, and his attempts as tending to engross the whole fur trade, and to bring them into a state of entire dependence upon the *French*. It is thought, not without great probability, that this induced a party of the *Iroquois* to surprise the bark when it lay at anchor, and had no more than five men on board, and, after plundering it of all its cargo, to set it on fire. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the savages in general were at this time extremely averse to the *French* interest; and the *Iroquois* defeated the *Illinois*, whom *la Sale* chiefly depended on, while *Tonti* was amongst them. The *Algonquin* nations, the *Outaouais* particularly, were now shaken in their allegiance to the *French*; and even the *French* themselves at *Cataracouy*, where *la Sale* then was, entered into practices against his life, and gave his savage allies very bad impressions of his designs.

c It required all *la Sale's* firmness and vivacity to withstand so many shocks. He immediately repaired to the country of the *Illinois*, who, he perceived, received him with a coldness very different from the sentiments in which he had left them. But this, far from discouraging him, determined him to act with an impolitic vigour, that might overawe the barbarians. All he gained, was, that the more some of them admired, the more they hated, him. His *French* attendants, seeing matters in this situation, conspired to poison him; but, being discovered, they fled. All he could then do, was, to replace the fugitives by an equal number of young *Illinois*, who were charmed with his intrepidity under his sufferings. He then dispatched father *Hennepin* with one *Dacan*, to sail up the *Mississippi*, d if possible, to its source. The missionary and his companion accordingly embarked at fort *Crevecoeur* (which had been built by *la Sale*) on the 28th of *February*, and advanced up the *Mississippi* as far as the 46th degree of north latitude. Here they were stopt all of a sudden by a fall extending the whole breadth of the river, which prevented their going farther, and which *Hennepin* called *The Fall of St. Anthony of Padua*. According to *Hennepin*, they found means to be delivered by some *French Canadians* from the hands of the *Sioux*, who had made them prisoners; and afterwards they went down the river as far as the sea, from whence they returned to fort *Crevecoeur*. *Charlevoix*, however, treats all the remaining part of this voyage, which is related by that recollect, as a mere fiction, and tells us, that he returned to *Crevecoeur* by the same course he held when he went up to *St. Anthony's* fall.

Distress of la Sale,

e THIS fort *Crevecoeur*, or heart-break, had been built by *Monf. la Sale* in a very uncomfortable country, and under a very miserable situation. After the departure of *Hennepin* and his companion, he was obliged, by various accidents, to remain at this fort to the month of *November*. In journeying from thence to *Cataracouy*, he perceived, upon the river of the *Illinois*, a spot very proper for a fort. He accordingly planned one there, and leaving the care of building it to his friend *Tonti*, he proceeded in his journey, or rather voyage; for most travels in *North America* are performed, partly by land, and partly by water. While *Tonti* was intent upon building this fort, he received intelligence that the *French*, whom *la Sale* had left at fort *Crevecoeur*, had mutinied, and run off. *Tonti* f repaired, with great dispatch, thither, and found the news to be true; all of them, excepting seven or eight, having abandoned the fort, and taken with them whatever they could carry. Soon after, the *Iroquois*, to the number of six hundred warriors, appeared in sight of the *Illinois* villages; and this encreased the suspicions of the *Illinois* against the *French*. All that *Tonti* could do in so disagreeable a situation, was, to employ two missionaries, who mediated a peace between the two nations; but in such a manner, that it gave the *Iroquois* very high ideas of their own power and superiority, so that the peace was of very short duration, and hostilities soon recommenced.

at fort Crevecoeur.

g THE court of *France* appears at this time to have given too much into the romantic projects of *la Sale*, who had made himself a great number of enemies in *New France*, by obtaining exclusive privileges of trade; but the *English* are chiefly blamed by *Frontenac* for this irruption of the *Iroquois*. The flourishing state of the colonies of *New England* and *New York* enabled them to be very troublesome neighbours to the *French*, after they had obtained the restitution of *Acadia* by the treaty of *Breda*; and the *French* had neglected

His imprudence,

A. D. 1680.

tested that country so much, that it again fell into the hands of the *English*, whose distance from *London* encouraged them to pay no great regard to the negotiations of that court. As the acquisition of *Acadia* and the intermediate country was of the utmost consequence to both nations, the *American English*, more than probably, had encouraged the *Iroquois* in invading the *Illinois*. *Tonti*, who was then at fort *Crevecoeur*, with no more than five men, and two recollect fathers, saw it was in vain to resist the *Iroquois*, who were determined to drive the *French* from all their posts on the river *Illinois*; and abandoning the fort, made the best retreat he could (B), but not without losing one of the recollects, who was murdered by the savages. *La Sale* had heard nothing of this retreat, and was surprized when, in the spring of the following year, on his return to fort *Crevecoeur*, he found it abandoned. He soon reinforced it with a new garrison, and sent workmen to complete the fort he had marked out the year before, and which he named fort *St. Lewis*. He then marched to *Michillimakinac*, where he joined *Tonti*; and about the end of *August*, after rambling backwards and forwards for three months, they, once more, set out for *Cataracouy*, to procure fresh supplies of adventurers and provisions. In his way thither he visited his two forts in the county of the *Illinois*. Every thing was now prepared for *la Sale*'s grand expedition to the *Mississippi*, which he entered the 2d of *February*, 1682-3, by the river *Illinois*. On the 4th of *March* he formally took possession of the country of the *Akansas*, and, according to the *French* accounts, on the 9th of *April* he came to the mouth of the river, where he took possession anew; and this, according to *Charlevoix* himself, is all we know of certainty with regard to this famous voyage; he giving no credit to the accounts published of it by *Tonti*. It is certain, however, that not only *la Sale*, but the whole *French* nation, looked upon the discovery and possession of the *Mississippi* as very great acquisitions, though it is evident that it was known long before by the name of *Cucagua* by *Ferdinand de Soto*, whose body was thrown into it after his death, and had even been settled by some *English* adventurers.

and adventures.

On the 11th of *April*, *la Sale* re-imbarked on his return; but falling ill on the 15th of *May*, he dispatched the chevalier de *Tonti* before him, to *Michillimakinac*. Notwithstanding all that is here related, the honour of discovering the *Mississippi* is vigorously contested with *la Sale* by *Hennepin*; who says, That his being the first discoverer excited *la Sale*'s hatred towards him so much, that he was very ill treated by the *French* court, and obliged to throw himself on the protection of *England*. As to *la Sale* himself, after wintering in the bay of *Puantes*, he arrived at *Quebec* in the spring of the year 1683, from whence he set sail for *France*, carrying with him *de la Forest*, the major of his fort at *Cataracouy*.

Numbers of French in Canada.

In the mean while, the government of *New France* had undergone some revolutions; for the misunderstanding between *Frontenac* and the intendant grew to such a height, that the *French* court recalled them both. *Le Fevre de la Barre* succeeded as governor-general of *New France*, and *de Meules* as intendant. By their instructions, which are dated in *May* 1682, they were obliged to correspond in the most cordial manner with *Blenac*, the governor of the *French American* islands, as the opening a commerce between them and *New France*, would be productive of the greatest advantages to both. They were likewise instructed to live in the greatest harmony with one another, but the intendant was always to submit to the governor. It appears that, for some years, *New France* had been in a declining state; for in 1697 all the *French* in the colony, exclusive of those in *Acadia*, whose numbers were very inconsiderable, amounted to no more than 8515 persons. The *Iroquois*, notwithstanding their barbarity, were now almost as good soldiers as the *French Canadians* themselves, and well knew the weakness of the colony: they therefore incessantly applied themselves to bring off the other savages from their connections with the *French*. In this they were greatly assisted by colonel *Dongan*, the *English* governor of *New York*, who gave to the *Iroquois* much greater prices for their furs and commodities than the *French Canadians* could afford, on account of the exactions of the new *French* company. Other accidents contributed to the misunderstanding. *De Luth*, a *French* trader and officer, had put to death some savages, who had murdered two *Frenchmen* near the upper lake, which exasperated their countrymen to the highest degree. In the month of *September*, 1681, while *Frontenac* was yet governor of *New France*, a *Tsonnontbouan* chief had been killed by an *Illinois* at *Michillimakinac*, which belonged to the *Kiskacons*, from whom the *Tsonnontbouan Iroquois* demanded satisfaction for the murder. As the *Kiskacons* were part of the *Illinois*, and lived in good correspondence with *France*, the *French* governor sent a message to persuade the *Tsonnontbouans* to suspend their resentment till he could have a meeting with them at *Cataracouy*, to which he invited them, that all differences might

Practices of the English,

(B) *Charlevoix* says, that *Tonti* was not wounded on this occasion. *Hennepin* says that he was; *Frontenac*, in his dispatch to the *French* court, says the same.

a be settled between the two nations. The *Tsonnonthouans*, instigated, probably, by colonel *Dongan*, required the governor to give them the meeting in their own country, at the mouth of the river *Onnontague*. The haughty *Frenchman* ridiculously looked upon this demand as an insult upon his own and his master's dignity; but though he received it with the utmost indignation, he knew not how to better himself. In vain he practised all arts to retrieve his authority amongst those savages; and he even received intimations, that if he went to their place of rendezvous, he would be murdered. The governor, however, abated nothing of his haughty behaviour towards the savages; and not only took all the *Illinois* under his protection, but permitted the *Kiskacons* to build forts for their defence.

b THE missionaries, in the mean while, were not idle; for they had credit enough to bring some of the *Iroquois* to consent to meet the governor general at *Catarocouy*. The governor, imagining this condescension to be the effect of fear in the savages, answered, that he would come no farther than *Montreal*, and that if they did not meet him there by June, he would return to *Quebec*. This haughtiness exasperated the *Iroquois* so much, that they returned to their first proposition of meeting him at the mouth of the river *Onnontague*. The intendant endeavoured to persuade him to go thither, and proposed a method by which he could do it without derogating from his dignity; but it was obstinately rejected by *Frontenac*, who declared that he would not quit his government to his success. c hood of *Montreal*, he met *la Forest*, who had not yet set out for *France*, and five *Iroquois* deputies from the five cantons, headed by an *Onnontague* captain, one *Teganifferons*, a great partizan of the *French*. Their purpose was to profess a great friendship to the governor and his allies. On the 11th of *September*, *Frontenac* gave them audience, but understanding that the *Illinois* were to be excepted out of the number of the *French* allies, he loaded *Teganifferons* with presents, to induce him, which he promised to do, to prevent the war between the *Iroquois* and the *Illinois*. It appeared, however, afterwards, that *Teganifferons* was not in the secret of his countrymen's real designs.

UPON the governor's leaving *Montreal*, other deputies arrived from the *Kiskacons*, the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*, and the *Miamis*. The governor took this opportunity of pressing d the *Kiskacons* to give the *Iroquois* the satisfaction they demanded on account of the above-mentioned murder, but all in vain. The *Kiskacons* alledged, that they had sent *Hurons* with belts of wampum to the *Iroquois*, which was all the atonement the custom of the country required for a murder that was not committed by themselves; nor could *Frontenac*'s authority or persuasions bring them to any farther concession, though they said they would act only upon the defensive. While matters were in this situation, the new governor and intendant of *Canada* arrived; and it was discovered, that all the negociation of *Teganifferons* was intended only as a blind to the *French*, till the *Iroquois* could make dispositions for a vigorous war, which had actually begun.

LA BARRE arrived in *New France* with great prepossessions against the friends of e *Frontenac*, and *la Sale* in particular, whom he accused as being the author of the war that was ready to break out between the *Iroquois* and the *French*, before the latter were prepared. He likewise complained of father *Zenobe*, who had accompanied *la Sale* in his discoveries, which he treated as impostures, or matters of very little consequence. He alledged, that all had been transacted by a dozen or two of vagabond *French* and savages, who had prostituted his most Christian majesty's authority, and endeavoured to engrois to themselves the commerce of *New France*. Notwithstanding the evident partiality of *Charlevoix* in favour of *la Sale*, *La Barre*'s allegations were far from being groundless. It seems pretty certain, from the testimonies of *Tonti* and *Clerqz*, a *Frenchman* in *Canada*, that in all f either he or *Hennepin* had done, they had been directed by the *English*, who were no strangers to the countries which they pretended to have discovered. Add to this, that *la Sale*, in the prosecution of his project, had already run himself 30,000 crowns in debt, which he had no other means of discharging than by feeding his creditors up with great expectations from his discoveries.

THE vanity of the *French*, however, took the part of *la Sale*. He had, by his letters, prepossessed that ministry, particularly *M. de Seignelay*, greatly in favour of his discoveries, which he had magnified above those of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and when he came to be heard at court he met with a very small reprimand, but great encouragement. *La Barre* was all this while struggling under infinite difficulties. He saw the poverty of the colony, and the impending war with the *Iroquois*, without knowing how to remedy the one, or to prevent the other. He followed the wisest course. Being a stranger, he summoned a general assembly of all the principal inhabitants, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and

* See Contest in America between Great Britain and France, p. 90.

demanding their advice. Here we have an opportunity of reflecting on the mistaken policy of the *French* court, which was the true reason why they availed themselves so little as they did of their possession of *Canada*, and the other fine countries comprehended in *New France*. a

Bad policy of
the French
court.

In the first place, intoxicated with the glory of their monarch in *Europe*, they too much despised the savages, and appointed none for their governors in *North America*, but men of haughty behaviour and arbitrary principles, who wanted to rule with a rod of iron. This manner might have succeeded; but they did not sufficiently reflect, that the savages were better instructed by the *English* and *Dutch*, who taught them to despise the assuming airs of the *French* and their governors; while the latter, depending upon the connexions formed between *France* and *England*, every day expected that the *English Americans* would be checked by their government; but in this they were deceived. In the next place, though the court of *France* was zealous for the prosperity of *New France*, yet the whole of its government was a system of rapacity. About one fourth of the clear product of the fur trade went from the native into the pockets of the *New France* company; so that the former were under inexpressible disadvantages, of which the *English Americans* were entirely rid. b

Assembly of
New France.

THE assembly of *New France* was sensible of all this, and laid before their governor a full state of the province. They represented that the colony could not arm above a thousand men; that, even to do that, they must neglect their agriculture; that they were destitute of provisions; in short, that it was impossible to enter, with any prospect of success, upon the war, without assistance from *France*. That two or three hundred men, at least, sent from thence would be necessary for their frontier garrisons, particularly that of *Cataracouy*; that the cultivation of their lands, during the absence of the inhabitants in the war, would require 1000 or 1500 additional hands; that they must be furnished with funds to raise magazines, and to build vessels. All those heads, with reasons, shewing that if they were not complied with, the colony must be utterly ruined, were transmitted to *France* in a memorial from *la Barre*, and were highly approved of by his most Christian majesty. Orders were given for the immediate embarkation of two hundred regulars for *Canada*, and letters were sent to the governor, informing him that *Dongan* (whose character we have already given) had received express orders from the court of *England* to alter his conduct with regard to the government of *New France*. The same letters enjoined *la Barre* to do all he could to prevent the *English* from settling in *Hudson's Bay*, the history of which will be found in another part of this work. c

Negotiation
with the sa-
vages.

THOSE letters from *Europe* served only to encrease the presumption and delusion of the *French* at *Canada*. In 1683, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that no fewer than 1500 *Iroquois* were assembled at the chief village of the *Onnontague*, and that they intended to march from thence against the *Miamis*, the *Outaouais*, and the other allies of the *French*. *La Barre* had, as usual, recourse in this danger to the arts of negotiation. He dispatched a messenger, who arrived at the place of rendezvous, to dissuade the savages from entering upon their expedition, and to prevail with them to send deputies to *Montreal* to treat of an accommodation. They seemed to agree to both propositions; but before the end of June, *le Barre* had advice that seven or eight hundred of the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Goyogouin*, and *Onneyouth*, had marched to attack the savage allies of *France*, while the *Tsonnonthouans*, and another body of the *Goyogouins*, were to fall upon the colony itself. *Le Barre*, upon this, dispatched another express to the *French* ministry, with heavy complaints of the practices of the *English*, in exciting this cruel war; and requesting that the duke of *York* should be applied to, to send orders to his governor of *New York* not to support the *Iroquois* against the *French*. e

LA BARRE, while he waited for the result of those dispatches, sent a fresh message to the *Iroquois*, in hopes of amusing them, desiring to know how soon they would fulfil their promise in sending deputies to *Montreal* to treat of a peace. The savages answered the messenger with great contempt, that they did not remember their having made any such promise; and that if the governor had any thing to propose, he must repair to them. It appeared, however, that the savages, though resolved upon a war with the *French Indians*, were not so forward, as they pretended, in coming to a rupture with the colony; for in August, the five cantons sent deputies to *Montreal*. The *French* missionaries and traders, who were best acquainted with the character of those nations, endeavoured to put *la Barre* upon his guard against the practices, which they said were only to gain time, that they might be more sure of their blow. *La Barre*, prest perhaps by necessity, received the deputies with great civility, and accepted of all their protestations; at the same time, he took possession of fort *Cataracouy*, which in fact was the private property of *la Sale*, or his creditors, and likewise of fort *Lewis*, in the country of the *Illinois*; all which proceedings created great dissatisfaction in the colony, where he was treated as an old credulous dotard. In the mean

Influence of the
savages,

a mean while, the *Iroquois* were making dispositions for possessing themselves of both those forts. While a body of them was on their march, they met fourteen *French* traders, whom they robbed of goods to the value of 15,000 francs. The savages afterwards excused themselves for this robbery, by pretending that they thought the traders belonged to *la Sale*, whom they were at liberty, by permission of the governor, to plunder.

DE BAUGY, an officer under *la Barre*, was then commandant at fort *Lewis*, where *Tonti* likewise served; and having intelligence of the approach of the barbarians, they were so well prepared to receive them, that they killed a considerable number of them at the first onset, after which they raised the siege. Upon this attempt of the savages, and another against the fort *Cataracouy*, which likewise failed, *la Barre* resolved in good earnest upon an offensive war. This being settled, *la Durantaye*, a captain of the regiment of *Carignan*, who commanded at *Michillimakinac*, and *Du Luth*, who acted as his lieutenant, received orders to raise all the *French Indians* in those parts to arms, and to invite them to meet him at *Niagara*, where he was to be with all the force of *New France*, on the 15th of August; and from thence to proceed to make a vigorous war upon all the *Iroquois* nations, particularly the *Tsonnonthouans*. This summons, however, had very little effect, though these savages were more interested, than the *French* were, in opposing the *Iroquois*, so low was the reputation of that government sunk in their eyes. Those about the bay of *St. Lewis* were the most backward, on account of some discouragements they met with in their trade, by order from the governor, who wanted to engross it to himself. *Du Luth*, before he could succeed in his commission, was obliged to call to his assistance *Perrot*, whom we have already mentioned, who managed the barbarians so dexterously, that *la Durantaye* was soon at the head of five hundred *French Indians*, besides two hundred *Canadians*. His chief difficulty still remained, which was how to march them to *Niagara*. While he was deliberating on surmounting this obstacle, and when the savages had actually begun their march, they were filled with unaccountable prepossessions, suggested by their superstitious notions, that their expedition would be unsuccessful; and after *Durantaye* and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to *Niagara*, their worst suspicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards understanding that a peace had been made between him and the *Iroquois*. The three *French* officers expected to be sacrificed to their resentment; but the savages contented themselves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promising that they never should be again at *Onnontio's* call. The officers, however, found means to appease them, by pretending that their interest had been consulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the *Iroquois* to sue for; and thus the savages departed peaceably home.

In the mean while, *la Barre* had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at *Montreal*. Before he put them in motion, he sent a message to colonel *Dongan*, requiring him, according to the promise he had made in consequence of the duke of *York's* orders, not to oppose his expedition against a bloody perfidious nation, who would massacre the *English* if they had nothing to fear from the *French*, and inviting him to join him in revenge, ing the death of twenty-six *English* subjects, who had the preceding winter been murdered by the *Tsonnonthouans*. After this, *la Barre* applied to the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Agniers*, and *Onneyouth*, to all whom he sent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only designed against the *Tsonnonthouans*. He then detached *du Tast*, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-six picked men, with a grand convoy of provisions, to *Cataracouy*, and to reinforce the garrison of that fort, where *M. D'Orvilliers*, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by *la Sale's* orders, in the spring reconnoitred the enemy's country upon lake *Ontario*, and marked out the spot most proper for making the descent. The army then begun its march. It consisted of seven hundred *Canadians*, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred savages. It was the 9th of July when this army set out in three divisions from *Quebec*, and on the 21st it reached *Montreal*, where they were joined by some other troops under *D'Orvilliers*. The whole body embarked the 26th and 27th; and on the 1st of August, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Onneyouth*, and *Goyogouin*; had obliged the *Tsonnonthouans* to accept of their mediation between the *French* and them, and that they required *Le Moyne* to manage the negotiation. At the same time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the *Tsonnonthouans*, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and provisions into their fastnesses, and that the prosecution of the war would serve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation against the *French*. It was added, that the heads of the *Tsonnonthouans* had given assurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had passed; in which case they would perform even more than was required of them, and abstain from all hostilities against the allies of *France*; but that, if those offers were rejected, colonel *Dongan*, the governor of *New York*, had offered to support them in the war with four hundred horse, and as many men. *Char-*
levoix

levoix himself is of opinion, that had *Dongan's* offer been accepted, *la Barre* must have been in a very indifferent situation; but he seems to think that *Dongan's* zeal for the duke of *York*, and his hatred of the *French*, got the better of his prudence on this occasion. He treated the *Iroquois* as the subjects of his master the duke of *York*, and even ordered them to set up his arms; throughout all their cantons. He likewise, at the same time, required them not to treat with the *French* without his participation, and sent a messenger to the five cantons, exhorting them to avail themselves of the assistance he offered them, and all at once to get rid of the *French*. One *Arnold* was his messenger on this occasion, and went in the quality of his envoy to the *Onnontague*, who, in the quarrel, considered themselves only as mediators, but, as such, in an independent capacity.

Bad policy of
an English
envoy.

ARNOLD, seeing them startled on delivering his commission, very foolishly asked them, whether they refused to obey their lawful prince, the duke of *York*? This discourse shocked the *Onnontague*, who called heaven to witness, that *Arnold* came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then addressed the envoy in the following remarkable strain of savage, yet powerful and rational, eloquence. "Know, said he, that the *Onnontague* places himself between his father *Ononbio*, and his brother *Tsonnonthouan* to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that *Corlar* (for so the savages called the governor of *New York*) would have stood behind me, and cried, Well done, *Onnontague*, let not the father and the son come to blows together! I am greatly surprized that his envoy should speak a very different language, and oppose my disarming both of them. *Arnold*, I cannot think *Corlar's* disposition to be so bad as thou representest it. *Ononbio* did me great honour in being willing to treat of peace in my cabin. Should the son dishonour the father? *Corlar* attend to my voice, *Ononbio* has adopted me for a son; he treated and apparelled me, as such, at *Montreal*. There have we planted the tree of peace. We have likewise planted it at *Onnontague*, whither my father commonly sends his ambassadors, because the *Tsonnonthouans* are dull of apprehension; his predecessors did the same, and both parties found their account in it. I have two arms; I extend the one towards *Montreal*, there to support the tree of peace, and the other towards *Corlar*, who has been long my brother. *Ononbio* has been for these ten years my father, *Corlar* has been long my brother, with my own good-will; but neither the one nor the other is my master. He who made the world gave me the land I possess. I am free; I respect them both, but no man has a right to command me; and none ought to take amiss my endeavouring, all that I can, that this land shall not be troubled. To conclude, I can no longer delay repairing to my father, who has taken the pains to come to my very gate, and who has no terms to propose, but what are reasonable."

The savages
treat with *la*
Barre.

THIS discourse probably was dictated by *le Moyne*, who had got the start of *Arnold* in that canton, and who had the merit of conducting thither *Tsonnonthouan*, who had been long a prisoner, and had been put into his hands by *la Barre*. This interview was followed by a letter sent from the savages to the governor of *New York*, representing *Arnold's* behaviour, and that they did not believe he had faithfully executed his commission. It is certain, that the good fortune of the *French Canadians*, and the imprudence of the *English* governor, saved *New France* on this occasion. *La Barre's* army, which was now on its march, during this negotiation had been reduced to the most deplorable condition; and, through the mismanagement of their general, the troops were so destitute of provisions, and so sickly at the same time, that they were preparing to return, when the welcome news of the treaty arrived. *La Barre's* joy at this was so great, that the savages easily perceived to what difficulties he had been reduced; and the deputies of their cantons, who came to mediate, treated him with an air of superiority. They found him encamped upon a tongue of land near lake *Ontario*, but in such distress for provisions, that the spot has since been called *Famine*. *Garakontbie* and *Oureouati*, the two chiefs so friendly to the *French*, were two of the deputies; but the *Tsonnonthouan* deputy behaved with as great insolence as *la Barre* did with meanness; for, upon the *Tsonnonthouan's* declaring that his nation would hear of no peace with the *Illinois*, *la Barre* said, that he hoped the hatchet lifted up against the *Illinois* would not fall upon the *French* in their country. When the *Tsonnonthouan* had agreed to this, the peace was made. The *Onnontague* deputies engaged that the *Tsonnonthouans* should make good the losses of the *Frenchmen* who had been robbed; but *la Barre*, at the same time, was obliged to decamp next day.

The savages
despise the
French,

THIS dishonourable peace, tho' better by far than the governor had a right to expect, sunk the credit of the *French* lower than ever in the eyes of the *Iroquois*. The court of *France* appears all this time to have continued under its delusion; as if the affairs of *Canada* would in the end terminate in the glory of his most Christian majesty provided his governor there was supplied with as many soldiers as he could afford to throw away in a morning skirmish in *Germany* or *Flanders*. Scarcely was *la Barre* returned to *Quebec* from his inglorious expedition, when he received a reinforcement of troops under two officers, *Montortier* and *Desnos*. Together with this reinforcement, he received a royal mandate, giving

a those gentlemen a kind of power independent of himself, and appointing them to command in the most advanced and important posts in the colony; a sufficient intimation that the *French* court thought that *la Barre's* great age disqualified him from, at least, the more active parts of his government. Another letter arrived about the same time, which shews the haughty unchristian spirit of the *French* court, in that age; for *la Barre* was there ordered to make as many of the *Iroquois* as he could prisoners; because, being strong and robust, they were very proper to serve on board the *French* galleys.

ABOUT this time, *Perrot*, who was now governor of *Montreal*, having some differences with the fraternity of *St. Sulpice*, who were his superiors, and being proprietors of the island, the *French* king gave him the government of *Acadia*, and he was succeeded in that of *Montreal* by the chevalier *de Callieres*, the boundary of whose government was marked at lake *St. Peter*, in the river *St. Laurence*. All this while, the *Iroquois*, probably over-awed by the reinforcement lately come from *France*, remained quiet: though it was apprehended they would not long continue so. They never had agreed to comprehend the *French* savage allies, especially the *Illinois*, in the peace; and it was of the utmost importance for the *French* to protect those people. Towards the end of *July*, 1685, *la Barre* received letters from *Lamberville*, missionary at *Onnontague*, informing him that the *Tsonnonhouans* had, during all the preceding winter, abstained from hunting, fearing lest the *French* should invade their canton in their absence; that they complained of the *Mascontins* and the *Miamis*, who, encouraged by the protection of *Ononchio*, had taken and killed, and even burnt, some of their nation; and that the *Mascontins* alledged in their justification, the instructions they had received from the governor of *New France*. It was added, that the five cantons of the *Iroquois* had lately renewed their confederacy; that the *Mahiagans* were to assist them with 1200 men, and the *English* with more arms and ammunition of all kinds; that the *Iroquois* were actually in motion against the *Miamis*; and the *Tsonnonhouans*, though they were known lately to have carried 10,000 beaver skins to *New York*, refused, on pretence of poverty, to pay the thousand beaver skins they had promised for indemnifying the *Frenchmen* who had been robbed. As to their not repairing to *Quebec* to consult with the governor-general, they excused themselves on account of the badness of the roads, and because a young *Iroquois*, on his return from *Quebec*, had, for fear of his life, run into the woods, where he died of famine; but the *French*, who were the occasion of his death, had neither mourned for him, nor covered him; that is, they had made no presents to his family upon his death.

A. D. 1685.

A new governor of New France.

It appears that the *Onnontague* were, at this time, so well disposed towards the *French*, as to do all they could to prevent a rupture; but could receive no other answer from the *Iroquois*, than that they were at liberty to do as they pleased. The news of the late dishonourable peace being carried to *France*, it was easily foreseen there, that it could be of no long continuance; and his most Christian majesty named *Denonville* to be governor of *New France*. He arrived with a fresh reinforcement of troops at *Quebec*, soon after *la Barre* had received *Lamberville's* letter, after a very fatiguing passage, and his first step was to visit *Catarocouy*. *La Forest* had, by order from the court, been replaced in the command of that fort; but understanding that his principal, *M. la Sale*, was amongst the *Illinois*, he repaired thither, and *D'Orvilliers* commanded in his absence. During *Denonville's* residence at *Catarocouy*, he easily saw the necessity of checking the *Iroquois*; but he found the affairs of the colony in general in a deplorable situation, and that the government of *Old France* had formed very false ideas with regard to *New France*. They had, above all things, recommended to their governors, that they should frenchify (for that was the term) the savages; but *Denonville* found that the savages continued savages still, and that the *French* townships in the heart of the colony, which he complained was quite open. By this he meant, that the inhabitants continued for their private purposes to build their houses at such a distance from one another, that they could not, upon any sudden attack from the *Indians*, assemble in a body to defend themselves. The more the governor knew of the state of the colony, and the nature of the *Iroquois*, he was the more convinced, that those savages never could be reconciled to the colony; and that, let the consequence be what it would, it was necessary to attempt their reduction by force of arms. *Denonville* was perhaps not a little encouraged in this resolution by his being a bigot to popery; the progress of which, amongst the *Indians*, he attributed entirely to the opposition it met with from the *Iroquois*. All *Acadia* and its neighbourhood were exposed to the incursions of the *English*, and the northern commerce was, in a manner, shut up from the *French*. In the west, the *Tsonnonhouans* had drawn the *English* towards *Niagara*, from whence they were enabled through the lakes, the communication of which they secured, to make inroads to *Michillimakinac*. They had even established there an interest among the *Indians*, and had greatly prejudiced the fur trade of the *French*.

State of the colony.

IN this situation of affairs, it was easy to perceive there could be no safety for the *French*,^a but by cutting off from the *English* all communication by the lakes, and particularly to secure that of *Ontario* on the West, as well as the East, by building a strong fort of stone, capable to contain five or six hundred men at *Niagara*. This the *French* government thought was a certain and infallible method to prevent the *Iroquois* from trading with the *English*, who, they computed, gained about 30,000 l. a year by furs. All this was represented to the *French* court by *Denonville*, who pressed the building such a fort with the greatest assiduity, in which he was seconded by the merchants of *New France*; and he even laid down the proper funds to defray the expences, by establishing an exclusive commerce at that post, in which it was easy to foresee all the trade of *Canada* must soon center. For this privilege the *Quebec* traders offered 30,000 livres a year. This project was not so secretly carried on as not to come to the knowledge of colonel *Dongan*, who remonstrated strongly against the building any fort at *Niagara*, which, he said, was the duke of *York*'s property, and likewise against the vast magazines of provisions and arms that were amassing at *Cataracouy*, and gave great umbrage to the *Iroquois*. *Denonville* answered *Dongan*'s remonstrances, by recriminating upon the *Iroquois*; and endeavoured to shew, that there was no real ground for their suspicions, and that *Niagara* and its neighbourhood had been taken possession of by the *French*, long before the *English* were settled in *New York*.^b

As the *English* had succeeded to all the rights of the *Dutch* in those parts of *North America*, *Dongan*'s reasoning was certainly just, though, at this time, a discussion of it is immaterial. All his attachment by religion and principle to his master, who was now on the throne of *England*, did not divert him from acting the part of a vigilant and honest governor.^c He saw that *James* was, in a manner, the slave of *France*, and he treated all the orders he received in favour of the *French* in *North America*, and which generally were communicated to him by the governor general of *New France*, as having been extorted from his master, and therefore he paid them very little, or no regard. He even summoned a meeting of the *Iroquois* cantons, and laid before them their danger from the *French*, and that their best course would be to prevent the blow meditated against them, by being the aggressors. This assembly, and the purpose of it, came to the knowledge of *Lamberville*, the *French* missionary, by means of certain *Iroquois* papists, with whom he had great interest; and he prevailed with the chief heads of the *Onnontague* to promise that they would take no step in the war, till he should return from *Quebec*, and report the opinion of the *French* governor-general.^d *Dongan* had some suspicion of *Lamberville*'s intention, and demanded that *James Lamberville*, brother to the missionary, who had been left at *Onnontague* by way of hostage, should be put into his hands. He then applied to the popish *Iroquois*, who had been seated near the fall of *St. Lewis*, and in the high lands, to whom he offered a far more desirable situation than what they enjoyed under the *French* government, together with full liberty of conscience in the profession of the *Roman catholic* religion; his master, the king of *England*, as he told them, being of the same faith. All he could do made no impression either upon the converted or unconverted *Iroquois*, and the *Onnontague* canton refused to deliver up *Lamberville*.^e

DONGAN then addressed himself to the savages of *Michillimakinac*, by means of certain traders, who convinced them of the superior advantages they might have by dealing with the *English*, instead of the *French*; and, in this he had all the success he could desire. *Durantaye* was then absent from *Michillimakinac*; but returning thither just as the *English* traders had left it, he set out in pursuit of them. The *English*, however, had foreseen this, and had prevailed with the *Hurons* settled at *St. Mary's* fall, to give them a large escort, who convoyed them to the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*. *Denonville* saw the danger of the *Tsonnonthouans* joining with the *English*, and was confirmed in his resolution to make war upon them. For that purpose, he found it necessary to throw a strong garrison into fort *Cataracouy*, and to send a considerable detachment by *Sorel* river, to over-awe the *Agniers*, and to alarm colonel *Dongan*. He likewise erected large magazines of provisions all over the country. Upon a review of the forces of the province, he found he could muster no more than eight hundred men, and that he could have very little dependence on the regulars, who were entire strangers to the *Indian* way of making war. All he could do was to gain time by amusing the *English*, and their allies, till he could receive the reinforcements which he daily expected from *France*; but, in the mean time, he found it absolutely necessary to send back the missionary *Lamberville* to the *Onnontague* canton. *Dongan*, during the absence of that father, had succeeded in persuading the savages that the *French* were ready to fall upon them; for which reason *Lamberville* never would again trust himself in their hands, and some of their warriors had, in that belief, taken the field. The appearance of *Lamberville* with a number of valuable presents, sent by him from *Denonville*, to the chief of the *Onnontague*, entirely altered the situation of affairs. The warriors, who had taken the field, were recalled; negotiations were entered into for an exchange of^f

a of prisoners, and the *Hurons*, with the *Outaouais* of *Michillimakinac*, were prevailed on to give the *French* governor-general a meeting at *Cataracouy*. Towards the end of *September*, *Lamberville* returned to *Quebec* to inform *Denonville* of his proceedings with the *Iroquois*, particularly with the canton of the *Onnontagueſe*, who had returned their prisoners; but the *Tſonnonthouans* had refused to follow their example, pretending that their captives chose to continue where they were. *Lamberville* was strongly prepossessed in favour of the savages of all denominations, whom he thought to be reclaimable by humouring and using them well; which made *Denonville*, who saw his weak side, resolve to conceal from him his intention of taking the first opportunity to push the war against the *Tſonnonthouans*, who had actually entered into hostilities against the *Illinois*, and a very brisk war was carried on between the two people.

b In the mean while, colonel *Dongan*, who acted as governor-general of *New England* as well as *New York*, had found means to dispossess the *French* of their settlement at *St. Therese*, upon *Hudson's Bay*. The court of *Versailles* ordered *Barrillon*, their ambassador at *London*, to make a strong remonstrance upon this dispossession; but it is remarkable that neither *Charles II.* nor *James II.* had authority enough over their *American* subjects to oblige them to make restitution, which they were most sincerely disposed to do. The *French* were amazed to the last degree that subjects should dispute the will of their sovereign; but the northern company, who were the proprietors of fort *St. Therese*, perceiving they could not succeed by applying to the court, resolved to do themselves justice, and demanded assistance from *Denonville* to repossess themselves of the fort. He granted eighty soldiers, with the chevalier *de Troye* at their head, and on the 20th of *June*, 1686, they arrived at the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*. They first stormed the fort *Monſipi* upon the river *Monſoni*, and made the garrison, consisting of sixty men, prisoners of war, seizing at the same time a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions. *Iberville*, one of the *French* officers, then took a small vessel, in which was the governor of the bay; and at last fort *Rupert* upon the river *Nemiscan*, which had been lately rebuilt, but remained still unfortified, fell into their hands. They then, with the prizes they had made, proceeded against *Quititchouen*, where the *English* had their principal magazines, which they likewise made themselves masters of. Here they found furs to the value only of 50,000 crowns, which made the *French* conclude that the *English* did not carry on a great traffic with the savages of those parts, and the garrison was sent in a vessel to *Port Nelson*. This invasion of the *English* settlements in *Hudson's Bay* was certainly a most infamous proceeding, and was far from being justified by the *English* having dispossessed the *French* of fort *St. Therese*, which was built on ground belonging to *British* subjects. Such, however, was the influence of *French* counsels at the court of *England*, that it was agreed *Port Nelson* should be common for both nations to trade at. But the spirit of the *English* could not submit to the meanness of their court; and *Denonville* sent strong remonstrances upon the danger of suffering the *French* malecontents to have an asylum at *Port Nelson*, where they could carry on a trade not only independent of their mother-country, but prejudicial to her interests. He represented that the *English*, by giving much greater prices than the *French* could afford, were masters of the fur trade; and that *Port Nelson* was of more consequence to the *French* than all the forts they had taken from the *English* upon that bay.

Hostilities upon Hudson's Bay.

In the beginning of the year 1687, the *French* court, by the ascendancy they had over that of *England*, aimed a blow that bade fair to destroy all the *British* interest in *North America*. *Barrillon* had prevailed with king *James* to agree to a neutrality between the subjects of *France* and *England* in *North America*, which left the *French* in possession of all their usurped claims. The fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the treaty empowered the governors of both nations to treat as pirates all privateers who were not commissioned by proper authority. This had a direct tendency to the ruin of the *English* subjects, as their court agreed to every claim which the *French* were pleased to set up. The unsettled state of affairs in *England*, and the manifest strides which her court was then making towards popery, defeated the intention of this treaty. The *English* paid so little regard to it, that they attacked fort *Quititchouen* in *Hudson's Bay*; but they were repulsed with some loss by *Iberville*; and in *September* *Denonville* declared war against the *Iroquois*, or rather against the *English*. This was in the year 1686, but the warlike operations did not commence till *June*, 1687, when *Denonville*, having received all the reinforcements he expected from *France*, took the field with 2000 *French* and 600 savages. He was, however, on this occasion guilty of a treachery, at which barbarians themselves would have blushed; for, under pretext of the orders his predecessor had received to send all the *Iroquois* he could make prisoners to the *French* gallies, before he declared war, he decoyed their chiefs to a conference at *Cataracouy*, where he most perfidiously put them in irons, and sent them to *Quebec* to be transported from thence to *Europe*. This infamous step did no service to the *French* interest. It sunk the credit of *Lamberville* and *Milet*, the two missionaries, in the eyes of the savages.

A. D. 1687.

Treaty to the disadvantage of the English.

ges. Many of the natives, who had repaired to *Cataracouy*, were the best friends the *French* had upon that continent, but were now rendered their irreconcilable enemies; as indeed was the whole nation of the *Iroquois*. *Denonville* perceived the injustice of the step he had taken, and disavowed it, which only served to render him more odious and despicable to the natives, and to unite them more closely with the *English*.

A missionary
saved.

MILET fell into the hands of the *Onneycuths*, who immediately condemned him to the flames, and obliged him to suffer all the preliminary torments of that fiery trial; but when he was on the point of being executed, an *Indian* matron adopted him, and saved his life by carrying him into her cabin. As to *Lamberville*, who remained in the canton of *Onnontague*, no sooner had *Denonville's* treachery appeared, than the chiefs of the canton, with a moderation that would have done honour to the most polished people, sent for him to their assembly, and expostulated with him in the warmest terms upon what had happened. He had, however, the good fortune to be greatly in the graces of the savages, who acquitted him entirely of having any share in the perfidious proceedings of *Denonville*, but acquainted him that it was utterly improper he should remain any longer amongst them; not on their, but his own account; because if the war-song was once begun, he might be sacrificed by their young warriors without their elders having it in their power to save him.

The war con-
tinues.

It is reasonable, with *Charlevoix*, to suppose, that the favour shewn on this occasion to *Lamberville* was, in a great measure, owing to *Garakonthie*, who still preserved his credit in his nation. Notwithstanding the sentence of this missionary, the savages were generous enough to assign him a guard, who escorted him out of all danger; and the father himself always afterwards acknowledged *Garakonthie* to be his deliverer. *Denonville* was more a barbarian than the savages he was about to fight with. Knowing that matters were now brought to extremities between him and the *Indians*, he omitted nothing that could make the campaign prosperous on his side. *De Tonti*, who had travelled as far as the mouth of the *Mississippi* to obtain some tidings of *la Sale*, and who had returned to *Montreal*, was ordered to repair to the country of the *Illinois*, there to publish the war; and, after assembling them in a body, as soon as possible, to conduct them towards the *Tsonnonthouans*, laying on the *Ohio* river; from whence he was to detach parties, to cut off the retreat of their women and children; a circumstance of great importance in a war with the savages. Those in the neighbourhood of the bay of *St. Lewis* were irreconcilably exasperated against the *Iroquois*, who had the preceding summer carried off some of their women. *Devonzille* improved this circumstance to his own advantage, by desiring them to join *du Luth*, who was intrenched at the straits of lake *Huron*; a spot that was pitched on by him as most proper for the general rendezvous of his troops. *Perrot* and another officer, *Boisguillot*, were ordered to repair to *Michillimakinac* with all the *French* they could assemble consistently with the safety of their effects, and to signify to the *Sioux*, that they should have cause to repent, if they should disturb the *French* allies during the war. *Durantaye*, who still commanded at *Michillimakinac*, and, on account of his good qualities, was highly acceptable to the savages, was ordered, at the same time, to collect all the force he could, and to proceed to *Niagara*; but in his march, to harass the *Indians* who were enemies to the *French*, only taking care to make prisoners of as many of the *Onnontague*se as he could, not only because they were the most harmless of all the *Indian* savages at war with the *French*, but that the governor-general should have captives in his hands to exchange (if there was occasion) for the missionaries.

DE TONTI could bring to the field no more than eighty *Illinois*, though he had reckoned upon five or six hundred. Having intelligence that the *Tsonnonthouans* were preparing to fall upon their villages, they had put themselves in motion to invade them; but understanding from colonel *Dongan*, that the *French* were about to make themselves masters of the *Illinois* canton, they returned home to defend their own country, and *de Tonti* joined *du Luth* at the entry of the strait of lake *Huron*. The missionaries, on this occasion, saved the *French* in *New France* from destruction. The natives, savage as they were, perceived that the *French* intended to enslave them; and all the authority of *Durantaye* and *du Luth* could not bring the *Hurons* and the *Outaouais* to join them. They even entered into a treaty with the *Iroquois*, when the missionaries found means to gain over their two chiefs, and sent them to treat with *Denonville*, who, on this occasion, acknowledged to his court the important service of the missionaries, and engaged the chiefs in his interest. The *Iroquois* all this while, notwithstanding the advices they had from colonel *Dongan*, did not dream that they were on the eve of a war with *Denonville*. They continued quite indifferent as to the preparations of the *French*, and the rather as *Lamberville* still remained amongst them, and exercised the office of his mission. The designs of *Denonville* were no secrets to *Dongan*, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he, at last, prevailed with the *Iroquois* to suspect the truth. All the effect even that had he was only to induce them to send deputies to fort *Cataracouy*, where *Denonville* was, and to talk to him in a menacing manner.

But

^a But by this time *Denonville* was in readiness to enter upon action. He was encamped at the little isle of *St. Helen* opposite *Montreal*, where on the 7th of *June*, 1687, he was joined by *de Champigni Noroi*, who had succeeded *de Meules* as intendant of *New France*, and by *Vaudreuil*, who was appointed to command the troops. On the 11th of the same month, the army embarked on board two hundred boats and as many canoes of the savages. The whole consisted of 832 regulars, 1000 *Canadians*, and about 300 savages. The good understanding between the governor-general and the new intendant, not only supplied this army with abundance of provisions, but inspired them with confidence in their leaders. After three days sail, *Champigni*, with thirty men, detached himself from the main body to dispose every thing at *Cataracouy* for forwarding the expedition. There *Denonville* received a letter from col. *Dongan*, reproaching him with his intention of making war upon the subjects of *Great Britain*, (for so he called the *Iroquois*) and putting him in mind of a concert that had been entered between his predecessor *de Barre*, and himself, *Dongan*; by which it was stipulated, that neither party should attack the *Indians* without communicating his intention to the other. *Denonville*, seeing himself at the head of an army, answered this letter in a very haughty stile; and *Durantaye* attacked and plundered, upon lake *Huron*, sixty *English* traders, who were bound to *Michillimakinac*, under pretence that such a trade was contraband, and contrary to the orders of the two courts.

DURANTAYE, having distributed the spoils acquired from the *English* by this robbery amongst the savages, joined *du Luth* and *de Tonti* at the entry of the strait, and marched directly to *Niagara*, where they received an order from the governor-general to repair to the river *Sable*, in the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, by the 10th of the month; which they accordingly did, and there they found *Denonville* and his whole army. The first measure was to throw up an intrenchment, in which they lodged their magazines; and which, being finished in two days, *D'Orvilliers* was left to guard with four hundred men. The main body of the *French* army then marched into the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, where they were attacked, and must have been defeated by 800 of those savages, had not their own savages made head against them. Here they lost father *Aniebran*, a jesuit, one of the most active missionaries, as he was fighting against the savages in the foremost ranks. The loss of the *Tsonnonthouans* amounted to forty-five killed, and sixty wounded. *Denonville*, in his account of this action, which he sent to court, acknowledged that his *Outaouais* immediately cut the dead bodies of the former in pieces, and devoured them. It is, however, acknowledged by *Charlevoix*, that not only the *Canadians*, but the savages behaved in this expedition better than the regulars. On the 14th, the *French* army encamped in one of the four great villages that composed the canton of the *Tsonnonthouans*, and which they burnt to the ground; but it is highly remarkable, that during ten days, which they spent in ravaging and traversing the country, they did not find in it a living soul; one part of the natives having fled to the country of the *Goyagouins*, and the others to *New York*, where they were kindly received, and furnished with arms and ammunition by colonel *Dongan*. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, that gentleman was so sensible of the practices of the *French*, that he even sent back to *England* a person who had arrived at *New York*, with a commission from his court to see an exact neutrality observed between the *English* and the *French*.

THE latter, while their army remained in the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, were guilty of the most horrible ravages, destroying all the provisions and corn wherever they came; particularly a vast number of pigs, the eating of which introduced pestilential disorders amongst their troops. This, with the dreadful fatigues of their marches, and the hourly mutinyings of the savages, who appear to have been the most useful body of this expedition, obliged the *French* general to leave the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, and to march towards *Niagara*, which he did after a most disgraceful and unmanly expedition, in which he met with little or no opposition, and employed his arms entirely on the defenceless houses and stores of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding the inutility of this campaign, *Denonville* thought he could close it by an important service in building a fort at *Niagara*, where the chevalier *de la Troye* was left with a garrison of a hundred men; but being soon after attacked by epidemical diseases, they all died. This misfortune was attributed to the badness of the air; but it was more probably owing to that of their provisions; because another fort was built almost in the same place soon after, where the garrison lived very healthy. The governor of *New York*, notwithstanding the orders he received to the contrary from his court, continued the irreconcilable enemy of the *French*. He prevailed with the *Iroquois* cantons to resolve to give over all communication with *Cataracouy*, and even to send back the prisoners which they had taken from the *Hurons*, and the *Outaouais* of *Michillimakinac*, that he might ingratiate himself with those savages. After this, he ac-

A. D. 1687.
Denonville
begins his operations.

Marches into
the country of
the Tsonnon-
thouans,

which he
ravages.

acquainted the *Iroquois* highlanders, and those of the fall of *St. Lewis*, that if they would join him, he would furnish them with *English* missionaries, and give them a much more agreeable spot than that which they possessed, to settle in. Those proceedings on the part of *Dongan* gave *Denonville* infinite disquiet, and he sent an *Agnier* chief from the fall of *St. Lewis* to the country of the *Agniers*, to know in what disposition they stood with regard to the *French*. The chief, in passing lake *Champlain*, met with sixty *Agniers*, who had been sent out by colonel *Dongan* on an expedition, and he had the address to bring them all over to the *French* interest, and to persuade four of them to follow him to the fall of *St. Lewis*. The same savage, who was in vast credit with his countrymen, afterwards sent his nephew and another *Indian* to the cantons of *Onneyoutb* and *Onnontague*; where being powerfully seconded by *Garakontbie's* interest, they broke off their connexions with the governor of *New York*, and preserved them in friendship with the *French*.

The French neglect Acadia.

ALL those little advantages, though magnified by the *French* writers, were in the main very inconsiderable. The mistaken notions of the court of *France* continued still to favour the *English* in the *Canadian* fur trade; the only commerce by which their government could possibly indemnify itself for its expence in supporting the colony. *De Meules* had endeavoured to open the eyes of that government with respect to *Acadia*, which, he said, was the only settlement that could support *Canada*; but all his suggestions were in vain, and the fisheries, as well as the fur trade, of that province, remained neglected; insomuch that all the *French* settled in that profitable country did not this year amount to above nine hundred men. The *English* knew the weakness of the *French* in that quarter, and not only carried on an open war with them there, but encouraged the *Tsonnonthouans*, notwithstanding the late chastisement, to resume all their hostile intentions against the *French*. This determined *Denonville* to make another expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans*, who, by this time, had formed a secret intelligence with the *Indians* of *Michillimakinac*, the most useful allies the *French* had amongst the savages. *Denonville*, however, was somewhat embarrassed in executing his resolution, by the orders he received from his court to give no umbrage to the *English*. The truth is, whatever private virtues, or whatever good intentions, he might have towards his sovereign and his country, he appears even by the report of his panegyrist *Charlevoix*, to have been a very improper governor for *New France*. His having built a fort at *Niagara*, and suffering all the garrison with their commander to perish through the badness of their provisions, gave the savages, as well as the *French*, no high opinion of his resolution; nor did any part of his conduct serve to increase it. The mortality at *Cataracouy*, as well as in other parts of *Canada*, fell little short of that at *Niagara*; while the aversion which *Denonville* had, at treating with the savages, or even bearing the sight of them, encreased the miseries of the colony. But his presumption led him to despise the *Indians* he could not conquer. He still depended on the pacific orders *Dongan* received from the court of *England*, and on the terror with which the savages were struck by his late expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans*. He was deceived, for, on the 3d of *November*, fort *Chambly* was all of a sudden besieged by a large detachment of *Agniers* and *Mahingans*; who, tho' they were obliged next day to abandon their enterprize, succeeded so far as to burn several plantations, and to carry off a number of prisoners. The *French* did not fail to attribute this attempt to *Dongan*, and raised him so many enemies among their savages, that he was obliged to keep in pay a body of 1200 *Iroquois* during all the winter, to cover his government.

Misconduct of their government.

THE reflections thrown out on occasion of those hostilities against the *English*, are highly absurd, when we consider the infamous conduct of the *French* governor in arresting the *Iroquois* chiefs at fort *Cataracouy*, and sending them in chains to serve as slaves in his master's galleys. This base conduct well accounted, without the intervention of the *English*, for all the hostilities of the savages. Forty of the *Onnontague* had taken a *French* lady and three *French* soldiers near fort *Cataracouy*, and the missionary *Lamberville* undertook to recover them. They accordingly gave him the meeting, and upon his reproaching them with their proceeding, while there was no war between the *French* and any other *Indian* nation but the *Tsonnonthouans*; they frankly acknowledged, that what they had done was by way of reprisal for *Onontbio's* having surprized their countrymen. *Lamberville* made a very weak apology for *Denonville's* conduct, but presented them with two belts of wampum, the one to induce them to treat their prisoners well, and the other to prevail with them not to take part with the *Tsonnonthouans* in the war; but both those belts were immediately sent to colonel *Dongan*, who soon after dispatched a messenger to know the meaning of their having been presented by *Lamberville* to the *Onnontague* (C). *Denonville* sent father *Vailiant* & *Gueslis* with his answer, but, in fact, to be a spy upon *Dongan*; who, after some conver-

(C) *Charlevoix* seems to acknowledge the infamy of *Denonville's* proceeding in this affair; and that even *Lamberville* was kept in the dark; for he assured the *Onnontague*, that their countrymen were still at *Quebec* though, in fact, they had been sent to *Europe*.

a sation, told him in plain terms, that the *French* in *Canada* could never hope to be at peace with the *Iroquois*, but upon four conditions. The first was, the returning their countrymen whom they had sent to the galleys; the second, that they should oblige the *Iroquois* Christians, who had been settled at the fall of *St. Lewis* and in the highlands, to return to their native cantons; the third, that the forts at *Cataracouy* and *Niagara* should be demolished; and the fourth, that the *Tsannonthouans* should be indemnified for all their losses during the late expedition. *Dongan*, after this plain declaration, dismissed the missionary, without suffering him to have any communication with the savages.

Soon after *Dongan* had a meeting with the chiefs of the five *Iroquois* cantons, whom he summoned to meet him at *New Orange*. He acquainted them with the terms he had proposed to the *French* missionary; but told them, at the same time, that though he counselled them to hide their hatchets for a while, he was far from desiring them to bury them; and that though the king his master had ordered him not to furnish them with arms or ammunition against the *French*, yet if the latter should reject his terms, he would supply them with both at his own expence. He concluded by advising them, at all events, to keep themselves in readiness, if they saw occasion, to fall upon the *French* by fort *Cataracouy* and lake *Champlain*. The savages took *Dongan's* advice, by remaining quiet all the remainder of the winter; but early in the spring of 1688, a party of them surprised and killed some of a *French* convoy in their return from fort *Cataracouy* to *Montreal*. This was a sufficient intimation that the savages were determined on a war with the *French*; but the colony of *New France* was so weak, that *Denonville* knew not how to check them. All he could do was to employ *Lamberville*, if possible, to bring off the *Onnontague* from their union with the other *Iroquois* cantons. By this time, the missionary *Vaillant* was returned to fort *Cataracouy*, attended by two savages, whom colonel *Dongan* had appointed as his guard, to prevent his conversing with the *Agniers*. *Lamberville* had the address to gain over one of those savages, and to persuade him to repair to the country of the *Onnontague*, where he was to lay before them the interested views of colonel *Dongan* in bringing them to break with the *French*. The savage found all the cantons assembled, and an army of one thousand men ready to take the field against the *French*, at whom they were greatly exasperated. He succeeded, however, so far as to induce them to send deputies to treat with *Denonville*; but he could not prevent a resolution which five hundred of their warriors took, to attend those deputies as safeguards. When they arrived near *Cataracouy*, *Haaskouaun*, one of the deputies, attended by six savages, left the main body; and entering the fort, he required *D'Orvilliers*, the commandant, to send one of his officers to conduct them to *Montreal*. A lieutenant, one *la Perelle*, was by *D'Orvilliers* ordered to this disagreeable office; for he was both surprised and terrified at seeing himself received in the nature of a prisoner by six hundred well-armed savages, who, when they arrived at lake *St. Francis*, were joined by as many more. There, the whole body stopt, while the deputies alone went forward to *Montreal*, where they found *Denonville*.

Dongan gains over the savages.

HAASKOUAUN was the mouth of the deputation, and treated the *Frenchman* with an indifferent, if not an imperious, air. He laid before him the miserable state of the colony, with the strength of the *Iroquois*, and endeavoured to make him sensible with what ease the latter could drive all the *French* out of *Canada*. He then, in a deriding manner, made a merit of his having persuaded his countrymen to advertise *Ononthe* of his danger, and to give him four days time to deliberate whether he would or would not accept of the terms proposed to him by *Corlar*, (meaning colonel *Dongan*). Nothing could be more mortifying than the situation of the *French* colony at this time. Twelve hundred savages were ready to attack *Montreal*. The *French* inhabitants between *Sorel* river and *Magdalen* meadow durst not stir abroad for fear of being surprised by the savages; an account had come of the extinction of the garrison of fort *Niagara*, and there was danger lest the last resource of the colony, the negotiation with the *Onnontague*, should be cut off by the governor's entering into hostilities with the savages. This negotiation was so far advanced, that *Denonville* had released all the *Onnontague* prisoners, and had intimated to them the conditions on which he was willing to enter into an alliance with them. By this time, eight hundred of the savages had besieged the fort of *Cataracouy*; lake *Ontario* was covered with their canoes; and they destroyed all the *French* settlements on its borders. Fortunately for the *French*, the *Onnontague* captives, whom *Denonville* had freed, arrived on their return to their own country at *Cataracouy*, almost at the instant when the fort was about to be surrendered. One of the prisoners happening to be nephew to the chief who commanded the siege, his kinsman's deliverance made such an impression upon him, that he immediately drew off his troops; and, on the 8th of *June* following, deputies from the *Onnontague*, the *Onneyouths*, and the *Goyogouins*, arrived at *Montreal* to treat of peace. Those two events, so favourable to the colony, were considered by the *French* as little less than miraculous; and, after some treaty, peace was concluded upon the following terms: First, that all the *French* allies should

Their haughty embassy to the French,

who narrowly escape being ruined.

should be comprehended in the treaty; secondly, that the cantons of *Agnier* and *Tsonnon-thouan* should send their deputies for the same purpose; thirdly, that all hostilities should cease on both parts; and fourthly, that the *French* should have liberty to revictual fort *Cataracouy*. There appears, however, to have been some separate articles in this treaty, not greatly to the honour of the *French*. *Denonville* agreed that the fort of *Niagara* should be demolished; and he dispatched a messenger to the *French* court, requesting that the *Iroquois* who had been sent to the galleys, might be delivered up to one *Serigny*, a young gentleman who was perfectly well acquainted with the language of the savages, and entirely agreeable to them. Such were the terms on which this peace was concluded, and it was confirmed by colonel *Dongan* sending to the governor the *French* lady who had been made prisoner at *Cataracouy*, with twelve other *French* prisoners. *Dongan* acquainted *Denonville*, at the same time, that he had received fresh orders from the king his master to observe the neutrality that had been concluded between him and his most Christian majesty; and that he had actually given orders for delivering all the *French* prisoners who should be found amongst the *Iroquois*.

Hostilities again break out.

THOSE fair appearances were not followed by proportionable effects. A convoy of provisions was ordered for fort *Cataracouy*; but the *Iroquois* plundered one of the canoes, tho' they had left five hostages for the security of the convoy. Soon after, the *Iroquois* appeared in arms in several of the most defenceless possessions of the *French*. The governor-general, that he might early check those proceedings, took the field with all the force he could raise; and coming up with the savages at lake *Sacrament*, he killed several of the *Mabingans*, and took prisoners some *Agniers*, who, according to *Charlevoix*, had been prevailed upon by colonel *Dongan*, who had furnished them with arms and ammunition, to commit those infractions of the late treaty. This vigorous proceeding procured some respite to the colony from the incursion of the *Iroquois*; but *Denonville* attributed his deliverance, and that of the other colony, to the superior wisdom and address of the jesuits, particularly father *Lamberville*. It is, however, probable, that the management of those fathers must have been but a poor resource to the colony, had not colonel *Dongan* been recalled from his government of *New York*, and succeeded by *Andros*, who was a protestant, and then trod in his predecessor's footsteps.

Disorders of the French colony.

By the letters of *Denonville* to *Seignelay*, the *French* minister at this time, he appears to have had great abuses to struggle with. He complained of a total neglect of authority and discipline in the colony; that the rangers, or travelling chapmen, had by their behaviour sunk the price of *French* commodities, and raised that of furs; and that they were guilty of such meannesses towards the savages, as rendered the latter intolerably haughty. He complained, at the same time, of the consequences of the misunderstanding that had happened between *la Barre* and *la Sale*; and that the savages laid hold of *la Barre*'s orders against *la Sale* as a pretext for pillaging the *French* in general. He concluded with advising the ministry to give orders for building more forts, and informed them that it was impossible to preserve the colony without having 4000 soldiers on foot, and 4 or 500 boats on the lakes. Above all things, he enforced the necessity of suppressing the rangers, who, he said, were so numerous, that the principal settlements of the country were almost unpeopled. Tho' the court of *France* paid very little regard to *Denonville*'s remonstrances, and though many of the *Canadians* themselves were of opinion that he aggravated matters too much, yet the continuance of the evils soon justified his complaints. The savages, even those who were otherwise attached to the *French*, every day more and more despised them, for having had a peace, in a manner, forced upon them by the *Iroquois*.

Fidelity of the Abenaguas to them.

THE *Abenaguas*, however, are to be excepted from this number, as were the *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis* and the highlands, with the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*. The *Abenaguas*, while *Denonville* was treating with the other savages, took the field, and marching towards the river *Sorel*, there surprised and killed some of the *Mabingans* and *Iroquois*; and then advancing towards the *English* settlements, they brought from thence a number of scalps, while the *Iroquois* of the fall and the highlands, did the same in their parts of the country. The *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac* were still more averse to the peace, and the dislike both of them and the other savages we have mentioned towards the treaty between *Denonville* and the *Iroquois*, undoubtedly arose from their believing that the *Iroquois* wanted only to amuse the *French* governor into a treaty, that they might with the greater ease fall upon his allies. One *Kondiaronk*, surnamed the *Rat*, was at the head of the *Michillimakinac Hurons*, and he is represented as having been a savage of more than common resolution and accomplishments. Putting himself at the head of a chosen band, he marched from *Michillimakinac* towards *Cataracouy*, where the *French* governor informed him of the treaty depending between *Denonville* and the *Iroquois*, which he said was so far advanced, that the governor-general was waiting at *Montreal* for the ambassadors and hostages of that nation; adding, that he could not do more acceptable service to the *French*, than by returning home without offering the smallest violence to the *Iroquois*.

THE

Conduct of the
Rat chief,

a THE *Rat* heard this discourse without discovering the smallest emotion or dislike; but leaving the fort, he ambushed his company at a place by which he knew the ambassadors and the hostages must pass; and watching his opportunity, he killed some of them, and took others prisoners, of which last number was *Teganifforens*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was one of the ambassadors. The *Rat* after this, is said to have returned to *Cataracouy*, and to have boasted, that he "had killed the peace." He, however, discovered no particulars, till the arrival of a wounded *Onnontague*, who had escaped from the *Hurons*, and who related the whole of the *Rat*'s conduct. When the latter returned to his company, which he had left at *Point Famine*, he was upbraided by *Teganifforens*, for having violated his good faith, by making captive an ambassador. The *Rat* seemed to be greatly surprised, and pretending that he had been put upon the exploit by the *French* themselves, which perhaps was not greatly wide of the truth, he immediately released the ambassador, and all his companions, excepting one, whom he pretended to keep to replace one of his own men, who had been killed. He then returned to *Michillimakinac*, where, to render the breach still more irreparable, he imposed so far upon *Durantaye* the *French* commandant, as to put the miserable prisoner immediately to death, without any regard to his plea of the *Rat*'s treachery, and himself being an ambassador. After this, the *Rat* set at liberty an old *Iroquois*, who had been for some time prisoner at *Michillimakinac*, enjoining him to return to his own canton; and to acquaint his countrymen, that while the *French* were amusing the natives with sham negotiations, they were daily putting them to death. This master-piece of dissimulation had all the effect the *Rat* could desire, by furnishing the turbulent *Iroquois* with a plausible pretext for breaking off the negotiations. The more moderate amongst them, however, prevailed with their countrymen to name fresh deputies to treat with *Denonville*, when there came letters from *Andros*, the governor of *New York*, enjoining them to break off all treaty with the *French*, but with the participation of his *Britannic* majesty, who, considering them as his own children, would suffer them to want for nothing. He, at the same time, informed *Denonville* by writing, that he was not to expect any peace with the *Iroquois*, but upon the terms that had been proposed by his predecessor; though, at the same time, he acquainted him that he was so well disposed towards a good understanding with the *French*, that he had ordered all the *English* subjects within his governments not to molest the inhabitants of *New France*.

b It is more than probable that *Andros*, when he wrote in this strain, followed the dictates of his own avarice. The *French* alledge, that he plundered their settlements in *Acadia* and *Chedabouctou*, on pretence that they did not lie within the limits of *New France*; and that the whole of his conduct till the revolution took place in *England*, was one continued scene of perfidy. The *English* subjects, on the other hand, with great justice pleaded that they had the same right, as the *French* had, to trade with the northern savages, who furnished the best furs. As to the savages themselves, they found great advantages in dealing with the *English* preferably to the *French*, who could not afford them the same prices, nor indeed the same commodities. The numbers of *French*, towards the end of the year 1688, settled in *New France*, amounted to 11,249 persons; but so ignorant was the *French* government of the true interests of *Canada*, that the colonists, about this time, gave over almost all thoughts of the fur trade, and applied themselves entirely to their fisheries; especially on the south side of the river *St. Laurence*, where appeared great quantities of whales, as well as white fish. We understand, however, from *Charlevoix*, that the volatile dispositions of his countrymen prevented their improving their fisheries either on the river *St. Laurence*, or upon the coasts of *Nova Scotia*, where they were still more promising. The *Abenaguais*, in this deplorable state of trade, were the only natives whom the *French* could depend upon. The *English* had again and again endeavoured to bring them over; but the jesuit missionaries had laboured so effectually, that all their attempts were to no purpose; and the *Abenaguais* remained still the barrier between *New England* and *New France*.

and of Andros
the English
governor.

A.D. 1688.

c DESPAIR, at last, suggested to the *French* the project of conquering *New York* from the *English*; and *Callieres*, with *Denonville*'s consent, took shipping for *France*, to propose it to that court. He accordingly presented a memorial to the ministry, setting forth the necessity of such an enterprize, as it was impossible for the *French* colony to subsist while the *Iroquois* were so much attached, as they were, to the *English*. He then disclosed the means which he proposed for effecting this perfidious measure; which, he said, was justified by necessity. He demanded to be put at the head of 1300 regulars, and 300 *Canadians*. With this force he was to go up the river *Sorel* to lake *Champlain*, under pretence of making war upon the *Iroquois*, but in reality to fall upon *New York*, the conquest of which he thought was very practicable. He then represented, that the revolution having taken place in *England*, the inhabitants of *New York*, who most of them were *Dutch*, would infallibly take part with the prince of *Orange* against king *James*, which still strengthened the necessity of subduing them. This memorial was approved of by the *French* king and his ministry;

A. D. 1689.
The conquest
of New York
resolved on.

Frontenac a-
gain governor.

ministry; but *Denonville* was recalled from his government, and the count *de Frontenac* had interest enough to be declared his successor, being thought the most proper man in *France* for managing the savages, while the conquest of *New York* was attempting. This nomination of *de Frontenac* was the more approved of at court, as he appeared now to be very advisable, and to have profited by his past experience. In the instructions he received, which were dated the 7th of *June*, he was ordered to dispossess the *English* from all their posts in *Hudson's Bay*, and likewise from their fort at *Pentagoet*. It is remarkable that those instructions were given while a negotiation was actually depending, for amicably adjusting all the claims of the two nations in *America*.

THE armament intended for the proposed conquest was fitted out at *Rockfort*, and the command of it was given to *Cassiniere*, who was instructed to follow count *Frontenac's* orders, the plan of the conquest being as follows: *Frontenac* was immediately to sail with the squadron for the entry of the gulph of *St. Laurence*, from whence he was to repair to the bay of *Canso* in *Acadia*, and then to *Quebec*; while *Cassiniere* remained on the coasts of *Acadia*, where he was to make prizes of all the *English* ships he met with. *Callieres* was to be dispatched before-hand, the moment the squadron entered the gulph of *St. Laurence*, where he was to make preparations for the expedition against *New York*; but concealing his real object under different pretexts. As the greatest diligence was necessary, and as the enterprize could be executed in no other season but the autumn, *Frontenac*, on his arrival at *Quebec*, was to set out with the batteaux or boats, attended by *de Callieres*, who was to act as lieutenant-general, and, at the same time, to dispatch an express in cypher, ordering *Cassiniere* with his squadron to sail directly to *Manhatta* in *New York*. As the time when the sea and land-forces could join was uncertain, the squadron was to wait at *Manhatta*, and to give a diversion to the capital of the province, while *Frontenac* was beginning his operations on the first parts of that colony. During *Frontenac's* absence, *Vaudreuil* was to act as his lieutenant in *New France*. When *New York* was subdued, *Frontenac* was to require from the *English* catholics an oath of fidelity to his most Christian majesty, and to suffer them to remain in their possessions. The tradesmen and artizans were to be distributed; that is, they were to become slaves to the *French* that were to be settled at *New York*, and all the useless mouths were to be sent to *New England* or *Pensylvania*. *De Callieres* was to act as governor of *New York*, under the governor general of *New France*. All the *Iroquois* villages near *Manhatta*, or the city of *New York*, were to be destroyed, and the others put under contribution. All the principal *English* inhabitants were to be reserved for ransom.

Remarks on the
barbarity of the
French plan
of operations.

HAD not those orders been transmitted to us by so unexceptionable an authority, as that of father *Charlevoix*, some difficulty might have been raised in believing that a court calling itself Christian could have acted with so much presumption and injustice: and they will for ever be standing evidences of the difference between the *French* and *English* government in matters of conquest, as may be seen by the conduct of the latter, when they conquered almost all the possessions of *France* in *America*, and the capitulations they granted to the vanquished. The *French* court were arrogant enough to imagine, that this plan of conquest must infallibly answer their expectations; but the execution of it depended on so many accidents, that they were totally disappointed. It was the 12th of *September* before the *French* squadron arrived at *Chedabouctou*, and the 18th before they were joined by the merchant-ships, which had been very roughly handled by storms on the banks of *Newfoundland*. Next day, *Frontenac* embarked on board a merchant-ship for *Quebec*, but with very little hopes of being able, through the lateness of the season, to succeed against *New York*. Before he parted, he left a set of instructions for *Cassiniere's* conduct; one of which was to erect magazines at *Port Royal*, of provisions of all kinds out of the *English* prizes he should make, to be ready for the *French* troops next year, in case the expedition should be delayed till then. *Cassiniere* took a great many ships: but found it impossible to touch at *Port Royal* through contrary winds; and the case of *Frontenac*, in his voyage to the *Pierced Island*, was pretty much the same, it being the 12th of *October* before he could reach *Quebec*, and the 27th before he arrived at *Montreal*.

Descent of the
Iroquois upon
Montreal.

DENONVILLE continued to be governor of *New France* till *Frontenac's* arrival; but when the latter joined him at *Montreal*, he found the affairs of the colony in a deplorable situation. On the 25th of *August* preceding, while the inhabitants of that island thought themselves perfectly secure, 1500 *Iroquois* in the night-time, fell upon *la Chine*, a settlement which lies three leagues farther up the river than the town of *Montreal*. The savages, finding the inhabitants asleep, massacred all the men they could find, and then setting fire to the houses, the remaining wretched inhabitants fell into their hands. The cruelties exercised on the prisoners are inexpressible. They ripped up the bellies of women with-child, and obliged mothers to roast their own infants before fires. In short, two hundred persons expired in less than an hour, under those dreadful torments. They then

- a then proceeded towards *Montreal*, committing the like ravages and cruelties all the way, and carried off two hundred prisoners, whom they burnt. *Denonville*, being then at *Montreal*, ordered an officer to take possession of a fort, which he was afraid the savages might seize. The fort was immediately invested, and its garrison being every man of them, but the officer who was desperately wounded, killed in defending it, the fort fell into the hands of the savages, who thereby became masters of all the open part of the island, which they continued to ravage in a most inhuman manner, without opposition. They remained there till the middle of *October*, and then, by their retreat to their own country, gave the harrassed garrison some time to breathe. *De Luth*, and another officer, *Mantet*, having been sent out to reconnoitre, fell in with a party of twenty-two *Iroquois*, of whom they killed eighteen, and took three, who were resigned to the flames of the *French* savages.

- Such was the condition of *Montreal* at the arrival of *Frontenac* on the 22d of *November*, 1689. A *French* savage, who had been made prisoner, and, after being cruelly tormented, had escaped to *Montreal*, gave intelligence that the enemy intended to return in the winter, and, being joined by a body of *English* and *Mahingans*, to make themselves masters of the town of *Montreal*, in the spring; from thence to pass by *Trois Rivières* to *Quebec*, where they expected to be joined by an *English* squadron, and that they were in hopes by the end of the campaign, no *Frenchman* should be left alive in *Canada*. *Frontenac* was sensible that all those calamities were owing to his not being able to arrive three months sooner at *Montreal*. The consternation of the whole colony had been such, that *Denonville* sent orders to *Valrenes*, who commanded at *Cataracouy*, to abandon that post, to blow up the fortifications, and to destroy all the provisions he could not carry off, in case he received no reinforcement before *November*. *Frontenac* hearing of those orders, opposed them strongly; but *Denonville* justified them from the inutility of the fort in answering the purposes for which it was built, and the vast expences it occasioned both of men and money to maintain it. *Frontenac*, besides his having been the founder and father of the fort, alledged many reasons for preserving it; and, particularly, the vast conveniency of its situation for the *French* traders. But this last happened, in fact, to be one of the strongest motives which *Denonville* and the intendant *Champigny* had for its demolition; because they said it had encouraged smuggling, to the prejudice of the public revenue. *Frontenac* had no regard to their representations, and, notwithstanding *Denonville* was in so high credit at the *French* court, that he had been nominated sub-governor to the princes of *France*, he did all he could to expedite a strong reinforcement both of *French* and savages, which might arrive time enough to prevent the demolition of the fort. But it was the 6th of *November* before he arrived with this reinforcement at *la Chine*, where *Valrenes* joined him in two hours after with the remains of his garrison, consisting of forty-five men, six having been drowned on their march. *Frontenac* understood from *Valrenes*, that he punctually obeyed the orders he had received from *Denonville*; that he had undermined the bastions and walls of the fort, and had left them with lighted matches fixed to them, adding that he did not doubt, from the noise he heard while he was upon his march, of their having taken effect, and blown up the place. This news afflicted *Frontenac* beyond expression; but the necessity of conquering *New York* became every day more apparent, though it could not be attempted that season. For this purpose, *Callieres* proposed two new plans of operations; the first and most preferable was to attack the city of *New York* with 1200 men, on board six vessels, while the *Canadians* should attack *New Orange* by land. The other plan was for proceeding by land entirely. It is probable, that one or other of those plans would have been executed, had not *Frontenac* received intelligence that the *English* were before-hand with him, and were actually in motion to attempt the conquest of *Canada*. When *Callieres* sent those plans to the *French* court, they were deemed to be impracticable, in the then situation of affairs. *De Seignelay* signified to *Frontenac* and *Champigny*, that his master being engaged in a war against all the greatest powers in *Europe*, he could spare neither ships nor troops to send to *Canada*, however important, or even necessary, the conquest of *New York* was. The minister, therefore, recommended it to *Frontenac* to act upon the defensive; and renewed his instructions for obliging the *French* inhabitants to build their houses more contiguous to one another, and to fortify their settlements.

Farther designs against the French colony.

Fort Cataracouy demolished.

Proceeding of Frontenac with the Iroquois cantons.

- FRONTENAC* had brought with him from *France* the *Iroquois* savages who had been sent to the galleys, and had flattered himself with the hopes of being able, by setting them free, and other measures which he knew were agreeable to the savages, to gain the *Iroquois* to his side. Above all, he had a great reliance upon the high esteem which they had expressed for his person during his first government. The chief of the released savages was *Oureoubaré*, a *Goyogouin*, and *Frontenac* had, during his voyage, been at great pains to bring him over to his views. When he arrived at *Montreal*, he there found *Gagniation*,

negaton, an *Iroquois* deputy, offering some mortifying proposals to *Denonville*. *Oureoubaré*, upon this, persuaded *Frontenac* to send back with the deputy four of the released savages, that they might proclaim to all the nation the deliverance of their brethren. *Oureoubaré* instructed the savages, at the same time, to magnify the great goodness of their ancient father (meaning *Frontenac*) to their brethren, which they could not but acknowledge, in point of gratitude, by sending deputies to return him thanks. They were likewise to assure their countrymen, as from himself, that the governor had so great a tenderness for all of his nation, that he would not even return to his own country, if they did not send to demand him. The deputies punctually executed all they had in charge. Their cantons met, and sent back an ambassador with their answer, which reached *Montreal* the 9th of *March*, 1690. By that time *Frontenac* and *Oureoubaré* had returned to *Quebec*, and *Callieres*, who received the ambassador, though he treated him with great condescensions, could not for several days draw from him the subject of his embassy. At last, however, the savage presented him with six belts. The first was by way of apology for the embassy coming so late, on account of the arrival of the *Outeuais* at *Tsonnonthouan*. *Gagniegaton*, who had been sent back on this occasion, intimated that a negociation was on foot between those two people, which was to be concluded next *June* at an appointed place, exclusive of all strangers; and that the governor general ought to have, as he was invited, treated in person at *Onnontague*, in which case an accommodation long before had been concluded. The second belt signified the pleasure with which the *English* subjects of *Orange*, as well as the *Iroquois*, heard of their chief *Oureoubaré*'s return. The third belt demanded, by the canton of *Onnontague*, in the name of the other cantons, all the *Iroquois* who had returned from *France*; and the ambassador added, that all the *French* prisoners throughout their cantons had been assembled where the governor was expected, that measures might be taken according as *Oureoubaré* should advise. The fourth and fifth belts related to the invasion of the *Tsonnonthouan* canton by *Denonville*, and to the demolition of fort *Cataracouy*; and that when satisfaction was made for those matters, *Teganifforens* would come and treat of peace with *Ononchio*. By the sixth belt, *Gagniegaton* signified that ever since the preceding *October*, a body of *Iroquois* had been in the field, but that they would not enter upon action till the melting of the snows; and that then, if they made any prisoners, they should be well treated; desiring that the *French* might do the same by their prisoners. "In your defeat at *la Chine*, continued he, I had eight prisoners; I ate one half of them, and I saved the other. You are more cruel than me; for when you shot twelve *Tsonnonthouans* dead, you ought to have at least spared one or two. I ate my four prisoners by way of reprisal for your barbarity."

Remarkable
speech of a
savage.

Proceedings of
the French
with the na-
tives.

DÉ CALLIERES endeavoured to learn something farther of the ambassador with regard to the dispositions of the other savages; but received only untrue or evasive answers. This determined him to send the ambassador and his retinue to the governor, who refused to admit *Gagniegaton* to his presence, on account of his former insolent behaviour; but was civil to those of his retinue, and treated with them through *Oureoubaré*, who appeared always to act in his own name. When the rivers were navigable, they had leave to depart, and *Oureoubaré* presented them with eight belts, telling them at the same time how pleased *Ononchio* was at the treaty between the *Outaouais* and the *Tsonnonthouans*; and at the resolution the *Iroquois* had come to not to put their *French* prisoners to death, and that *Ononchio* would act in the same manner, till he received an answer from the five cantons to the propositions he was to make. As to himself, he repeated that he was resolved not to leave *Ononchio*, till his countrymen should send an honourable deputation to reclaim him. He then exhorted them to shake off the yoke of the *Flemings* (meaning the *English* of *New York*) to take no concern in the quarrel between *Ononchio* and them, as they had dethroned their lawful sovereign, whom the *French* king protected; and that they might go, with the officer ordered to attend them, with the greatest safety to *Montreal*. This officer was the chevalier *D'Eau*, a reformed captain, who was to act by way of spy upon the conduct of the *Onnontague*se. During the dependence of this negociation, an account came of some advantages which a party of *French* and *Indians* had obtained over the *English* upon the frontiers of *New York*. The news of this success, though trifling in itself, was the true inducement of *Frontenac* to act as he did by the *Iroquois* ambassador.

Negotiations
between the
Outaouais and
the *Iroquois*.

THIS agreeable account, however, was qualified by the negotiation between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois*, without the governor's intervention. This, in fact, was occasioned chiefly by the natural propensity those two people had to trade with the *English* rather than the *French*, and it had been the constant endeavours of the *French* governors to set those savages at variance with one another. But the pusillanimous conduct of some of those governors, the low condition of *Canada*, and the losses that colony had lately sustained, had determined the *Outaouais*, whom the *French* had always considered as their most faithful

a faithful allies, to treat of an accommodation with the *Iroquois*, from whom they had little to hope, but every thing to fear. Nothing had prevented the execution of this before, but the activity of *Durantaye*, who still continued to command at *Michillimakinac*, and the zeal of the missionaries there. But some of the *Outaouais* happening to be at *la Chine* during the massacre there, returned to their own country with so contemptible a report of the *French* power, that the canton finally resolved upon the accommodation without the least participation of the *French*. To succeed the better, they sent back all the *Tsonnonthouan* prisoners they had, as a preliminary to the intended conference in *June*. Their resolutions, however secret, could not escape the vigilance of *Durantaye* and the missionaries, who were informed of every thing; but, the winter being far advanced, it was found difficult to procure a messenger who would undertake to travel near 1200 miles through almost impassable roads, till the *sieur Joliet* offered himself, and arrived at *Quebec*, with a letter from the missionary *Carheil* to *Frontenac*, in the end of the year 1689. This letter very freely laid open to the count the desperate state of the *French* interest amongst the *Outaouais*, and the contemptible figure his nation made in the eyes of those savages^a.

FRONTENAC was far from being displeased with the contents of this letter, because they reflected dishonour upon some of his predecessors, particularly in the affair of demolishing fort *Cataracouy*, and evinced the necessity of building a new one there; and likewise of executing his great plan of detaching the *Iroquois* from the interest of the *English*, to facilitate the conquest of *New York*. In answer to *Carheil's* letter, he ordered *Durantaye* to assure the *Hurons* and *Outaouais* at *Michillimakinac*, that they should soon see an alteration of affairs. He then laid down his dispositions for attacking the *English*. A company of a hundred and ten men, *French* and savages, was raised at *Montreal*, under the command of two lieutenants, who had their choice of the posts which they were to attack, and they determined on that of *Orange*. In this resolution they were vigorously opposed by the savages, and they marched, without coming to any resolution, till they arrived at a place where the road separated into two; one leading to *Orange*, and the other to *Corlar*, which the savages agreed to attack. This resolution being fixed, they proceeded in a most fatiguing march for nine days to *Corlar*. Being arrived within two leagues of it, the chief of the *Iroquois* settlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*, who was commonly called the *Grand Agnier*, in a formal language, which he made to the whole party in a strain of frantic enthusiasm, inveighed against the *English*, as being enemies to God. Soon after they were informed by four savage women, whom they met, in all they wanted to know about the strength and situation of the place, which, upon their arrival at it, they found open, even its gates not being shut; and they entered it in the night. The accounts given of this boasted expedition by *Charlevoix*, and other *French* authors, represent it as a master-piece of courage in warlike operations; whereas, in fact, it was as cowardly as it was inhuman. The party entering the place without resistance, butchered men, women, and children, till, tired with murder, they gave quarter to forty of the *English*, whom they carried into slavery. One *Coudray*, the governor, who, very possibly, was in concert with them, was saved, and all his property; as was the house of a woman, to which one of the wounded lieutenants was carried. All the rest of the town was burned down. It is not unreasonable, however, to suppose, with *Charlevoix*, that the success and barbarity of the expedition was of service to the *French* in the eyes of the savages.

Frontenac's sentiments of their coalition.

Inhuman expedition of the French against Corlar.

Upon the return of this inhuman party to *Montreal*, two *French* officers, one of whom had been present at the butchery of *Corlar*, raised a party of popish *Iroquois*, and gave the command of it to the *Grand Agnier*, to make excursions against the *Iroquois*. In this expedition, they took forty-two prisoners, among whom were eight *English*. Hearing that a hundred *Makingans* were waiting for them, and their number being far inferior to that, they marched towards the *Salmon* river, which they reached upon the 4th of *June*; and here they began to make new canoes; they having left their own at a great distance. While they were busy at this employment, they were discovered by a party of *Algonquins* and *Abenaguais*, who, taking them for *English*, with whom they likewise were at war, attacked them before day, and the *Grand Agnier* was killed the first onset, as were six other *Iroquois*. The mistake was soon discovered by the prisoners each party made; but the *French Iroquois*, in resentment of their chief's death, refused to deliver up their captives. This produced a difference between the two parties, though both of them were popish, which all the art and authority of *Frontenac* could not, for some time, compose. At last, it was agreed that the aggressors should send deputies with a belt to the fall of *St. Lewis*, expressing their sorrow for what had happened. As to the *Grand Agnier*, though he was capitally concerned in the massacre at *Corlar*, yet he is by *Charlevoix*^b celebrated as being

Death of the Grand Agnier and occasion of it.

^a CHARLEVOIX, vol. ii. p. 432.

^b Ibid. vol. iii. p. 71.

a living saint, and his conversion to popery as the immediate and miraculous work of God. He even thought, that, if he had survived, he would have converted his whole canton to popery.

Two expedi-
tions against
the English.

BESIDES the irruption of the *French* and their savages into *New York*, by the way of *Corlar*, *Frontenac* had planned two other expeditions; one from *Trois Rivières*, and the other from *Quebec*, that a spirit of emulation might be raised all over the colony. *Trois Rivières* could raise no more than fifty-five men; of whom twenty-five were *Algonquins* and *Sokokis*, and the command of the whole was given to an officer named *Hertel*. After a long and fatiguing march, he came to an *English* settlement, which *Charlevoix* names *Sementel*, at six leagues distance from *Piscataqua* in *New England*. The *French* surprized this settlement, and cut in pieces all they found in it, excepting fifty-four persons, whom they carried off captives; and, after burning all the houses, and sheep and cattle in the stables, they were preparing to make their retreat, for fear it should be cut off by the inhabitants of *Piscataqua*. It was accordingly attempted; but *Hertel*, by the advantage of his situation, repulsed the assailants. After which he retreated, though with some loss, but was obliged to leave his eldest son, who was wounded in the knee, to the care of the savages.

Casco Bay
taken.

By this time, the *Quebec* party had taken the field under one *Portneuf*; and *Hertel*, upon his return, understanding that he was within two days march of them, dispatched his nephew with an account of his success to the governor-general, and set out to join the *Quebec* party, within four leagues of *Casco Bay*, which they were determined to attack; tho', according to *Charlevoix*, the place mounted eight cannon, and was well provided with every thing necessary for a defence. Four savages, and two *French*, were employed to alarm the fort, which they did by raising the *Indian* cry; and having killed an *Englishman*, fifty of the garrison marched out, and received the fire of the *French*, who lay in ambush, and who afterwards attacking the *English* party with swords and hatchets, killed them all but four, who regained the fort, but all of them wounded. Towards the evening, *Portneuf* summoned the governor of *Casco Bay* to surrender; but was answered by the latter, that he would defend his fort to the last. This startled *Portneuf*, whose commission from *Frontenac* only bore that he should ravage the open country; but, determining to equal *Hertel's* exploit at *Sementel*, and his men demanding to be led to the assault, he resolved to risk every thing. The *French* writers say, that besides the main fort at *Casco Bay*, four others had been raised, but all of them were evacuated, in order to reinforce the principal garrison. Those forts, however, appear to have been only the defenceless houses of the inhabitants; and the main fort, notwithstanding all the *French* writers, who had their information only from those who had an interest in magnifying their own exploits, was little better than defenceless. The reply the *French* commandant made to the answer of the *English* governor was, that he must surrender the fort, with all the provisions and ammunition within it: and, though the *English* demanded six days to consider, they were allowed only one night. The defenceless state of the fort obliged the garrison to capitulate; but *Portneuf* would give the governor no other terms, but those of surrendering himself and his garrison prisoners of war, which they accordingly did, being reduced to the last extremity. The *English* accounts say, that the number of effective men in the fort did not amount to above twenty-six; the *French* make them double the number, exclusive of women and children. Scarcely was the place evacuated, when an *English* squadron appeared to relieve it; but its commander, not seeing the *English* colours flying, concluded that the fort had been taken, and being confirmed in his opinion by none of his signals being answered, he returned back; while *Portneuf* not only plundered and demolished the fort, but all the houses in its neighbourhood. The prisoners, among whom was the governor, whose name was *Dennis*, and some of his relations, were carried to *Quebec*. This inconsiderable conquest, though magnified by the *French*, was not, however, thought sufficient to answer their main purpose; which was that of bringing their savage allies into a state of independence upon the *English*. To effect this, *Frontenac*, about a month after *Portneuf's* return to *Quebec*, sent *de la Porte Louvigny*, a reformed captain, and *Perrot*, with a strong convoy from *Montreal* to *Michillimakinac*, charged with presents from the governor-general to the savages, and a commission to supersede *Durantaye* in that station. This removal of an officer, whose services had been so eminent as those of *Durantaye* were, was attributed to the jealousy of *Frontenac*, who had a secret dislike to the jesuits, with whom he thought *Durantaye* was too closely connected. Envy of his great merits, perhaps, did not a little contribute to *Durantaye's* removal; and this envy seems to have pursued him through life, for, being obliged to quit the profession of arms for that of the law, he died in indigence at *Quebec*.

Durantaye su-
perseded in his
command.

LOUVIGNY was attended, in going to take possession of his new command, by a hundred and forty-three *French*; many of whom had large quantities of fur at *Michillimakinac*,

a *makinac*, which they could not before carry off for fear of the savages. They were escorted by two *French* officers, and six savages; but on the 23d of *May*, being the day after they embarked, they discovered two *Iroquois* canoes. Upon this, *Louvigny* detached thirty of his retinue in canoes, and sixty by land, to surround the enemy, who were suspected to be very numerous, though they did not appear. The canoe men fell into an ambuscade of the *Iroquois*, who killed by far the greatest part of them. At first, *Perrot*, under whose command *Louvigny* was during the journey, would not suffer the latter to march against the savages; but, at last, he gave him leave, and *Louvigny*, at the head of fifty or sixty *French*, killed about thirty of the *Iroquois*, wounded a greater number, and made some prisoners, the remainder of the savages escaping with great difficulty to their canoes.

The *Iroquois* defeated.

b THE two officers, who headed the convoy, returning soon after to *Montreal*, sent one of the prisoners they had made to *Frontenac*, who put him into the hands of *Oureoubaré*; another was carried to *Michillimakinac*, and given up to the *Outaouais*, who beginning to conceive now a better opinion of the *French* courage than they had entertained before, committed him to the flames, as an evidence that they had no intention to make peace with the *Iroquois*. At this time the *Outaouais* ambassadors were on the point of setting out from *Michillimakinac* to conclude a definitive treaty with the *Iroquois*; but the sight of the *French*, the news of their victories, and the magnificent presents they brought, gave a new turn to their sentiments; which *Perrot* improved with so much address, that they entered with more zeal than ever into the *French* interest. A hundred and ten canoes, loaded with furs and skins, to the value of 100,000 crowns, under the convoy of three hundred northern savages, immediately set out for *Montreal*, where they found the count de *Frontenac*.

Consequence of their defeat.

c THE chevalier *D'Eau*, who had been sent as ambassador and spy to *Onnontague*, and all the *French* in his retinue, had been put in confinement by the savages, notwithstanding all the fair professions of *Frontenac*, that he had sent that officer to evince the great confidence he had in their nation, and to do them honour. Not contented with this, they sent him prisoner to *Manbatta*, to prove their aversion to any peace with the *French*, and went so far, according to *Charlevoix*, who probably in many respects exaggerates matters against the *English*, as even to burn two *Frenchmen* of his retinue. *Frontenac*, upon this, ordered two detachments of his best troops, one under the command of the chevalier de *Clermont*, to guard the southern parts of the colony from *Montreal*, to the river *Sorel*; and the other, under the command of the chevalier de *la Motte*, was to secure it from *Montreal* to *Quebec*. Many actions, which, though attended with bloodshed and barbarity, are too inconsiderable to be transmitted to history, followed upon this, and the *French* pretend, that the *Iroquois* massacred without distinction all the captives who fell into their hands.

Hostilities of the *Iroquois*.

d THOSE hostilities produced very disagreeable effects, as the colonists of *Canada* durst not venture abroad, either to cultivate their lands, or cut down their harvests; so that the colony itself was threatened with famine. On the 18th of *August*, de *la Chassaigne*, commandant at fort *la Chine*, was informed, that a great number of canoes were seen upon lake *St. Lewis*. *Frontenac*, who was then at *Montreal*, immediately concluding that they were filled with *Iroquois*, gave orders for a vigorous defence, but he soon understood that they were no other than the grand convoy from *Michillimakinac*, which we have already mentioned. The joy of the *French* at understanding this, exceeded, if possible, their consternation before; and the convoy was received under peals of acclamations from the inhabitants. On the 22d of the same month, *Frontenac* gave audience to all the chiefs of the convoy, who appeared to be well disposed, on the part of their nation, to continue firm in the *French* interest. Mean while, an *Iroquois*, who was nephew to the grand *Agner*, and who had been sent out to reconnoitre towards *Orange*, had, in his return, discovered, that a large body of men were employed in making canoes upon lake *Sacrament*. This *Iroquois* was so much attached to the *French*, that the truth of his report, with many circumstances attending it, to do honour to himself, was so far from being questioned by *Frontenac*, that he immediately gave orders for putting the town and island of *Montreal* in a proper posture of defence. He called together all his savage allies who were upon the spot, and after feasting them with great profusion, he informed them, that he was resolved never to make peace with the *Iroquois*, till he should reduce them to beg it upon terms as advantageous to his allies as to the *French*, and that he considered both as being equally his children. He then very artfully exhorted them to fidelity, and, without losing the least of his dignity, he chanted a war-song in their own manner, to shew them that he intended to head them in person, and to share with them in all their dangers. *Frontenac's* behaviour charmed the savages to a degree of enthusiasm for his person, and he was answered with peals of universal acclamation. Next day, upon advice that great numbers of canoes

Arrival of the *Michillimakinac* convoy.

canoes were seen on lake *Champlain*, signals were given for assembling the regulars and the militia; and on the 31st of *August*, *Frontenac* upon *Magdalen Mead* reviewed the savages, who were so eager for the service, that all of them appeared under arms, without their leaving a man to take care of their merchandizes. Next day the army was found to consist of 1200 men.

Transactions
with the sa-
vages.

SOME of the savages of the fall of *St. Lewis* took this opportunity to invite all the chiefs of the other cantons to go to *Onontbio's* quarters. There being assembled, one *Lewis Atheribata*, a popish chief of *Lewis's* fall, very artfully addressed himself to the company, but more particularly to the *Outaouais*, whom he advised to lay before their father *Onontbio*, their inmost sentiments, and to disclose the true reasons of their late treaty with the *Iroquois*. The spokesman of the *Outaouais*, upon this, apologized in the best manner he could for his countrymen, and gave the reasons for their conduct, which we have already seen; but promised an inviolable fidelity to *Onontbio* in time to come, in which he was seconded by all the other chiefs present. *Frontenac* very properly thought, that some altercations might arise if the company continued longer together; and after thanking *Lewis Atheribata* for so seasonable an interview, he promised him another meeting as soon as the enemy should be repulsed.

The French
surprized by
the savages.

NEXT day, the scouts reported, that they could discover no enemy, nor any footsteps of one; upon which, the army was dismissed till farther orders, and the inhabitants fell to their harvest-work, which was the main object of their concern. Two days after, a party of *Iroquois* surprized a defenceless number of the *French* inhabitants and soldiers, carelessly at work in the field, and killed or took prisoners six soldiers, eleven inhabitants, and four women, besides putting to death a number of horned cattle, and burning the neighbouring houses and storehouses; but upon an appearance of some troops approaching, the savages retired to the woods. *Frontenac* was vexed that this check had happened while the savage chiefs were with him. They had already earnestly desired him to dismiss them, which, at last, he did in a very gracious manner, after exhorting them to follow his example in carrying on perpetual war with the *English* and the *Iroquois*, till they were humbled. A few days after their departure, the *Iroquois* again surprized the *French*, who thought them at a great distance, in many places of the colony; and killed the commandant of fort *de Chateaugue*, above the fall of *St. Lewis*, with several other officers and persons. *Frontenac*, incensed with those frequent surprizals, reproached *Oureoubaré* with the insensibility of his countrymen, as to all the kindnesses he had done to him and them. The savage made the best apology he could for their behaviour; and so entirely disarmed *Frontenac* of all resentment towards himself, that that governor resolved to trust and employ him, more than ever, in compassing his favourite views.

Canada in-
vaded by the
English.

On the 10th of *October*, while *Frontenac* was preparing to return to *Quebec*, an officer from thence brought him two letters from *Prevot*, who commanded there during the governor's absence. The first, dated the 5th, gave him advice, that he had been informed by an *Abenauais* of thirty ships having left *Boston*, in order to besiege *Quebec*. The savage, who brought this intelligence, had travelled in twelve days from *Piscataqua* to *Quebec*, and assured *Prevot*, that the *English* fleet had been for six weeks at sea. The second letter gave advice of twenty-four *English* ships, some of which were large, having appeared off *Tadoussac*. Upon this alarming account, *Frontenac* and *Champigny* immediately embarked on board a small vessel for *Quebec*; and soon after another courier came from *Perrot*, with advice that two *French* ladies had been taken by a fleet of thirty-four sail, which, at the time of his writing, might be at the isle of *Condres* or *Hazels*. This intelligence, which now appeared certain, was the more astonishing to the governor, not only because he never had the smallest intimation of any ships being fitting out at *Boston*, but because he imagined, that the *English* were sufficiently humbled by their late checks; which brings us to the events that happened in other parts of his government.

Success of Sir
William
Phipps, who
reduces Acadia

WE have already mentioned, that an *English* squadron appeared off *Casco Bay*, but did not come time enough to prevent its falling into the hands of the *French*; upon which they sailed to *Port Royal*, and appeared before the harbour of that place the 20th of *May* 1690. This fleet was commanded by Sir *William Phipps*, and consisted of a frigate of forty guns, a sloop of sixteen, one of eight, and four ketches; the fort being commanded by *Manneval*, a *Frenchman* of some abilities and experience. The *English* commodore immediately summoned the fort to surrender at discretion, which *Manneval*, who was destitute of all the means of defence, refused to do, but sent out one *Petit*, an ecclesiastic, to treat with *Phipps*. After some altercation it was agreed, that the fort should be surrendered, on condition that the governor and the garrison, which is said to have been very weak, should be carried to *Quebec*; that the inhabitants should be secured in their effects, and the exercise of the *Roman catholic* religion. The *Frenchman* insisted upon this capi-
tulation

a tulation being put in writing, which *Phipps* absolutely refused to comply with, on pretence that his word, as a general, was to be depended on more than all the writings in the world. The capitulation, however, if we are to believe *Charlevoix*, was afterwards verbally confirmed with *Manneval* himself; but broken by *Phipps* on pretence that the soldiers and inhabitants had pillaged a magazine, that by the capitulation ought to have belonged to the king of *England*. Upon this, he disarmed the soldiers, put *Manneval* under arrest, and gave up the place, and even the churches, to be plundered. Such is the relation the *French* give us of this expedition; but it ought to be read with great caution, because *Phipps* could have no good reason for refusing to sign a capitulation, but the weak state of the place, and the same pretext, if it was one, that is said to have induced him to break, would have served his turn equally well, had the capitulation been written, as it was verbal. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Phipps* carried off with him *Manneval*, a serjeant, and thirty-eight soldiers; that he obliged the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to king *William* and queen *Mary*, and that he had left his first serjeant to command *Port Royal*, appointing six of the principal inhabitants to be of his council for administering justice. From *Port Royal*, *Phipps* sailed to *Chedabouctou*, where he summoned *Montorgeruil* to surrender it. Though that officer had^b no more than fourteen men in garrison, he made so brave a defence, that *Phipps* was obliged to set fire to the place before he would listen to a capitulation, which was at last granted him upon honourable terms; and he and his garrison were conducted in safety to *Placentia*; which gives us a fresh presumption, that the *French* have misrepresented the conduct of *Phipps* at *Port Royal*.

Upon the whole, there is a ridiculous, and, indeed, improbable vein of amplifying every thing for the glory of their own nation, and depreciating the *English*, that runs thro' all *French* relations of *America*; witness what *Charlevoix* himself tells us of sixty *French Abenaguais* having attacked and defeated six hundred *English*, with the loss of no more than three men. In the mean while, the chevalier *de Villebon* arrived from *France* to take upon him the command in *Acadia*; but finding how matters stood at *Port Royal*, he resolved to retire to the fort of *St. John*; which he proposed to make the rendezvous of all the *French* forces and *Indians* in *Acadia*; but he was pursued so close by two *English* pirates, that he was obliged to take to a canoe, in which he and his officers escaped, while his ship the *Union*, which had brought him from *Europe*, was taken by the enemy. By this time, *Villebon* had reached the fort of *Gemsec*, but soon understood the pirates had not only taken the *Union*, but two ketches, into which her cargo had been put. *Villebon* assembled a body of *Abenaguais*, and marched with them to the sea-coast, where they endeavoured, but in vain, to surprize the pirates, who fell upon *Port Royal*, where they committed great inhumanities. *Villebon* upon this returned to *Gemsec*, where he dismissed, in the winter, all his faithful *Abenaguais*. He then went to *Quebec*, from whence he returned in a *French* vessel to *Port Royal*, and from thence he sailed to *France*, where, after representing to that ministry the state of *Canada*, he undertook to drive the *English* out of it, even without the assistance of the *French*, if he was suffered to put himself at the head of the *Abenaguais*.

Vanity of the French.

It would be amazing, that the *English* court should all this while express little or no concern for so fine and so well situated a country as that part of *Canada* is, did we not consider that king *William* and the *English* government had at this time on their hands two great wars in *Europe*, one in *Ireland*, and one in *Flanders*, and that whatever had been done against the *French* in *New France*, was effected by the *New England* forces, without any assistance from *Old England*, farther than that the king and ministry there signed commissions, and sometimes lent their names to what was going on. In fact, *Acadia*, at this time, was equally the property of the *French* as the *English*; the latter being strongest by sea; but the former was favoured by the natives. *Villebon's* request was granted; and he was sent back to *Quebec* with all possible encouragement, and a commission to command the *Abenaguais*, who, in the mean while, were promised all kind of supplies and encouragement from the *French*, till such time as the latter were in a condition to establish their affairs at *Port Royal*. At the same time, commissions were made out for some of the *French Canadians* to act as officers under *Villebon*. He returned to *Quebec* in the beginning of July 1691.

Villebon governor of Acadia.

ALL those events, so prejudicial to the *French* interest in *Canada* seem either to have been unknown to *Frontenac* before his arrival at *Quebec*, or slighted by him; and indeed caution and mistrust did not enter into his character. He had remained so long at *Montreal*, that had not the *English* fleet under *Phipps* been very severely treated by the weather in its approach to *Quebec*, that capital must have been lost before its governor could have

Preparations to defend Quebec,

^b CHARLEVOIX, vol. iii. p. 113.

heard of its being attacked. The first measure *Frontenac* took, after receiving *Perrot's* second dispatch, was to send *Ramezay*, the governor of *Trois Rivières*, to *Callières*, with orders for him to leave only a small garrison at *Montreal*, and to come directly down to *Quebec* with all the force he could raise, either there or elsewhere in the colony. It was the evening of the 14th of *October* before *Frontenac* entered *Quebec*, where he found his deputy had put every thing in excellent order for defence, and that the *English* fleet was advanced as far as the isle of *Orleans*. The place was defended, not only by its ordinary garrison, but by a great number of the neighbouring inhabitants, whom the commandant had ordered into the city, and who worked with so much alacrity at the fortifications, that in five days they repaired them, so as to be secure against any sudden attack. *Frontenac*, however, gave directions for some new intrenchments to be thrown up, and sent orders to the militia commanders of *Beaupré*, *Beauport*, the isle of *Orleans*, and on the side of *Lauson*, not to quit their posts till they saw the enemy land, and actually attack the place; and then they were to march as he should direct. At the same time, *Longueville*, a *French* partizan, at the head of a body of *Hurons* and *Abenaguais*, watched the motions of the fleet, and the lower posts, on both sides the river, were so well guarded, that the *English* could not send even a long-boat ashore. All this time, militia men were arriving daily at *Quebec*, and shewed as much alacrity as its inhabitants themselves did for its defence. On the 15th the chevalier *de Vaudreuil* went out at the head of one hundred regulars to reconnoitre the enemy, and to oppose them if they should attempt to land. About the same time, *Frontenac*, who expected some ships from *France*, fearing they might fall into the enemy's hands, sent off by the little canal of the isle of *Orleans*, two canoes, with orders to sail down the river as far as they could, and to inform the ships of the state of affairs. At the same time, he erected a battery of eight pieces of cannon upon an eminence adjoining to the fort, which completed the fortifications of the city. In short, he omitted nothing that could contribute to a vigorous and an effectual defence. On the 16th, *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, and that morning the *English* fleet was discovered off the heights of that place, consisting of thirty-four ships of different burthens, and carrying, as was said, 3000 land forces. In advancing, the largest ships kept the middle channel, and at 10 o'clock came to an anchor. The admiral then sent out a long-boat with a flag of truce.

which is besieged by the English.

THE reader is here to observe, that *Phipps* had taken prisoner one *Grandville*, a *French* officer, who had been dispatched by *Prevot* to observe the motions of the *English*, and who, on his examination, frankly owned what he thought was the truth, that *Quebec* had neither fortifications, troops, nor a general, to defend it. This account encouraged *Phipps* so much, that he boasted he should lie in the governor of *Quebec's* palace that very night. *Frontenac* seeing the long-boat, with the messenger, who was a trumpet, put off from the fleet, sent an officer, who met him half way, and muffing his eyes, carried him round all the fortifications, where the soldiers and inhabitants purposely increased the noise of military hurry all round him, and, at last, carried him to the great-hall. He was astonished, when unblinded, to find himself before the governor-general, the bishop, the intendant, and a large body of officers, all of them with looks of defiance and resolution. This was so much the reverse of what he expected, that he trembled when he presented the manifesto of the *English* admiral. It reproached the *French* and their savages with the cruelties which they had committed upon the subjects of *England*; demanded all the prisoners that they had should be delivered up; that the governor, garrison, and inhabitants should surrender themselves at discretion, and concluded by giving the governor-general only one hour to consider of his answer. This summons being read aloud, created great indignation in the *Frenchmen*, which was redoubled when the trumpet, pulling out a watch, said he could not stay after 11 o'clock.

Frontenac's answer to the English summons.

VALRENE'S immediately called out, that the trumpet ought to be treated as belonging to a pirate, who was in arms against his lawful sovereign, and who had acted as a true pirate, by breaking the capitulation he had made at *Port Royal* with *Manneval*. *Frontenac* answered the trumpet, by reproaching *Phipps*, and the *English*, for their rebellion against their lawful sovereign, in whose right he said he acted. He likewise mentioned the affair of *Manneval* with great indignation, and concluded by saying, that he would give no other answer to the insolent summons, but by the mouth of his cannon. He then ordered the trumpet to be again blindfolded, and re-conducted to the place where he was taken up. We have, in the history of *New England*, given some account of Sir *William Phipps*, who must be acknowledged to have been utterly incapable of commanding in an expedition of this importance; being a man neither of education nor abilities. His astonishment, at the report of the messenger, was inexpressible; but he was quite dismayed, when the *French*, beginning to play from their batteries, gave him to understand, that, in order to reduce the place, he must form a regular siege; for which he was no way prepared.

a prepared (D). It must be acknowledged, that never did *English* subjects make a worse figure than they did in this expedition. A long-boat attempted to land, but, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, could not. On the 18th, about noon, almost all the long boats of the fleet, filled with soldiers, made good their landing at *Beauport*, where they drew up in order of battle, to the number of 1500. As the ground was utterly improper for a regular engagement, the *French* and their *Indians* harrassed them by bush-fighting, in which they had vast advantages; so that three hundred *Canadians*, by skipping from rock to rock, and firing from trees and bushes, not only concealed their numbers, but gave their enemy no opportunity of attacking them, so as to do much execution. In short, the *English*, having, according to the *French*, lost^a one hundred and fifty men, were obliged to retire before a small handful of the enemy, whom they took for *Indians*; being heard to say in their retreat, that they believed there was an *Indian* behind every tree. The loss of the *French* consisted of three gentlemen volunteers, and of eight or ten common men, who were wounded. *Frontenac*, to conceal his numbers, ordered a battalion of regulars to secure the retreat of the *Canadians*.

UPON the afternoon of this defeat four of the largest *English* ships, laying their sides to the place, began to cannonade the upper town; and a very hot fire ensued on both sides. The *English* are said to have directed their guns particularly against the college of the jesuits, whom they considered as being the authors of all their countrymens sufferings; but whatever may be in this, it is certain that their cannonading did little or no damage to the city; and that they only killed one man, and wounded two. About eight in the evening the firing ceased on both sides; but next day it was renewed, and with such success from the battery called the *Mariner's Gate*, that both the admiral and rear-admiral of the *English* were obliged, not greatly to the reputation either of their courage, or their skill, to draw off, after receiving vast damage in their ships, and losing a great number of their soldiers and sailors. The other two ships continued their cannonading for some time, but were at last obliged to draw off likewise. This day produced no operations by land; but the *English*, who continued to be encamped near *Beauport*, early next morning drew out in line of battle, and about two in the afternoon they marched in good order towards *Quebec*. They had not gone far when they were attacked by *St. Helene*, one of the best *Canadian* officers, at the head of two hundred men, in the bush-fighting manner, who obliged the *English* to take shelter in a small wood; from whence they made so vigorous a fire, that they forced the enemy to retreat, and mortally wounded *St. Helene*. In the mean while, *Frontenac* advanced in person at the head of three battalions to support his *Canadians*; but the action by that time was over, and the *English* suffered their enemies, whose loss, according to their own accounts, was very inconsiderable, only two of their men being killed, and four wounded, to retreat to the city, while the loss of the *English* is represented to have been greater than in the former engagement. The truth seems to have been, that this day's action was little more than a foraging adventure; for upon the retreat of the *French* into the city, they carried off all their cattle to re-victual their ships, which were in vast distress for fresh provisions. This circumstance, which is admitted by the *French* themselves, is sufficient evidence of their partiality as to all they relate concerning this expedition; since we cannot suppose, that a victorious army would, before their own eyes, have suffered such a depredation. The following night the admiral having sent to the land-troops, unknown to the besieged, five six-pounders, the *English* began their march, intending to batter the town in breach. The *French* officers were so vigilant, that they disposed themselves into small ambush-parties, so as not to be discovered by the *English*, all over the ground through which the latter were to pass. Thus the *English* in their march fell into one ambush, while they were thinking to escape another, three or four several times, and though they every where repulsed the *French*, yet the latter had so much the advantage over them in the bush-fighting manner, that they could do little execution, while the *English* fell in numbers. The *French* at last, as had been concerted, disposed their retreat so, that their several parties united behind a pallisadoed entrenchment, from which they made so dreadful a fire, that they stopped the march of the whole *English* army. The latter now brought up their field-pieces (for their cannon, with which they were to batter in breach, appeared to be no better) but they were soon silenced by a battery on the bank of the little river, which killed them so many men, that they began first to retreat, and then to fly. According to the *French* accounts, all the execution they did at the pallisadoed entrenchments, was to kill one ranger, and wound a sa-

Mismanagement of the English in the siege of Quebec.

^a CHARLEVOIX, vol. iii. p. 121.

(D) The *French* fire carried away his flag, which some of the *Canadians* brought on shore; and it was hung up in the great church, where it remained, as a trophy, till the *English* took the place in the late war.

vage; so very ill was the fire, both of their cannon and musketry, supplied. We are told, a likewise, that the reason why they betook themselves to flight, was, because hearing the found of the great bell of *Quebec*, they imagined that the governor and all his horse were coming upon them (E).

*They are de-
feated.*

DURING this engagement, the two *English* vessels that had not been disabled by the cannonade, renewed it, but with no effect, while the *English* troops at *Beauport* took the opportunity of a dark wet night to break up their camp, and to return to their long boats, most scandalously leaving behind them all their cannon, powder, and bullets. Their retreat was known early, by means of some savages, and the *Canadians* seizing the spoils, defended them against thirty three long-boats, who came to carry them off; but their crews durst not land, so terrible was the fire of the *French*. The honour of this action was due b to a private gentleman, one *Carré*, who commanded the militia of *Beauport*, *Beaupré*, and the isle of *Orleans*; and who behaved, on this occasion, as well as veteran regulars could have done. *Frontenac*, as a reward for their valour, presented them with two pieces of the cannon they had taken.

WE have already mentioned, that *Frontenac* had, by a savage, received intelligence, that a body of *Indians* was encamped upon lake *St. Sacrament*. According to *Charlevoix* b this was a body of 3000 *English*, *Iroquois*, and *Mahingans*, who were destined for the conquest of *Montreal*, while that of *Quebec* was attempting. As to the credibility of this expedition, it rests principally, if not wholly, upon the faith of the *French* themselves; for little or no mention of it is made in the *English* accounts. It is not, however, at all im- c probable, that such an expedition was planned, because it was evidently conducive to the main design of the *English*, and even according to the *French* themselves, the disappointment of it was owing not to them, but to natural causes. While the *English* and the *Mahingans* were marching to join the *Iroquois*, they were seized with the infection of the small-pox, a disease peculiarly dreadful to the savages; and they who recovered of it carried the marks of it upon their faces and bodies when they came to the place of rendezvous. The loathsome appearance they made rendered the *Iroquois*, who were before impatient, quite intolerable; and they reproached their allies with coming to poison them. In fact, about eight hundred of the *Iroquois* died of that distemper; upon which the army immediately d separated.

PHIPPS, or rather the *English* colonies, was greatly disconcerted at the miscarriage of so promising a plan of operations, by which *Frontenac* had, unexpectedly even to himself, been enabled to draw the whole force of *New France* to the defence of *Quebec*. We shall not here enter upon the ridiculous accounts and reflections of *French* memorialists, as if the *English* had carried along with them poisoned shirts, which they intended should become the prey of the *French*, and as if the separation of the army had been owing to the policy of the *Iroquois*, lest the *English* should become too powerful. The manner in which it is accounted for is natural; because it is well known that the plague in other countries does not do more speedy and dreadful execution than the small-pox does upon the natives e of *North America*. *Phipps* receiving the certainty of this event, gave over all thoughts of any farther attempt upon *Quebec*, and resolved entirely to raise the siege. The *French* are perhaps very moderate, when they say that the last three actions cost their enemies six hundred men; for the *English* themselves allow, that they lost upon the whole above 1000 of their bravest fellow-subjects, during the expedition. It is certain, that when they came to a resolution to raise the siege they had not a single cannon-ball left, and that they were for some days before obliged to charge with pieces of old iron and such materials. On the 23d two *French* captains, *D'Orvillieres* and *Subercase* threw themselves, with about one hundred men, into the isle of *Orleans*, as did another officer, one *Vilieu*, to prevent any descent from the *English* in the retreat of their fleet. On the 24th it came to an anchor, and mademoiselle de la Lande, who, with several other *French* persons of considera f tion of both sexes, remained prisoners in the hands of the *English*, proposed an exchange of prisoners; to which *Phipps* readily agreeing, she was sent for that purpose to *Quebec*, and the number of prisoners on both sides being pretty equal, the cartel was easily settled.

*Retreat of the
English.*

THUS ended this ill-concerted expedition, to the loss of national honour on the part of the *English*; nor indeed can it easily be pronounced, how far the people of *New England* were authorized by their government at home in the undertaking. It is at least certain,

^b CHARLEVOIX, vol. iii. p. 128.

(E) This is another inconsistency, which goes far to destroy the credit of the *French* relations of this siege in many circumstances, though they undoubtedly are

but too true in the main, for if the very apprehension of being attacked by the governor-general produced such an effect, why did not the thing really happen?

that

a that the greatest part, if not the whole of the expence, fell upon the province of *New England*. The capital failure of the *English* seems to have consisted in their not being provided with proper pilots to supply their ignorance of the navigation of *St. Laurence* river, and with a sufficient store of cannon and ammunition. The *English* fleet in its return, in passing by the isle of *Orleans*, lost no fewer than nine ships for want of hands to navigate them; most of their crews being dead, and the whole fleet was, at the same time, in the most imminent danger of perishing. This miscarriage produced some advantageous propositions on the part of the government of *New England* to the *Abenaguais*, and the other *French* savages, which were rejected on their part, and served to encrease their contempt and hatred for the *English*. In the mean while, the messengers which *Frontenac* had sent out to apprise the ships he expected from *Old France* of the descent of the *English*, b had been so fortunate as to meet with them, and they had concealed themselves in the river *Saguenay*, till the *English* fleet passed them on its return homewards. When they appeared before *Quebec*, the joy of the inhabitants at seeing them was greatly damped, by their being unprovided of every thing; nor could they be supplied in a country which was itself equally distressed, as the fear of the savages had prevented the colony from either sowing or reaping. The governor-general knew no other way to remedy this evil, but by quartering the soldiers, who were newly arrived, upon the most wealthy inhabitants of the province, who received and entertained them with a cheerfulness which perhaps none but *Frenchmen* could express after the prodigious fatigues and dangers they had undergone during the preceding course of the campaign. This event of the deliverance of *Quebec* was c thought to be of such moment at the *French* court; that a medal was struck on the occasion by order of his most Christian majesty.

In *March* 1691 new deputies arrived at *Quebec* from the *Abenaguais* nations, who brought intelligence, that no more than four ships of all the *English* fleet, that had laid siege to that capital, had returned to *Boston*; many of them having gone in pursuit of the *French* fishing-vessels on the banks of *Newfoundland*. They likewise informed the governor-general of several fresh cruelties committed by the *Onontagues* against the *French*; and that their countrymen, with the *Canibas*, had so greatly harrassed the province of *New England*, that it was in as much distress for want of provision as that of *New France* was. d Great part of this information was afterwards found to be false, and *Frontenac* pretended, that the whole was a contrivance of the *English* to amuse him, while the *Iroquois*, the *Agniers* especially, were executing new barbarities against the *French*. In fact, a hundred and forty *Agniers*, together with some *Dutch* subjects of *England*, had invaded the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall; many of whom they killed, and carried others into captivity. Soon after, three deputies of the *Agniers* came to the same fall with those prisoners, but without arms, declaring that they came to beg peace from their father *Onontbio*; and to petition him for a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the fall of *St. Lewis*, where they might settle near their brethren. They added, that eight hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and were ready to enter *New France* between *Montreal* and *Trois Rivières*, and that the *English* e had been the principal instigators and directors of all the barbarities committed by the savages upon the *French*. *Frontenac* did not fail to give advice of all this intelligence to *Pontchartrain*, who had succeeded *Seignelay* in his department, and represented that he thought it improper absolutely to reject the request of the *Agniers*, but that it would be highly for the honour and interest of the colony, if some attempt was made upon the *English* settlements, especially that of *New York*; which would take from the *Iroquois* all hopes of protection from the *English*. That *Acadia* ought immediately to be recovered, and three or four frigates sent to cruise every year between *Cape Sable* and the northernmost parts of the island of *Newfoundland* to secure to the *French* the absolute possession of the great bank, which would be of more value to their mother-country, than even f the conquest of the *Indies*, as it would bring in a revenue of above twenty millions of *livres* a-year.

In the mean while, the great body of the *Iroquois*, that had been mentioned by the *Agnier* deputies, to the number of a thousand, appeared, about the beginning of *May*, near *Montreal*, and fixed their head-quarters towards the mouth of the river *Outaouais*. From thence, they sent two detachments, one of six score men northwards, and another of two hundred towards the south. The former attacked *Point Tremble*, in the isle of *Montreal*, where they burnt about thirty houses, and took some inhabitants, whom they treated with the greatest inhumanity. The second detachment had in it twenty *English* with some *Makingans*; and surprized twelve savages at the fall of *St. Lewis*, between g *Chambly* and *Magdalen's Meadow*. Next day, however, the *Agniers*, who were of the party, carried back the prisoners to their own habitations, and declared that their chief intention was to treat of peace. It was discovered, that their real design was to debauch the inhabitants of *St. Lewis* fall, in which they did not succeed: A party of eighty, at the

Invasion of
Canada by the
Savages.

the same time, made an irruption upon the christian *Iroquois* of the highlands; of whom they carried off about thirty-five women and children. The remaining savages spread themselves in small parties from *Repentigny* to the isles of *Richelieu*, where they laid waste all the open country, meeting with no resistance; the *French* finding it impossible to keep the field for want of subsistence.

Differences between the French governor and the jesuits.

At last, *Vaudreuil*, at the head of about a hundred or a hundred and twenty soldiers, went from house to house to collect provisions; and, having got as much as was sufficient to subsist them for some days, they joined *la Mine*, another officer, who had taken the field, and discovered a party of the *Onneyouths*, who lay at *St. Sulpice*. *Vaudreuil* immediately resolved upon attacking them, and surprized fifteen, whom they cut in pieces; the savages not dreaming that the *French* were in the field. The natives, who were in a lone house, being alarmed with the cries of the dying and wounded, defended themselves so vigorously, that they killed *Bienville*, a *French* officer of note; and they must have made their party good, though they were no more in number than twelve, had not *Vaudreuil* set fire to the house, which obliged the savages to quit it, all of whom were killed, or most inhumanly sacrificed by the *French* in the flames. Amongst the officers who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was the chevalier *de Crisafy*, who, with his brother the marquis of the same name, was a *Sicilian*, and having unsuccessfully endeavoured to raise a rebellion in that island, against the king of *Spain*, in favour of the *French* king, they were obliged to fly to his protection; but he gave them no other reward for their treason, than each of them a company in *Canada*, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity to the interest they espoused. Before the action, in which *Bienville* lost his life, he had, at the head of two hundred picked men, partly *French*, and partly *French Iroquois*, surprized a party, to the number of sixty, of *Goyogouins* and *Agniers*. While the savages were on the point of surrendering, the *Agniers* demanded a conference with the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall, who obstinately persisted in agreeing to the same. The *Agniers* professed a great desire of peace, and promised to send deputies to *Montreal*, to treat concerning it with *Callieres*. Their word was taken, and both they and the *Goyogouins* were suffered to escape. This complaisance of the savages of *St. Lewis* fall towards their enemies gave great umbrage to *Frontenac*, who complained to the *French* ministry of an underhand management between the savages of the fall and the *Agniers*, many of whom were relations to the others; not without some very severe reflections against the jesuit missionaries, who, he said, were more employed in making the savages christians, than in making them *Frenchmen*. The jesuits, on the other hand, seem to have recriminated on the governor-general, for they insisted that to make a savage a *Frenchman*, was to lose him to the community; a manner of arguing which none but interested jesuits could have made use of.

Conspiracy of the savages against the French.

THE *Onnontague* canton, on pretence of deploring the death of *St. Helene*, son to *le Moyne*, whose family they had adopted, sent him a belt of wampum, together with two female mountaineers, who had been for some time prisoners in their canton. Those women were intrusted with two belts of wampum, one of which they were secretly to give to one of the principal inhabitants of the villages of the mountain; and the other to *Lewis Atherihata*, who had the honour to be godson to his most Christian majesty, and was the principal inhabitant of the fall of *St. Lewis*. The intention of those belts was to invite them to return, with as many of their friends and relations as they could bring with them, to their mother-country, that they might avoid being involved in the general massacre that was intended against all the *French*. The belts were accordingly delivered; but the savages, to whom they were intrusted, carried them directly to *Callieres*, the governor of *Montreal*, to whom they swore an inviolable fidelity. He understood, at the same time, from the two female savages, who had brought the belts, that a large body of the *Iroquois* had taken post upon the river *Outaouais*, at a place called the *Long Fall*; where they proposed to murder all the *French* who were going to or returning from *Michillimakinac*, and then to fall upon the out-settlements. By this time, *Vaudreuil*, having intelligence of this conspiracy, had raised some troops to attack the savages at *Long Fall*; but the latter, either perceiving that their designs were discovered, or being in danger of having their own country destroyed by the *French* savages, broke up their camp. This was a lucky incident for the inhabitants of *New France*, and was greatly owing to the attachment of the *Outaouais* and *Hurons*, who remained in arms during the whole winter, and were perpetually harrassing the *Onnontague* and the other *Iroquois*. Early in the spring, two *French* officers, *Courtemanche* and *Repentigny*, after a most amazing journey through almost all the *Iroquois*, who lay round *Montreal*, reached *Michillimakinac* with ten men, and carried to the savages of that post the news of the miscarriage of the *English* fleet before *Quebec*. This account, which no doubt received some embellishments from the delivery, gave vast spirit to the *French* savages there, and *Courtemanche* was ordered to take

a take upon him the command of the *Miamis*, and to make head against the incursions of the *Iroquois*.

On the 1st of July, the inhabitants of *Quebec* were overjoyed at the accounts they received by a small *French* ship of a large armament, consisting of fourteen vessels of different burthens, bound to *Canada* from *Old France*, and which soon after arrived under the command of M. *du Tast*. This fleet had been fitted out chiefly at the expence of the *French* northern company, and its real destination was to retake port *Nelson* upon *Hudson's Bay* from the *English*. Nothing followed the arrival of this great armament but a delay, under pretence that the season was too far advanced to undertake any thing in those seas. The true reason was, that the northern company was to reap almost the whole of the profits, and part of the glory of the expedition; which *Iberville*, who commanded for them, foresaw would infallibly render it unsuccessful. The royal orders were directed to *Frontenac*, who found them so peremptory, that he immediately called a meeting of all who had any interest in the northern company, or any knowledge of those seas; and *du Tast* gave his opinion against attempting any thing farther that season; nor did *Frontenac* and *Champigny*, the intendant, think proper to contradict him. That *du Tast* might not seem to decline the expedition through indolence, he undertook to clear the river *St. Laurence* of a vast number of *English* privateers, who ruined the *French* trade there.

Reinforcements arrive at Quebec.

In the mean while, *Phipps* was so earnest in soliciting at the court of *England* to be put at the head of a new armament against *Quebec*, that the *French* government of *Canada* took the alarm; and the preparations amongst the *English* colonists were so great, that had not *Phipps* lost all his credit by his late miscarriage, they probably would have been successful. In the province of *New York* alone, five hundred men were raised, of whom a hundred and eighty were *English*, and the rest *Agniers* and *Mahingans*, and prepared to attack *Montreal*. *Callieres*, who still commanded there, discovering their intention, assembled seven or eight hundred men at *Magdalen's Meadow*; and, by sending out parties, he soon discovered that the true intention of the *English* was to attack fort *Chambly*, which *Callieres* immediately reinforced with two hundred men, under *Valrenes*. The orders of the latter were to watch the motions of the *English*, and actually to enter the fort, if it should be attacked; but if the enemy should pass onwards, to follow them and to fall upon their rear, while he himself was to attack them in front. This party was followed by a large body of savages, and other inhabitants, who likewise took post near *Chambly*, under an officer called *Le Bert du Chefne*. Amongst the *French* savages were three chiefs of great reputation: the first was *Oureoubaré*, whom we have already mentioned, and who commanded the *Hurons* of *Loretto*; the next was one *Paul*, who was at the head of the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall; and the third was one *la Routine*, an *Algonquin* leader. After encamping for three days on *Magdalen's Mead*, the badness of the weather forced them to take shelter in the fort, where *Callieres* was in person, but confined to his bed by a fever. This happened about the 11th of *August*; and, in a day or two after, the enemy surprised a *French* party, posted at a mill, from which they drove the militia with some loss; and took possession of it. This alarmed *St. Cyrque*, who commanded there during the disposition of *Callieres*; and, ignorant that the post was in the possession of the enemy, advancing too unguardedly, he and some other officers were killed; but another detachment of the *French* coming up, the *English* were obliged to retreat, which they did in good order, after performing considerable execution upon the *French* and their allies. The *Iroquois*, in their retreat towards the wood, were harassed by a *French* party under one *Domergue*, whom they drew on so artfully, that they fell into an ambuscade, and were all cut in pieces. This success gave such encouragement to the *Iroquois*, that they returned to the charge, but were encountered by *Valrenes*, who was likewise on the point of being defeated, had he not entrenched himself behind some large trees that had been felled, which gave him time to make such dispositions, as to charge the *English* party, who fought with inconceivable resolution, but could not maintain the advantages they had gained. Upon the whole, it appears by the relation of the *French* themselves, that they had no cause to boast of any victory; for the *English* and their allies retreated without molestation, after killing sixty *French*, and wounding as many. Amongst the killed was *Le Bert du Chefne*, and *Paul* the *Iroquois* chief of *St. Lewis* fall. The *French* accounts pretend that in this action the *English* party had six score killed, and as many wounded. It cannot, after all, be denied, that the *French* were the greatest gainers, as the retreat of the *English* and their savages gave them an opportunity of getting in their harvest, and thereby being relieved from a most dismal situation.

The war continues between the French and English.

Advantages of the French.

FRONTENAC, on the first news of the *English* invasion, repaired to *Montreal*, where he heard of the enemy's being repulied; upon which he returned to *Quebec*. Soon after, he received letters from the governor of *New England*, demanding the prisoners, which

the

Actions of Ourcouharé.

the *French* savages had made, to be restored; and proposing a neutrality between the subjects of the two crowns in *North America*. While *Frontenac* was deliberating upon an answer to those propositions, he received a memorial from the baron *St. Cassin*, who was settled in the *Abenaguais* country, and had even married a woman of that nation, informing him that the proposition made by the *English* for the exchange of prisoners was only made with a view to debauch the *Abenaguais* from the *French* interest, and to prevail with them to discontinue their inroads upon the *English*. *Frontenac*, on this, made answer to the *English* governor, that, as soon as the chevalier *d'Eau* and *Mannerwal* were released from their captivity, he would enter into treaty, but not before. At the same time, he represented to *Pontchartrain*, how easy it was to make a conquest of *New York*, on account of the differences between the *Dutch* and *English* inhabitants there. The answer to this representation was, as usual, that his most Christian majesty could spare no troops out of *Europe*; and that all he proposed was to preserve *New France* from being conquered by the *English*, as the multiplicity of his wars in *Europe* did not admit of his acting upon the offensive.

The unsuccessful expedition of the French.

ALL this while, the *French* in *Canada* were so much harrassed by the *Iroquois*, that they were obliged to get in their harvest with arms in their hands. A body of those savages had made an inroad upon the river of the meadows, but were repulsed by *Ourcouharé*, who was, at that time, the great champion of the *French* amongst the savages. Soon after, he paid a visit to *Frontenac* at *Quebec*, where he was treated with so great distinction and presents, that he declared, though many nations offered to chuse him for their chief, that he was determined to dedicate the remaining part of his days to the service of his father *Onontio*. All that *Frontenac* had hitherto been able to do was to act on the defensive, and to defeat a few *English* and their savages in their attempts upon his government. According to *Charlevoix*^c, he now attempted to act upon the offensive, and sent five or six hundred men to invade the country of the *Agniers*, but without success; owing partly to the advanced season, and partly to the badness of the roads. At this time, *Iberville* arrived from *Hudson's Bay*, with two ships loaded with between 80 and 90,000 franks worth of beaver and other furs, which was some consolation to the colony under its late disappointment.

Port Royal repossessed by the French.

IBERVILLE, after staying some time at *Quebec*, sailed for *France* to quicken the preparations against *Port Nelson*, which he knew that court had greatly at heart. In the mean while, the *Abenaguais* continued to be very active against the *English*; and the *French* had taken two *English* gentlemen prisoners, who had been sent to *Quebec*, where they were entertained with great civility by *Frontenac*. By the same ship which took them, the chevalier *Villebon* arrived in *New France*, having been named governor of *Acadia*, the conquest of which from the *English* he still represented as being very practicable. *Pontchartrain*, upon this representation, dispatched him in *June*, 1691, to *New France*, there to receive orders from *Frontenac* for the re-conquest of *Port Royal*, by means of the *Abenaguais*, whom he was to command, and who were to be disciplined by himself, and other *French* officers sent along with them, or to be named by the governor-general. *Villebon* arrived at *Quebec* in a ship called the *African Sun*, esteemed then to be the swiftest sailer of any in the world. The situation of *Canada*, with regard to the *English*, was such at this time, that *Frontenac* resolved to avail himself of the *African Sun*, which he detained till the 6th of *September*, when thinking he had nothing farther to fear from the *English*, he suffered *Villebon* to depart for *Port Royal*, which he did not reach before the 26th of *November*. There going on board his long-boat with fifty soldiers, and two engineers, he saw the *English* flag flying, but met with no *Englishmen* in the place, on which he pulled it down, and ordering the *French* flag to be hoisted in its stead, he summoned the inhabitants, and once more took possession of *Acadia* in the name of the king his master. One *des Goutins*, who acted as his commissary, took this opportunity of informing the assembly, that, when the place was taken by *Phipps*, he had buried 1300 livres in a certain spot, which being accordingly dug, the money, which belonged to the king, was found, and faithfully applied by the officer to the service of the public; an act of integrity, the remembrance of which afterwards procured his acquittal without trial, when a charge of malversation was brought against him.

New intelligence arrives at Montreal.

ABOUT the beginning of *November*, two female savages, who had escaped from the *Iroquois*, informed the governor of *Montreal*, that two parties of those savages, each consisting of three hundred and fifty, were in the field with an intent to surprize the fall of *St. Lewis*. The governor, upon this, reinforced that settlement with part of the troops he had at *Montreal*; and, with the remaining part, he strengthened the forts of the neighbourhood, and entrusted the charge of the town itself to the inhabitants. Some days

- a after, one of those parties appeared, but, finding that the settlement was on its guard, they retired after some sharp skirmishes had passed. The second party, which was composed of *Agniers*, *Mabingans*, and *Onneyouths*, appeared near lake *Champlain*, but understanding the disappointment of the first party, they advanced no farther; and all they did was to pick up some stragglers, which the precautions of the government could not keep from dispersing themselves in the fields. All the rest of this year passed in perpetual skirmishes between the *French* and their savages near the fall of *St. Lewis* on the one part, and the *Iroquois* on the other, which cost many lives, quarter being seldom given on either side. Early in the year 1692, *Frontenac* sent orders to *Callieres* to assemble a body of men, whom he was to march to the peninsula where the river of the *Outaouais* joins that of *St. Lawrence*; the common hunting-place of the *Iroquois* nations in the winter-time. *Callieres* accordingly assembled three hundred *French* and savages, and gave the command of them to *d'Orvilliers*, who, meeting with an accident on the road, was obliged to return to *Montreal*, but was succeeded in his command by one captain *Beaucourt*. This officer marched his men to the ile of *Toniataka*, where he met with fifty *Tsonnontbouans*, who had taken the field to surprize the *French* straggling settlements in those parts, and to prevent the settlers from sowing their lands. He immediately attacked them, killed twenty-five, took sixteen, and delivered one *La Plante*, a *French* officer, who had been a prisoner for three years amongst the savages, and who narrowly escaped being killed, his countrymen mistaking him for a native *Iroquois*. From the prisoners *Beaucourt* learned, that a hundred *Tsonnontbouans* were hunting at a place called the *Fall of the Cauldron*, upon the river *Outaouais*, where they intended to settle as soon as the snow was melted, and where they were to be joined by two hundred *Ommontagueuse*, under the command of one of their bravest leaders, called the *Black Cauldron*. He farther understood that they were to continue there during a whole summer, in order to intercept all the *French* passengers travelling to or from *Michillimakinac*. *Callieres* sent notice of this information to *Frontenac*, demanding his instructions how to behave, as he himself could spare no more men; and large cargoes of furs, which required escorts, were daily expected from the west and the north. *Frontenac* ordered him to send to *Michillimakinac* forty *Canadians*, under the command of an officer, one *Michel*, escorted by three well-armed canoes, who were to attend him above the fall of the *Cauldron*. This order was obeyed, and the escort that had convoyed the *Canadians* to the place of its destination returned. A few days after, *Michel* discovered some footsteps of savages, and two *Iroquois*, which made him apprehend that the *Black Cauldron* and his party could not be far off; upon which he returned to *Montreal*.

A. D. 1692.

Instructions of
Frontenac to
Callieres.

- FRONTENAC* happened to be there at this time, and commanded *Michel* immediately to resume his march at the head of thirty *French* and thirty savages. At the same time, he dispatched one *Tilly*, another officer, by the *Hare* river, which discharges itself into that of the *Outaouais*, five leagues below the fall of the *Cauldron*; and gave him a duplicate of the order which *Michel* was carrying to *Louvigny* at *Michillimakinac*. When *Michel* came to a place called the carrying place of the *Cats*, he again saw the two *Iroquois* scouts, and a great number of canoes in the water; upon which he returned once more to *Montreal*, where sixty *French* savages three days after arrived with their cargoes of furs, and brought word that they met *Tilly* past all danger. The savages, having disposed of their furs, demanded an escort back to a certain place, where they were to separate. *Michel* offered to accompany them; and an escort, consisting of thirty men, was accordingly appointed. When they arrived at the *Long Fall* on the river *St. Laurence*, where they met with a carrying-place, they received a smart discharge of musketry, without perceiving from whom it came, which made all the savages disappear, and killed and wounded a great many of the *French*; upon which the savages rushing from their ambuscade, fell with the utmost fury upon the few survivors. *Michel*, *La Gemberaye*, and the *Hertels*, two ensigns, who were brothers, defended themselves with great valour, and would have fought their way thro' the *Iroquois*, had they not been abandoned by their own savages, by which *Michel*, and the two *Hertels*, were taken prisoners; but *Gemberaye* and some soldiers escaped to *Montreal* in their canoes.

Michel sent to
Michillima-
kinac.

- AFTER this, the *Iroquois* continued for some time quiet, and *Frontenac*, who every day expected a reinforcement of troops from *Old France*, returned to *Quebec*. But on the 15th of *June*, the *Black Cauldron*, all of a sudden, made a descent upon *Montreal* at *Chefnaye*; from whence he carried off fourteen *French* and some savages. *Callieres* immediately sent out against him a hundred soldiers, under the command of captain *Du Plessys Faber*, who was supported by *Vaudreuil*, at the head of two hundred more. The savages, perceiving themselves attacked by so superior a force, fired with precipitation into the woods, leaving their canoes and baggage in possession of the *French*; who, not offering to pursue them, gave them an opportunity of making new canoes, in which they fell again down

Exploits of the
Black Caul-
dron.

the river *St. Laurence*. But soon after, *Vaudreuil*, having called in all the scouting parties, followed them with so much quickness, that he came up with their rear, of whom he killed some, and retook several prisoners. Some days after, *Lusignan*, a French captain, was surprized and killed near the isles of *Richelieu* by the savages; but the party he commanded was, with great difficulty, brought off by his lieutenant. All those, and many other, tragical events convinced *Frontenac*, that the inhabitants of *Montreal* were to expect no safety against the savages, but by being supported with a superior power. He, therefore, in the beginning of *August*, returned to *Montreal* with three hundred men, to protect the inhabitants in getting in their harvest. He there found two hundred *Outaouais*, whom hunger had driven thither, notwithstanding all the dangers they ran from the *Black Cauldron*, whom they understood to be still in the river. Though those *Outaouais* had not ventured to bring along with them any furs or skins, yet *Frontenac* treated them with great civilities, and proposed to them an expedition against their common enemy the *Iroquois*. The *Outaouais* declined this expedition, either because they thought it was dangerous, or because they had no opportunity of consulting their elders upon the proposal. Soon after, *Frontenac*, understanding that the French ships were arrived at *Quebec*, returned thither, where the chevalier *d'Eau* arrived about the same time.

Affairs of
Newfound-
land;

THE war was, all this while, going on between the English and French in *Acadia*, and *Frontenac* had undoubted intelligence, that Sir *William Phipps* was again preparing to attack *New France*. Having imparted this advice, with the proofs on which it was founded, to his court, orders were given to send a squadron of ships into the river *St. Laurence*, which was to serve two purposes: the first, to fight the English fleet, if they should enter that river; and the next was to retake all the posts that were held by the English in *Newfoundland*. The command of this squadron was given to the chevalier *du Palais*, who sailed directly to *Spanish Bay*; from whence he dispatched a vessel to look into the mouth of the river *St. Laurence*, and to return to him if any English ships were discovered. This ship, after cruising a long time in the gulph, and at the mouth of the river, without seeing any English vessels, sailed back for *Spanish Bay*; but by stress of weather was disabled from rejoining the French squadron, and was obliged to return to France. *Du Palais*, all this time, remained in *Spanish Bay*, waiting for the return of his ship; but, being disappointed, he lost the season of acting, and of executing the orders of his court; so that the English squadron, which was far inferior to his, escaped him.

where the
English are
unsuccessful,

THE fleet of French merchant-men, who were fishing on the banks of *Newfoundland*, being ready to return to France, *Brouillan*, who was then the French governor of *Placentia*, received advice on the 14th of September, that a French squadron was anchored within five miles of that port; and next morning the same squadron was seen at an anchor in *Placentia* road, but without the reach of cannon. On this the governor immediately dispatched the baron *La Hontan* (F), who was then a reformed captain, and had been sent from *Quebec* to act as the French king's lieutenant at *Placentia*. He took post, with sixty men, at the place where it was most probable the English would attempt their landing, in order to get possession of an eminence which commanded the batteries of the fort. The latter, however, did nothing all that day but sound in the road. On the 17th of September, the English manned all their long-boats in order to land; but discovering *La Hontan*, they altered their course, and landed at another place, where they set fire to some wood, hoping to shelter themselves by the smoke, while they reconnoitred the fort. *Brouillan*, in the mean while, erected a battery of four pieces of cannon upon the eminence we have mentioned, and another at the entry of the basin, across which a boom was drawn. About noon that same day, the governor discovered a boat with a flag of truce, and a serjeant was sent out, who brought the officer who carried it blindfolded into the fort; where he informed the governor, that he came from Mr. *Williams*, who was the English commodore, with his compliments, and to beg he would send an officer on board his ship, to whom he would explain his intentions, and treat with him concerning the release of certain French seamen, who were prisoners on board the English fleet. The governor agreed to this request, and sent *La Hontan*, and another officer, one *Pastour*, to confer with the commodore; and, in the mean while, the officer, who carried the flag of truce, summoned the governor, in the names of king *William* and queen *Mary*, to surrender the place, and all that the French had in the bay; which was refused in resolute terms.

WHEN *La Hontan* and *Pastour* returned, they reported that the English squadron consisted of the *St. Albans*, a sixty gun ship; of two others, the *Plymouth*, and a galley of

(F) He is the author of the voyages and memoirs under his name, which are written with great freedom; and which *Charlevoix* treats with yet greater.

- a pretty much the same force; of a frigate, and a twenty gun ship; but their opinion was, by the manner of working this squadron, it was but indifferently furnished with men. Next day, the *English* found that, instead of one, they had three forts to take; and soon after the cannonading began, which, for some time, was very brisk; but the governor at last saw the commodore draw out of the line, though the *French* at that time were reduced to their last charge of powder and shot, and were obliged to return the *English* balls, which they picked up. All this while, the *French* merchant-ships furnished hands for the defence of the batteries and the fort, and were of prodigious service in repairing the breaches made by the *English* artillery; but, towards the evening of the 19th, the *English* ships, which still continued the cannonading, drew off, which was occasioned by a kind of mutiny in the squadron, on account, probably, of the bad conduct of their commanders, which obliged the latter, at last, entirely to abandon the attempt. All that the *English* then could do was to fall upon *Point Verte*, lying at the entrance of *Placentia* road, where the *French* could not prevent their burning some houses, or rather cabins. In this expedition, it is hard to say which nation was guilty of the most gross mismanagement; the *English*, in attacking a place without knowing its strength, or the *French*, whose ships lay idle in *Spanish Bay*, though greatly superior to the *English*, who thereby escaped them. and retreat.

- THE operations on the other coasts of *New France* were pretty much of the same nature. *Phipps* still persisted in his resolution, if possible, to attack *Quebec*; while *Villebon*, the *French* commandant in *Acadia*, fortified himself at *Fort St. John*, till he could be enabled, by succours sent him from *Old France*, to retake *Port Royal*. In order to dislodge him, an *English* ship of forty-eight guns and two brigantines, the whole having four hundred men on board, was sent out by *Phipps*. *Villebon* marched down a party of the *French* and savages, which made so good an appearance, that the *English* durst not venture to land, and made off towards fort *Pemmaquid*. *Villebon* represented to *Frontenac* the necessity of demolishing this fort, which was an incessant thorn in the side of the *French* interest towards *New England*. By this time, *Iberville*, who had a commission from the *French* court to dispossess the *English* of *Port Nelson* on *Hudson's Bay*, was arrived at *Quebec* in the *Envioux*, a *French* ship of war, and he was there to be joined by the *Poli*, another, with two other vessels that were to be furnished by the northern company. As *Iberville* did not arrive at *Quebec* before the 18th of *October*, when it was too late in the year to make any attempt upon *Hudson's Bay*, *Frontenac* proposed that he should employ his squadron, which was commanded by one *Bonaventure*, against fort *Pemmaquid*. The proposal was readily accepted of, and it was agreed, that the two royal ships should attack the fort by sea, while *Villebon* should besiege it by land, at the head of his savages. When the ships arrived before the fort, they discovered, at a distance, an *English* ship of war at anchor under its cannon. The *French* ships, having no coasting pilot on board, did not think proper to make any attempt upon the fort, and returned to the vast discontent of the savages, who had assembled in great numbers, and were in high expectation of becoming masters of the fort. It was afterwards discovered that *Iberville*, who, in other respects, was an excellent officer, had trusted too much to surprizing the fort; and that an *English* gentleman, one *Nelson*, who was then prisoner at *Quebec*, had bribed two *French* soldiers, who gave intelligence to the *English* at *Pemmaquid*, and who were therefore on their guard, which had induced *Iberville* to abandon his enterprize. unsuccessful.

- NEW FRANCE is said to have been at this time in a more desirable situation, through the activity of *Frontenac*, than it had been for some years before; but he was accused of great defects in his government. He threw too great a share of the war upon the trading inhabitants, to the ruin of commerce, while the officers and soldiers lived too much at their ease. He is said to have still been more blameable by indulging the savages in the use of spirituous liquors; but this last charge against him was perhaps chiefly owing to the jesuits, who wanted to monopolize that trade, and could not endure that the civil power should give the natives any indulgence, without their consent, participation, and even allowance. We accordingly find, that they filled the court of *France*, by means of their friends there, with charges on that account against *Frontenac*, whom they accused of all the robberies and murders that happened in consequence of the savages getting drunk. In the mean while, *Frontenac* began to more than suspect that the enterprize against fort *Pemmaquid* had been defeated by *Nelson's* practices; and that the frequent desertions, which every day happened, were owing to the same cause. All the governor's representations had produced no effectual succours from *France*; and there was reason to believe that the *English* were now but too well acquainted with the weakness of the *French* colony. He endeavoured, but in vain, to put a stop to the desertions; and, in a short time, intelligence came that eight hundred *Iroquois* were in motion on the borders of *New York*, to attack *Canada*. Those savages divided themselves into two parties. The one marched

marched by lake *Champlain*; the other by lake *François*, intending to join near the fall of *St. Lewis*, where they were to entrench themselves, to decoy all the inhabitants they could into their hands, and then to murder them. This news threw *Frontenac* into great disquietudes, as he was uncertain on what quarter the storm might burst, and therefore it was dangerous for him to act upon the offensive. All he could do was, by the advice of *Callicres*, to reinforce the marquis *de Crisafy*, who continued to command at the fall of *St. Lewis*, together with the forts *Chambly* and *Scrcl*, and to issue strict orders for all the officers and the inhabitants to keep themselves in readiness, without abandoning either their houses or their posts. The *Iroquois*, who marched by lake *François*, appearing in sight of the settlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*, finding the inhabitants on their guard, did no more than exchange a few shot with them, and retired in the evening. The other party, which marched by the way of lake *Champlain*, left behind them, in an island there, three hundred men, ready to have fallen upon the same settlement, had they seen an opportunity: but the second party, who appeared in view, doing no more than the first, retired likewise; and the savages, in general, perceiving the settlers at the fall of *St. Lewis* to be upon their guard, gave over all thoughts of their enterprize, and returned home.

Expedition
against the
Agniers

THE governor-general of *New France* attributed all the malignancy of this last attempt to the canton of the *Agniers*, and therefore resolved to be revenged. For this purpose, he sent two hundred *Canadians*, with a body of *Abenaguais*, *Algonquins*, and *Sokokis*, to *Montreal*, where they were to be joined by a hundred more *Canadians*, a hundred regulars, and a number of *Iroquois* of the fall and the highlands; the whole to form a body under *Callicres*, and to make a brisk irruption into the *Agnier* canton. *Callicres* entrusted the execution of this expedition, which was composed of six hundred men, to three lieutenants, *Mantet*, *Courtemanche*, and *la Neuë*; and, on the fifth of *January*, all the army embarked at *Montreal*. The orders given on this occasion plainly prove the *French* to have been the converts of the savages, and to have even exceeded them in the practices of inhumanity. They barbarously resolved upon the utter extinction of the *Agnier* canton, and being habitually, as well as naturally, presumptuous, they thought themselves so secure of this blow, that the general orders were not to spare any male capable of bearing arms, but to put every one of them to the sword, and to carry off all the women and children captives to people the *French Indian* settlements. The barbarity of those orders is the more remarkable, as the canton, thus doomed to massacre, had hitherto done nothing to provoke the *French*, but in following that natural affection which is so deeply implanted in the breasts of those barbarians, and endeavouring to regain to their ancient settlements their countrymen who were settled at the fall of *St. Lewis*.

THE *French* army reached the *Agnier* canton without being discovered, on the sixth of *February*. They found the savages living in three townships, each defended with a kind of fort. *La Neuë*, with little or no resistance, attacked and destroyed the first, and all the provisions in it, while *Mantet* and *Courtemanche* did the same by the second; but the general's orders were not observed, for many prisoners were made, and committed to the custody of *Courtemanche*. The third fort gave them some trouble. Forty *Agniers* were preparing to march out of it to join a party of the *English*; and when *la Neuë* and *Mantet* attacked it, the savages, though they had heard nothing of the destruction of the other two forts, and therefore were unprovided for a defence, fought very bravely; but, after losing twenty men and some women, two hundred and fifty of them were taken prisoners. So many prisoners being made in contravention of the *French* governor's orders, was owing to the natural affection we have just now mentioned of the savages for their countrymen, and is a farther proof of the detestable barbarity of the *French*: for though the *Christian Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis*, and the other *French Indian* settlements, had promised the *French* governor to obey his inhuman orders, yet when they came to be executed, they could not resist their feelings for their countrymen, and even obliged the *French* to save their male prisoners. This compassion is, at the same time, an evidence, that nothing but force, enthusiasm, and the arts of the jesuits, could have again prevented their incorporating themselves in their native cantons.

proves unfor-
tunate in the
end.

AFTER finishing their ravages amongst the *Agniers*, perceiving that they had saved only provisions barely sufficient for carrying them back to *Montreal*, and understanding that their enemies were in pursuit of them, they were returning as fast as they could, when their savages of the fall of *St. Lewis* obliged them to throw up an intrenchment, and to wait for their pursuers for two days. The latter, at last, appeared, and proved to be *Onneyouths*. A smart encounter followed with some loss on both parties; and the *Onneyouths*, who seem to have known their business much better than the *French* did, retreated, while their enemies continued their march. The *Onneyouths* followed them in sight, and obliged the *French* to keep in a body; but scarcity of provision and badness of roads every day increasing,

a increasing, they were forced to separate; by which means all their prisoners but sixty-four escaped, and the few remains of this victorious army, at last, reached *Montreal* in a most deplorable condition, with a fresh alarm, which they had caught from their prisoners, of a new expedition, even stronger than the last, designed by the *English* against *Quebec* both by sea and land. This news was confirmed to *Frontenac* by *Iberville*, who commanded in *Acadia*, and by some *French*, who had escaped from the *English*. The latter even went so far as to say, that the *English* governors of *North America* had held a congress amongst themselves, and were resolved to raise 10,000 men, who were to rendezvous at *Boston*; and that 6000 of them were to be employed against *Quebec*. Neither *Frontenac* nor *Callieres* in the least doubted the truth of this intelligence; and the forts *Chambly* and *Sorel* were immediately repaired; and all dispositions were made, both at *Quebec* and *Montreal*, for rendering the descent of the *English* ineffectual.

THOSE dispositions required so many men to execute them, that *Frontenac* could spare none for escorting a large magazine of furs, that were laid up at *Michillimakinac*, and which, if brought down to *St. Laurence* river, might be of infinite service to the colony. At last, *D'Argenteuil*, a reformed lieutenant, and brother to *Mantet*, undertook the dangerous journey, and eighteen *Canadians* were with great difficulty persuaded to attend him; while another officer with twenty men, and a party of *Iroquois* Christians, were ordered to escort them past the most dangerous part of the way. The instructions, which, on this occasion, were sent to *Louvigny* at *Michillimakinac*, were, that he should send to *Montreal* and *Quebec* all the *French* but those who were necessary for guarding his most important posts. *D'Argenteuil* performed his journey; but *Valtrie*, the officer who commanded the escort, in his return, was defeated and killed by a party of the *Iroquois* near *Montreal*. On the 10th of *June*, when such a visit was least expected, one *Tareba*, an *Onneyouth* captain, arrived at *Montreal*, attended by a *Frenchman*, who had been four years prisoner in that canton, and whom he proposed to exchange for a nephew of his own, who was in the hands of the *French*. *Tareba*, at the same time, presented *Callieres* with a letter of recommendation from *Milet* the missionary, who was still detained at *Onneyouth*. *Callieres* sent *Tareba* to the governor-general, who readily agreed to the exchange, and won so far upon the *Onneyouth*, that the latter presented him with belts from the most considerable families of the canton, in token of their being disposed for peace; but he counselled the governor of the same to be upon his guard, especially during the harvest season. In short, *Tareba* omitted nothing to convince *Frontenac* of his good disposition, and that of his nation towards the *French*. *Frontenac*'s long experience had taught him how to deal with those savages; and he neither opened himself to *Tareba*, nor discouraged him from bringing on a negotiation, provided the cantons from whence he came would, before the end of *September* (after which time he would not wait) send him deputies; upon this *Tareba*, after promising to return by that time, took leave of the general.

A convoy from Michillimakinac.

A FEW days after, *Frontenac* received intelligence, that the *English* fleet had sailed from *Boston*; and *Michel*, who (the reader may remember) the year before had been taken prisoner by the savages, having made his escape to save himself from the flames, arrived at *Quebec*. He reported, that the *English* in the principal village of *Onnontague*, had erected a strong capacious fort for receiving all the women and children of the canton, in case they were surprized as that of *Agnier* had been by the *French*; that *Tareba*'s intelligence might be true, but it was certain, that the *Iroquois* nation in general never was less disposed than they were, at that time, to live in friendship with them. While *Michel* was making this report, intelligence came, that eight hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and were advanced almost as far as lake *St. Lewis*. This happened on the 21st of *June*, when *Vaudreuil*, with five companies of regulars, and one hundred and fifty recruits, just arrived from *France*, was dispatched from *Quebec*; and *Callieres* went in person, at the head of seven or eight hundred men, towards the cascades of *St. Lewis*, where the savages were said to be assembled; but neither of the parties were able to discover any, they having decamped some time before. The accounts of the great preparations made at *Boston* by the *English*, were true; but a false place of destination had been industriously given out to amuse *Frontenac*. The armament was, in fact, designed against *Martinico*; but that expedition miscarrying, and three ships arriving from *Old France* at *Quebec*, the *Iroquois*, who had come to the Cascades of *St. Lewis*, and who appear to have had very good intelligence, not only returned home, but suffered the *French* to get in their harvest without molestation; and the colony for some time enjoyed tranquillity, to increase its good fortune. *D'Argenteuil*, on the 4th of *August*, brought from *Michillimakinac* to *Montreal* two hundred canoes laden with furs and skins, and the principal chiefs of the northern and western savages were likewise on board. As those chiefs were of *Huron* extraction, *Frontenac* immediately gave them a formal meeting at *Montreal*, attended by the leaders of his own savages. The *Huron* orator entertained him with a long detail of the exploits of his nation

The English sailed from Boston.

Montreal invaded by the savages.

against the *Iroquois* and the enemies of *France*, and the other chiefs made him their compliments in the most respectful manner, but petitioned for the best prices that could be afforded for their commodities. The governor observing that no deputy was there from the *Miamis*, was informed that they had been gained over by the *English*; who had sent them presents by the *Mabingans*, and had opened a trade with them by the river *St. Joseph*. This account gave *Frontenac* no little disquiet, and he resolved, at all events, to break off the commerce. As he had a particular art in gaining over the savages, they returned home charmed with his manner of receiving and entertaining them; and soon after they were followed by a number of *French* headed by *Tonti*, who still commanded on the *Illinois* river, but happened, at that time, to be at *Quebec*. *Tonti* was attended by *Courtemanche*, *Mantet*, *Perrot*, *D'Argenteuil*, and other officers; and they had it in commission from the governor-general to break off, either by persuasion or force, all communication between the *Miamis* and the *English*. One *le Sueur* was charged with the care of making an establishment at *Chagouamigon*, and renewing the alliance with the *Sieux*, and the inhabitants of the Falls.

A savage lady
comes to *Quebec*.

WHEN *Frontenac* was preparing to return to *Montreal*, he received intelligence that the *English* had made themselves masters of fort *St. Anne*, lying at the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*. We are not entirely to give credit to all that *Charlevoix* says concerning a noble defence made against one hundred *English* by three *Frenchmen*, which was all the garrison this fort had; and who, after all, made their escape to *Quebec*. It was very possible for three men, which indeed appears to have been the truth, to slip away in a canoe; and no doubt they magnified their own valour to the governor-general, whom they found at *Quebec*, greatly vexed that the *French* reinforcements had again come so late in the year, that he could make no attempt upon fort *Nelson*. He was, at this time, in no pain concerning any expedition of the *English* against his government, their fleet having returned in a most miserable condition from its unsuccessful expedition to *Martinico*. About the end of *September*, *Tareba*, according to his promise, returned to *Quebec*, attended by an *Onneyouth* female, whom the fame of count *Frontenac* had drawn to pay him a visit. This lady had been extremely kind to the *French*, particularly to father *Milet*, who were prisoners amongst the *Onneyouths*; and the *Frenchman's* vanity was highly pleased with her visit. Her having saved many of the *French* from the flames, gave her a particular title to his regard, and she was baptized by the name of *Susan* (G). The presence of this female contributed not a little to *Frontenac's* civil reception of *Tareba*, notwithstanding the odious proposals he brought from his canton. He threw upon the *English* all the blame of his countrymen not having sent their deputies, as the governor had desired; and he even proposed that the governor should send deputies to *Orange*, there to treat under the mediation of the *English*.

Intrigues of
Frontenac
with the
savages.

FRONTENAC, though nettled to the quick at those proposals, dissembled his indignation; and after making *Tareba* some presents, he dismissed him; but not without severely reproaching the insolence and treachery of his countrymen, whom he threatened speedily to chastize, if they did not soon make amends for their behaviour. By this time *Tonti*, and the other *French* officers, had brought the *Illinois* and the *Miamis* to make a brisk war upon the *Iroquois*; and *Frontenac* was not without hopes of still gaining over some of the *Iroquois* cantons, by means of his secret agents there. *Oureoubaré*, who had been so faithful to the *French* interest, and still continued so, though residing amongst the *Iroquois* Christians in the highlands, paid frequent visits to his countrymen, whom he endeavoured, all he could, to dispose in favour of the *French*. *Garakontbie*, though extremely old, resided still amongst the *Onnontague*, where he was yet in great authority; and it was owing to his services, that the *English* were disappointed in many plans they had formed with those savages for the destruction of the colony. *Tegarifforens*, likewise, was alive, and busy with his good offices to the *French*. *Frontenac* knew the dependence he could have upon those three chiefs, and very wisely, at this period of his government, he depended upon them, rather than his own arms, for baffling the efforts of the *English*. But all they could do could not effect an open breach between them in favour of the *French*. The latter and their allies continued still to be harrassed by the *Iroquois* incursions, and the *English* still found means to animate those savages by treating them well, and promising, from time to time, to fit out an armament that should be sufficient to destroy the colony (H). But whatever reproaches *Charlevoix* and other *French* writers may throw out against the *English* on this head, their own words furnish us with abundance of motives why the *Iroquois*

(G) She was living at the fall of *St. Lewis*, where *Charlevoix* saw, in 1708.

(H) *Charlevoix*, in this part of his history, is at great pains to represent the *English* as being much better politicians than their own countrymen will allow

them to have been; for the conduct of the *English* towards those savages has been generally blamed, and that of the *French* recommended by the *English* writers upon *American* affairs.

a should prefer the friendship of the *English* to that of the *French*. As we have already seen in the history of *New England*, the savages residing there lived with comfort and in plenty, and provided with all the necessaries, and many of the conveniences of life, while the *French* savages were generally poor and despicable. Add to this, that the benefits the savages reaped from the *English* trade were much greater than those from the *French*; so great was the discouragement which the commerce of the latter laboured under from the taxes and imposts laid upon them.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, it must be acknowledged that the *French* government was much better served than that of *England* was by their officers in *North America*. The governors and officers there, though of the military cast, were men of capacity and education, and thought their services abundantly rewarded, when they could promote what they called their master's glory; though it must be confessed, that they did not always do it by means that were either justifiable or humane. Even their natural vanity contributed to inspire their Christian savages with high ideas of the *French* name and nation; while the jesuits and missionaries were equally assiduous in fettering their minds with superstition and ignorance. *Frontenac* was sensible where the weak part of his government lay. He knew the small proportion of property which the *French* colonists enjoyed, compared to those of the *English*, and the superior industry of the latter over his countrymen and the *Canadians*. He endeavoured to repair all those disadvantages by his address and management. The agents he entertained, even amongst the *English Iroquois*, every day were making propositions of peace, which were sent to him, and which he encouraged or rejected, as he saw proper; but, upon the main, he seldom failed to retrieve some *French* prisoners out of their hands, and, what was still more important, to gain time; by which the subjects of his government had leisure to sow their fields, and to get in their harvests. Above all, he always obtained a great point, when an *Iroquois* deputy was admitted to his presence, so artful he was at assimilating himself to their manners.

Reflections on the government of France and England in North America.

It was now the beginning of the year 1694, when two *Onnontague*se came from their canton to *Montreal* to know from *Callieres* whether their deputies, who, they said, were upon the road to treat of peace, would be well received by their father *Onnonthio*. *Callieres* promised that they should have a hearing, but seemed to doubt much whether they would arrive, upon which the two *Onnontague*se returned, and nothing was heard from their canton for two months, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of *Callieres* to gain intelligence as to their true motives of acting. On the 23d of *March* following two *Agniers* came to *Montreal*; and in the name of *Teganifforens*, who was to have been the head of the deputation, threw all the blame of its retardment upon the *English*. *Frontenac* pretended that he had reason to distrust those *Agniers*; that he had been informed by the savages of *Acadia* that their intention was to draw both him and *Callieres* to a conference near *Montreal*, to which they were to repair in great numbers; and having there assassinated them both, to call in their countrymen, who were to be ambushed at hand, and after destroying the colony to put the place in the possession of the *English*. Nothing could be more ridiculous than those pretexts; but they were treated by *Frontenac* as realities, and he affected to be greatly upon his guard. In *May*, *Teganifforens*, attended by eight deputies, arrived at *Quebec*; and as the *French* inhabitants were then sowing their lands, *Frontenac* gave them a civil, but a very solemn, reception. Great compliments on both parts passed in public and in private; *Teganifforens* presented the governor-general with belts of friendship from *Garakonthie*. Though *Frontenac* was entirely convinced of this chief's good intentions towards the *French*, yet he knew that neither he nor *Teganifforens* were in the secret of such of their countrymen as were in concert with the *English*; but he received *Garakonthie's* belts with great acknowledgments of friendship, and made handsome presents both to him and *Teganifforens*. He then found means to prolong the abode of the deputies at *Quebec*, till the inhabitants had finished their seed-time. Mean while, the *Iroquois* laboured to persuade the eastern and western savages, who were the allies of the *French* towards *Michillimakinac*, that the *French* were betraying them, and wanted to sacrifice them to their own interests. This alarmed *Louigny*, the *French* governor in those parts; but all he could effect was, to bring those savages to send deputies to *Quebec*, where they arrived two days after the departure of the *Iroquois* deputies. *Frontenac*, understanding the purport of their commission, dispatched an express after *Teganifforens*, which instantly brought him back; and he dealt so effectually with the deputies, that they became fully sensible of the practices of the *Iroquois* against the *French*.

A. D. 1694:

Negotiation with the Onnontaguese.

FRONTENAC, all this while, had greatly at heart the re-establishment of his fort at *Cataracouy*; and being encouraged to it by *Teganifforens*, he directly fitted out a large convoy, which was to carry a garrison, workmen, and all kinds of necessaries for re-establishing that post, which he said was the bulwark of the colony against the savages. The command of the operations was at first bestowed upon the chevalier *de Crisafy*; but he

The Goyogouins and Tsonnonthouans.

he was laid aside upon the arrival at *Montreal*, where *Frontenac* then was, of *Sesigny*, brother to *Iberville*, who brought a commission from court, authorizing him and his brother to superintend the rebuilding of that fort. As the business could admit of no delay, *Sesigny* proceeded to *Cataracouy* with the convoy that had been appointed for *Crisafy*, with six score *Canadians*, and some savages of *St. Lewis's* fall. Soon after two *Frenchmen*, who had been prisoners in the canton of *Onnontague*, arrived at *Montreal*, and informed *Frontenac* that he could expect no peace with the *Iroquois*. He gave no credit to this intelligence, because those savages had suffered a large convoy of furs, under the conduct of *Louvigny* himself, to pass unmolested to *Montreal*; and fifteen days after, *Oureoubaré* arrived with thirteen *French* prisoners, amongst whom were the two *Hertels*, who had been taken two years before, and were thought to be dead. No other deputies attended *Oureoubaré* but those of *Goyogouin* and *Tsonmonthouan*; but *Frontenac* ordered the chiefs of the other savages to be present at their audience, in which *Oureoubaré* gave him the strongest assurances of the attachment of his countrymen to the interests of the *French*, and presented him with belts, as evidences of what he asserted; offering, at the same time, to enter into an immediate negotiation for a peace. *Frontenac* demanded whether he had authority to comprehend all the other *Iroquois* nations in the treaty. The deputies were not a little confounded at this question; but, after various evasions, *Frontenac* declared, that he would send back all the belts he had received, excepting those sent by their own two cantons, unless he had a satisfactory answer to all that he had concerted with *Teganissorens*, and that he was prepared instantly to enter upon action. He then entertained the deputies in his usual affable manner, and endeavoured to persuade those from *Goyogouin* and *Onnontague* that he wished for peace, but rather upon their account than his own, as they were his children, and he was sorry to be obliged to chastise them. Dismissing them for that time, he re-assembled them, and testified his displeasure at the intercourse between the *Iroquois* cantons and the *English*, threatening to renew the war with more vigour than ever. Upon this the deputies, with an art which perhaps was taught them by the *French* themselves, endeavoured to render him distrustful of his allies, who had given him wrong impressions of their countrymen; but he assured them he never would depart from befriending and trusting them. Some high words then happened between the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* who were in company, which requiring the interposition of the governor-general, he imposed silence on both parties, but not without some threats against the *Iroquois*, in case they should continue longer refractory: after this, he made presents to all the assembly, and dismissed them. Towards the end of *October*, father *Milet*, after remaining five years in a most disagreeable state of captivity amongst the *Onneyouths*, arrived at *Montreal*, as in a few days after did *Tareba* with deputies from the same canton, whom *Frontenac* threatened to treat as spies; but seemed to be afterwards somewhat mollified in their favour upon the representations of father *Milet*, to whom *Tareba* had done essential services. Perhaps *Frontenac's* true motive in this was to prolong the repose of the colony. In fact, he could not have chastized the *Onneyouths* without declaring war against all the *Iroquois* who were in alliance with the *English*, and whom he had not forces sufficient to reduce.

Weakness of
the government
of New
France.

It is surprising, that, notwithstanding the expence which the government of *New France* had cost to its mother-country, all the force which *Frontenac* could muster up this year, did not amount to above 2000 men, even including the militia and the *French* savages. This was a number in no respect comparable to the force which the *English* and the *Iroquois* could have brought into the field; so that *Frontenac* acted with wonderful address in still keeping the savages in awe, and yet amusing them so as to prevent their bringing into the field any great bodies of men, the consequence of which must have been fatal to the colony. As to the *English*, he was at this time in no great apprehension of an invasion from them. He knew that their fleet at *Boston* was in too bad a condition to undertake any naval expedition, and that they could do nothing at land but by the assistance of the *Iroquois*. Very different was the character (as we have already hinted) of Sir *William Phipps*, who remained still governor of *New England*. He could do nothing but by the mere dint of power, of which he made put a poor use. It is true, after building the fort of *Pemmaquid*, some of the *Abenauais* had formally submitted themselves to the crown of *England*; but their submission neither was sincere, nor were the tribes, who submitted, of any great importance. *Charlevoix* ^d is, perhaps with some reason, of opinion, that even this partial submission could not have taken place, had not the government of *New France* depended so much on the affection of those savages, as to leave them unprotected; and many of their countrymen being prisoners at *Boston*, their deliverance was a strong motive for the submission of the others. The same author says, that this submission was not near so formal or absolute as we have, upon the authority

^d CHARLEVOIX, vol. iii. p. 211.

- a authority of *English* writers, represented it. But though we are inclined to believe him in some particulars not given by the *English* accounts, it seems pretty certain, that the treaty we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, was actually concluded, and that the breach of it was owing to the treachery of the *French*. According to him, while Sir *William Phipps* was at fort *Pemmaquid*, to put the last hand to the peace, a *French* officer, *Villieu*, and *Thury*, a missionary in those parts, found means to bring over to the *French* interest *Mataouando*, the head of the *Malecite* savages, who was to have been a party in the treaty, and raised a body of two hundred and fifty savages near *Pemmaquid* and upon the river *St. John*. *Villieu*, soon after, was joined by other *Abenakis*; and, though attended only by another *Frenchman*, he led them through the middle of the *English* settlements upon the river *Piscataqua* to within twelve leagues of *Boston*, where two *English* forts stood. The one was attacked and taken by the *Abenakis*, and the other by *Villieu* and the other savages. Two hundred and thirty *English* were killed on this occasion, and about sixty houses burnt, with the loss of only one man to the savages.

THOUGH this account is not only exaggerated, but romantic, yet it is certain that the *French* had great advantages at this time in *New England*, owing chiefly to the unpopularity and mismanagement of Sir *William Phipps*. The head of the *Abenakis* was one *Taxus*, one of the bravest and most active savages in *America*. He is said to have put himself at the head of forty of his lightest followers, and to have attacked and carried a fort near *Boston*, though it was bravely defended by the *English*, who killed his nephew, and he himself had twelve musket-balls shot through his cloaths: after this he extended his ravages to the very gates of *Boston*. Those calamities happened at a time when *Phipps* was pretending was sufficient security to the colony. The people were so exasperated at this, that, according to *Charlevoix*, though no mention is made of it in the *English* accounts, they rose against him, and obliged him to retire to fort *Pemmaquid*, where he proposed to resume his negotiation with the savages. For this purpose, he threatened to be revenged on such of them as had assisted the *French* in taking the *English* forts, and upon such of their nation as were either hostages or prisoners at *Boston*. This message startled the savages the more, as they had been disappointed of the succours which had been long promised them from *France*, and, after various deliberations, they resolved to give satisfaction to the *English* governor; but they were dissuaded from it by *Thury*, who represented the *English* in so diabolical a light, as deterred the savages from trusting them. His advice was, that they should employ the time which had been allowed them by *Phipps* for coming to a resolution, in getting in their harvest, and then retire to places where they could not be attacked by the *English*. *Villieu*, at the same time, engaged their chiefs to accompany him to *Quebec*, where they presented to *Frontenac* the scalps of the *English* they had killed, and renewed their protestations of eternal fidelity to the *French*.

Mismanagement of the English there.

- On the 24th of *September* this year, *Iberville* and *Sesigny* arrived at the mouth of the river *St. Therese* in two ships, the *Poli* and the *Salamander*, where they debarked the day of their arrival; and, the following night, fort *Nelson*, which commands the port of the same name, was invested on the land side by forty *Canadians*. On the 27th every thing proper for carrying on the siege was put on board the *Salamander*, which could not for a whole month come near enough to the fort to besiege it, and was daily in danger of being wrecked by the vast shoals of ice in the bay. At length, on the 28th of *October*, the *Salamander* came to an anchor a mile above the fort, which was a very weak one, built of wood, and garrisoned by only fifty-three men, under the command of a trader who never had seen fire. Every thing being disposed for the siege, the governor was summoned to surrender the fort; and a capitulation was accordingly settled, by which the officers were to remain in the fort during the winter, with full security to their persons and effects, and, when the seas were open, to be carried to *France*, from whence they might pass over to *England*. When the *French* took possession of the fort, they found in it abundance of provision, of which they stood in great need. On this occasion *Charlevoix* very sensibly remarks, and the same observation is often equally applicable to the *English*, that the miscarriages of all the *French* attempts in *America* were owing to the lateness of the season in which the expeditions were fitted out; for had the two *French* officers arrived sooner before *Fort Nelson*, they would have got a great booty in skins and furs, which had some weeks before been sent off to *England*. The party which made this uncomfortable conquest was attacked by the scurvy, which carried off many of them; but in *June* one hundred and fifty canoes, laden with furs, arrived at *Fort Nelson*, to which the *French* gave the name of *Fort Bourbon*, as an earnest of the vast advantage, of the trade they were likely to reap from that bay. But as their two ships were preparing to sail with their cargoes, they were not only stopped by the ice, but upon a muster it was found, that the crews of both were reduced to one hundred and fifteen men, many of whom were unserviceable through sickness.

Fort Nelson, in Hudson's Bay, taken.

ness and other causes, and the scurvy was daily gaining ground amongst them. At last, the season permitting them to sail, after a most tedious and dangerous voyage, they returned to *France*, which they reached the 9th of *October*. *La Ferret* being left governor of *Fort Bourbon*, with a garrison of sixty-eight *Canadians*, and six savages of *St. Lewis's Fall*.

A. D. 1695.
State of North
America.

In the beginning of the year 1695, matters in *Canada* were much on the same footing as during the preceding. *Frontenac* was using all his arts on the one part to bring the *Iroquois* to an absolute submission, but without venturing to use force, and the *New England* men were as assiduous on the other, in encouraging them to hold out against the *French*. As to the *Iroquois* themselves, they cannot be said to have been attached to the *English* so much by inclination as by interest. They thought that their keeping a proper balance between the *English* and the *French*, was the only means of securing their own independency, which must be lost the moment one of those nations could conquer the other. They saw the superiority which the *French* had amongst the *Iurons*, the *Outaouais*, and the other northern and western savages; and this linked them the more to the *English*. The latter, on the other hand, perceived by experience, that the *Iroquois* of the highlands, and the fall of *St. Lewis*, were the most useful subjects the *French* had in *America*, and assisted the *Iroquois* in the various solicitations they made to bring those savages back to their ancient habitations, and in which they were more than once on the point of succeeding, when they were disappointed by the intrigues of the missionaries. The court of *France* was duly informed by *Frontenac* of all that happened within his government, but could by no means enter into his motives for not acting with the utmost vigour against the *Iroquois*. *Pontchartrain*, in his dispatches, reproached *Frontenac* on this head, but at the same time promised that he should be supported from *France* in doing something decisive. *Callieres* at *Montreal* about this time discovered an agent from the *Iroquois* residing at the fall of *St. Lewis*, practising upon his countrymen to bring them back to their canton, and drove him out of the settlement. *La Motte Cadillac*, who had succeeded *Louvigny* in the post of *Michillimakinac*, animated the savages in his neighbourhood against the *Iroquois*, who seemed determined either to gain them over, or to root them out, and lost no opportunity of cutting them off, even within reach of the cannon of the *French* forts. At last, the *Iroquois* proposed to *Frontenac* a cessation of arms, both with regard to themselves and the *English*; but demanded, at the same time, with an air of haughtiness, if he wanted a peace, that he should send deputies to treat of it with them in their own country. The *French*, in *Canada*, of all denominations, were surprised that a man of *Frontenac's* character, after meeting with such insolence, did not instantly assemble the whole force of *Canada* to chastise them. But he had his reasons for his forbearance. He had never lost sight of his favourite project to re-establish fort *Catarocouy*, and he was now more intent upon it than ever, as being the only means of subduing the *Iroquois* without risking the strength of the colony. As the *Iroquois* themselves had often solicited the re-establishment of that fort, *Champigny*, and the other *French* officers in *Canada*, were amazed at the governor's resolution, and remonstrated strongly upon its inutility, as well as the indignity of complying with the desires of a barbarous enemy, when they might be subdued by the regulars, and the militia, who must be employed in rebuilding the fort. All the answer they received to their remonstrances from *Frontenac*, was, that, though he was single in his opinion, he still persisted in it; adding, for a reason, that the protection of the fort would encourage the *Outaouais* to make incursions upon the *Iroquois*. This obstinacy was better founded than all the specious reasonings of his officers, who even applied for an express order from the court of *France*, for his desisting from his design. The knowledge of this had no effect upon him, and seemed only to hasten his preparations for it, which were indeed very extraordinary. On the 8th of *July* he arrived at *Montreal*, and employed no fewer than seven hundred men; of which two hundred were savages, in rebuilding the fort, the direction of which was given to the chevalier *Crisafy*, who discharged his commission to great perfection, and with incredible dispatch; for he went up the river, though full of falls, for sixscore leagues, and rebuilt the fort all in fifteen days. When the fort was finished he sent out eighty savages, divided into small companies, to reconnoitre the country. Forty of those savages had taken the road of *Ommontague*, and some of them, who had advanced as far as the river *Chouguen*, perceived thirty-four canoes coming down it full of *Iroquois*, who, by their discourse, appeared to be bound for the fall of *St. Lewis*; and the other parties discovered that a great number of other *Iroquois* had taken the field for the same purpose; upon which, all of them set out without loss of time for *Montreal*, to put that government upon its guard, by which seasonable intelligence *Frontenac* had leisure to assemble eight hundred men in the isle of *Perrot* near *Montreal*, towards the south west point.

Fort Frontenac repaired.

The Iroquois
defeated.

- a THE enemies accordingly made their descent, but they found that the governor general had distributed his army into small parties to cover the inhabitants, who were getting in their harvest. This precaution entirely disconcerted them. All they could do was to murder some straggling settlers; but one of their most considerable parties was cut in pieces by *Durantaye*. And thus, by the vigilance of *Crisefy*, this invasion, which threatened the colony with the very worst consequences, by being aimed at its vitals, was defeated. In the western parts of the colony, *Cadillac* had been so successful in animating the inhabitants against the *Iroquois*, that besides those they killed, they brought a considerable number of them prisoners to *Michillimakinac*. This exasperated the *Iroquois* so much, that they marched in a body either to force the *Miamis* to declare for them, or to drive them from their principal settlement upon the river *St. Joseph*. *Courtemanche* happening with some *Canadians* to be at that village when the *Iroquois* appeared; and, joining with the *Miamis*, he attacked and defeated them. A *Huron* captain, one *le Baron*, but one of those *Hurons* who were irreconcilable to the *French*, was then at *Michillimakinac*, where he had prevailed with the *Hurons* of that post not to be so forward as the other savages there were in making war against the *Iroquois*. But all his exhortations to this purpose were managed in private, and he acted with such impenetrable dissimulation, that when he went with the other deputies to compliment the governor-general, he sent his son with thirty warriors, all of them devoted to his service, to the country of the *Tsenmonthouans*. There they concluded a treaty, in which the *Outaouais* were comprehended, and which was so firmly made, that *Cadillac*, even when it was discovered, could not break it, though he found means to delay for some time the execution of it on the part of the *Outaouais*. By this time, *Baron* had dropt the mask, and *Cadillac* perceived that his wisest course would be to temporize; but this he found a very difficult task. The savages, even such of them as were most attached to the *French* in his district, had often complained to him of the dearth of the *French* commodities, and the necessity they were under on that account of trading with the *English*. Though *Cadillac* could give them no relief on that head, yet he advised the deputies, who were then going to treat with *Frontenac* on another account, and of whom *le Baron* was one, to present him with a belt of wampum, as an intimation that their countrymen expected that he would reduce the exorbitant price of the *French* merchandizes. The savages exceeded the advice which *Cadillac* pretended he gave them; for when they came into *Frontenac*'s presence, and presented their belt, they told him he had his choice of peace or war; which last he must expect, if they were not gratified in their demands. The governor-general rejected the belt with great haughtiness, but at the same time he knew how to soften his refusal by seeming to be sorry at the necessity he was under of chastising his children, and endeavouring to open their eyes to the conduct of the *Iroquois*, which, he said, tended to their destruction, by detaching them from the *French*, that they might fall a more easy prey to the *English*.

Negotiation
with the north-
ern savages.

- LE BARON* observed a profound silence during this conversation, which amazed the deputies. At last, being urged to speak, he said he had nothing in charge from his countrymen, but to hear the sentiments of *Onnonthio*, and to report them to his principals. But *Frontenac* gave him to understand that he was well acquainted with all his practices, and that he neither loved nor feared him. Upon this the *Outaouais*, and the *Nipissings*, interposed, by saying, that they had no concern in any thing that *Baron* might have done to displease him, and the latter declared that they were satisfied to remain with the governor, till they should see the event of the war he had threatened. It was about this time that *le Sueur* brought a great convoy to *Monreal*, from the western extremity of the upper lake, which was inhabited by the *Sieux*, and contained vast quantities of profitable furs full of game. One of their leaders approached *Frontenac* with a most melancholy air, and all the marks of dejection in his countenance, and even tears in his eyes, and conjured him in the name of his nation to take compassion upon him. "All nations, he said, but himself, had a father, and he alone remained an orphan." He then stretched upon the ground a robe of beaver, on which he laid one after another twenty-two arrows, to each of which he gave the name of a village in his nation, and begged of the governor to take them all under his protection, which *Frontenac* accordingly promised. Though this singular ceremony had no effect, because the *French* neglected to improve the incident, yet we have related it, because it is a fact that may be of service to the successors of the *French* in the property of *Canada*.

- THE discontents at Sir *William Phipps*'s government had by this time risen so high, that he had been recalled to *London*, where he died, and was succeeded by one *Stoughton*. During his administration seven *Abenakis*, who came to *Pemmaquid* fort with a flag of truce, were arrested, and sent prisoners to *Boston*, to which three of them were conducted, but the other four were murdered on the road. Tho' the *Abenakis* resented this breach of hospitality, yet they did not all at once break with *Stoughton*, till they found they had no hopes of

of recovering their relations, who were prisoners, or hostages at *Boston*, and then they took arms. They were, however, very backward in entering upon hostilities with the *English*, because they thought they were far superior to the *French* by sea. But perceiving that a *French* man of war, commanded by *Bonaventure*, had taken a great number of *English* ships, and receiving from him very considerable presents, they determined at last, in good earnest, to enter upon action.

Frontenac's
conduct vindicated
by him-
self.

FRONTENAC, the very day after the departure of the armament for repairing his fort at *Cataracouy*, received from *Pontchartrain* an express order against his proceeding in that design; which determined him to account for the motives upon which he acted. In his answer to that minister, he very sensibly observed, that after the great preparations he made, if he had dropt them he must have rendered himself despicable in the eyes of the *Outaouais*, who had been witnesses to them; as they must attribute his conduct either to his inability to execute his design, or to his intention of making peace with the *English*, who were as averse to the establishment of the fort, as the *Iroquois* were earnest for its being rebuilt. He added, that it had been re established at a small expence both of time and money. The following passage of his observations, which are founded on experience, ought to be transcribed into *English* at this time. "I was pressed, said he, in his dispatch to *Pontchartrain*, to attack *Onnontague* with all our troops, our inhabitants, and allies; and with drums beating, but I did not think fit to comply; first, because I had not a force sufficient for such an undertaking; secondly, because, had I followed that advice, I should have left this province open to the inroads of the *English*, who might have attacked *Montreal* on the side of *Chambly*; thirdly, because the undertaking itself was ridiculous, and could have ended only in burning a few huts; for the savages, supposing them not to have had time to be assisted by the *English*, could have escaped with their families to the wood. The event of *M. Denanville's* expedition against the *Tsonnonthuans* sufficiently justifies my observation, and proves, that the burning one or two villages never can secure us from the incursions of the savages. The only way to humble them is by continuing to harass and alarm them by small parties, so as that they dare not stir abroad, which we shall be enabled to do by the re establishment of fort *Frontenac* (meaning that of *Cataracouy*). If his majesty shall next year think proper to attack the fort of *Pemmaquid*, it will give great encouragement to our savages in those parts. It is even to be wished, that such an expedition should be extended to the bombardment of *Boston* and *New York*, which, I think, is by no means impracticable, and would by one blow effectually finish the war in that country." Such was the reasoning of *Frontenac* in defence of his conduct, and experience afterwards proved it to be just, but he was now old, and his positive haughty humour had made the officers under him his enemies. Towards the end of this year both *Frontenac* and *Champigny* represented to their court the defenceless state of *Placentia*, which was then in the hands of the *French*, in case it should be attacked by the armament then fitting out at *Boston*. They therefore proposed that the *French* should send a squadron strong enough to beat that of the *English* in those seas, and then to take *Boston*; which would not only put them in possession of immense riches, but render them absolute masters of all the fisheries. Any court but one so uninformed as that of *France* was, would have adopted such a proposal, which, in the then state of affairs, was very practicable. But happily for *England*, *Lewis XIV.* was so busied in forging chains for *Europe*, that he neglected those for *America*.

A. D. 1699.
Plan of the
French opera-
tions.

INSTEAD of following *Frontenac's* advice, the *French* council confined the plan of operations for *North America* for the year 1696, to the taking fort *Pemmaquid*, which was a kind of a bridle upon all *Acadia*, the driving of the *English* from all the posts they had in *Newfoundland*, and likewise from those they retained in *Hudson's Bay*. *Iberville* and *Bonaventure* were appointed to the command of the expedition against fort *Pemmaquid*, which was to be defrayed at the expence of the *French* king; while the northern company were to be at the charges of the other two expeditions. Orders so early as the month of *February* were issued out to *Begon*, the intendant of *Rochelle*, to equip two ships, the *Envious* and the *Profound*. The two commanders were instructed after they had taken fort *Pemmaquid* to raze it to the foundation; and then to make a settlement at the bottom of the river *St. John*, from whence they were to dispatch *M. de Sesigny* in the *Dragon* to the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*. As to the other two expeditions the two commanders were to proceed from the river *St. John*, and there join some vessels from *St. Malo*, and in concert with *Brouillan*, the governor of *Placentia*, vigorously to attack the *English* both by land and sea. With regard to the *Iroquois* war, the *French* ministry perceiving the smuggling trade that was carrying on by the wood rangers, and the disorders which they had introduced amongst the *French* savages in the North and West, and likewise reflecting on the total neglect of agriculture which they occasioned, with the vast expence and danger in keeping up the communication between *Michillimakinac*, and the interior parts of the province, they gave orders

a orders for abandoning that and all the upper posts, excepting *St. Lewis* upon the river of the *Illinois*. At the same time, *la Foret* and *Tonti*, who commanded in the last-mentioned fort, were not to import any beaver into the colony. *Charlevoix* acknowledges the mistended to its utter ruin, as those advanced posts certainly must fall into the hands of the *English*, who in that case, if joined with the savages, might in one campaign have driven the *French* out of all *Canada*.

FRONTENAC was now at the end of all the art and address with which he had hitherto managed the savages, who plainly perceived that all sprung from his weakness to chastise them, and therefore he resolved to carry his threats into execution, and to march against them with all his force. He therefore sent a messenger along with the *Outaouais* deputies as they were returning to their own country, acquainting *la Motte Cadillac* with his intention. The messenger found that commandant in a most perplexed situation. *Baron* had succeeded not only in effecting a meeting between the savages of *Mackillimakinac* and the *Iroquois*, but in concluding an offensive treaty, by which they were to unite their forces, and to attack the *French*. *Cadillac* was informed of this by *Onaské*, chief of the *Outaouais Kiskakons*; but his embarrassment was increased upon the report which the deputies made at their return, who represented the *French* in the most despicable light. All *Cadillac* could do to break this dangerous alliance, was to offer them provisions at the usual price, and even to give them credit for the payment, to the last grain he had in his magazines. He, at the same time, greatly magnified the advantages which the *French* had gained over the *English* in other parts of *New France*, and assured them that they had nothing to apprehend, but from the crossness of the winds, which kept the fleets with the merchandizes from coming from *France*. *Cadillac's* generosity touched the savages, who, it must be confessed, were a most perfidious, inconstant race; and notwithstanding their late engagement with the *Iroquois*, they resolved now to join the *French* in making war upon them; and before they left the place where *Cadillac* had assembled them, they named *Onaské*, and other two chiefs, to head the expedition, from whence they returned victorious with thirty scalps, thirty-two prisoners, and a booty of about five hundred beaver skins, which were the property of the *English*. Soon after, *M. D'Argenteuil* arrived at *Michillimakinac*, where he published an account of the vast preparations making by *Frontenac* against the *Iroquois* and the *English*; and *Cadillac* was in great hopes that five hundred *Outaouais* warriors would march to join the governor-general; but he was disappointed by the intrigues of the *Hurons*, who had disapproved of the treachery of the other *Michillimakinac* savages towards the *Iroquois*.

Difficulties of the French government with the savages.

It remained now for *Frontenac* to fix the plan of his operations. He was once inclined to have fallen in the winter upon the *Onnontague* canton; but, upon the representations of *Callieres*, he deferred it to the summer. In the mean time, he ordered five or six hundred men to be drawn from the governments of *Montreal* and *Trois Rivières* to march against the *Agniers*. Those savages had much better intelligence than he expected; for he was advised, that foreseeing the storm that was to come upon them, they had called in not only all the other cantons of the *Iroquois*, but the *English* likewise, to their assistance. Upon this, *Frontenac* was obliged to alter his scheme, and to send no more than three hundred picked men to fall upon the *Iroquois* hunters, who were without any diffidence roving between the river *St. Laurence* and that of the *Outaouais*. This detachment left *Quebec* towards the end of *January* under the command of *Louigny*, but they were stopt for thirteen days at *Montreal* by an extraordinary fall of snow. They then continued their march under incredible difficulties to within five leagues of *Catarocouy*. From thence they sent savages to reconnoitre, who, after a march of seven or eight days, met ten *Iroquois*, and a woman; three of whom they killed, and took the rest; one or two of whom were inhumanly burnt at *Montreal*. About the beginning of spring, the *Iroquois* appeared in a body in the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, in order to interrupt the *French* in sowing their grounds; but they were disappointed by the wise dispositions of *de Callieres* the governor; so that few of the *French* suffered, and those by their own fault. About this time, the chevalier *de Crisafy* died of heart-break, for not having been able to obtain from the *French* government the smallest acknowledgment for the important services he had rendered to the colony, though he had been again and again recommended to the court on that account by the governor-general, and all the officers of that crown in *New France*.

Preparations against them.

In *May*, *Callieres* came down to *Quebec*, and having concerted with *Frontenac* the operations of the campaign, he returned to *Montreal*, where, on the twenty-second of *June*, he was joined by the governor-general himself, the chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, *Ramezay*, governor of *Trois Rivières*; the irregulars and militia of *Quebec*, and those of *Trois Rivières*; those of *Montreal* being in readiness. On the 4th of *July*, they were joined by ten *Outaouais*, who had been hovering about the *Onnontague* canton for some time, but without being able to make a prisoner; and the *French* conceived great hopes that they

Their country is invaded.

would be followed by others of their nation. At last the order of the whole army was settled, and *French* officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the manners of the *Indians* and their way of fighting, were appointed to command the savages. The *French* regulars were divided into four battalions, and the *Canada* militia into as many, with their proper officers. On the 6th, they encamped on the island of *Perrot*; and next day they began their march. We shall not here follow *Charlevoix* in a minute description of the arrangement of this army, a matter always of great importance with a *French* author, as well as officers; and which, it seems, set out partly by water, and partly by land. It is sufficient to say, that on the 19th, the whole body arrived at *Cataracouy*, where they expected four hundred *Outaouais*, who had been promised them by *Cadillac*, but who never joined them. On the 28th, the whole army found itself at the entry of the strait and rapid river of *Chouguen*, which obliged the governor-general to proceed with great caution; nor could the troops advance up it above a league and a half in twenty-four hours. In short, after surmounting the most dangerous and discouraging difficulties, and several times escaping being wrecked by the rapidity of the falls, they mounted to the lake of *Ganentaba*, and passed a strait which the enemy had neglected to occupy. Here they found two bundles hanging to a tree, containing as many reeds as were warriors waiting to fight them, amounting in the whole to 1434. The *French*, however, made good their landing without much difficulty, and, next morning, threw up an entrenchment, or what they call a fort, in which they lodged their provision and ammunition. Notwithstanding all the boasts of the *French* writers concerning the superior genius of their countrymen over the *Indians*, their dispositions appear to have been very shallow in this expedition; and *Callieres* seems to have been the only man of sense amongst them, in a military capacity. Though secrecy was the main chance they had for success, yet they took no precaution to observe it; but *Callieres*, well knowing that the enemy would, by deserters or otherwise, come to the knowledge of their intention, publicly gave out amongst the savages, that the reason why the *Outaouais* had not joined him was, because they promised the governor-general that they would attack the *Tsonnonthouans*, while he was marching against the *Onnontaguese*. This was faithfully reported by a savage deserter to the *Tsonnonthouans*, which was the true reason why they had remained at home to defend their own country. The following night, the *French* army saw the chief village of the *Onnontaguese* in a blaze, it having been set on fire by the inhabitants themselves; and, by the footsteps on the ground, they had reason to believe that the *Onnontaguese* had sent all their useless mouths to the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouth*, and that they had been reinforced from thence. On the 3d of *August*, all the *French* army was drawn up in order of battle; the left line being commanded by *Callieres*, the right by *Vaudreuil*, and the center by the governor-general; but the grounds over which they marched were so impracticable, that it was very late before they could reach the village, which they found in ashes, and in it the bodies of two *Frenchmen*, who had been murdered. The *French* were surprised to perceive, that not only the village was burnt, but the *English* fort, that had been built there for the protection of the inhabitants, was abandoned; and which, had it been properly defended, might have ruined *Frontenac's* army. On the 5th, a *French* soldier, who had been a prisoner, came from *Onneyouth* with a belt from that canton, demanding peace. The general sent him instantly back with this answer; That he was ready to receive the submissions of those who had employed him, provided they came to live within the pale of the *French* settlement; but that, if they did not immediately comply, he would next day send his troops to receive their last answer.

ACCORDINGLY *Vaudreuil* next morning set out with six or seven hundred men under his command, with orders to cut down all the corn, to burn the villages, and to receive six of their chiefs as hostages; but in case of the smallest resistance, he was to put to the sword all who fell in his way. Next day, a *French* prisoner, who had escaped, having discovered some secret concealments of the enemy, *Vaudreuil* began to put his ravaging orders into execution, by cutting down the corn, and laying waste the country, for two entire days. The unmanly rage of the *French* and their savages went so far on this occasion, that a venerable *Onnontague*, about a hundred years of age, and therefore unable to fly with the rest of his countrymen, falling into their hands, they made formal preparations to put him to death with the most excruciating torments, which he eyed with the most intrepid indifference, upbraiding the natives all the while with being slaves to the *French*, whom he spoke of with the utmost contempt. While some were endeavouring, either thro' compassion or rage, to put an end to his life, "You ought not, says he, to be in such haste to finish my torments, but give me longer time to teach you how to die like men; for my part, I die contented, because I can reproach myself with no meanness." Next day *Vaudreuil*, after laying waste the villages of the *Onneyouth* canton, returned to the camp with thirty-five prisoners, most of whom were *French*, whom he had delivered from captivity, and accompanied by the chiefs of the canton, who threw themselves upon the mercy of *Frontenac*. Amongst

Frontenac abandons the expedition.

a Amongst the prisoners was a young *Agnier*, who had escaped from a *French* settlement, and who was burnt alive. He reported that three hundred *Agniers* and *English* had left *Orange* to come to the relief of *Onneyouth*; but that they had returned thither in great consternation. Upon this, a council of war was assembled, and it was resolved to treat the *Gogouin* canton in the same manner as they had done those of *Onneyouth* and *Onnontague*; and after that to erect forts to bridle the savages, or force them to remove from that country. *Frontenac*, at first, seemed to approve of that resolution; but, all of a sudden, he changed his mind, declaring that he was resolved immediately to return to *Montreal*.

CHARLEVOIX is greatly perplexed to account for the governor's motives for this inconstancy. He mentions many, particularly that he was afraid, if the *Iroquois* were reduced, his power and command, of which he was extremely fond, must become insignificant; while others give out, that he was jealous of *Vaudreuil*: but, without having recourse to supposing that such extravagancies should enter the head of a man of seventy-four years of age, we have, upon the face of the jesuit's history, sufficient reasons for determining him to return. The expedition had been fitted out at great labour and expence, and, in fact, nothing had been done that had answered either. The savages had not lost above thirty or forty men; they could easily repair their cabins, and were sure of sustenance from their friends of *New York* and *New England*, to whom they always were welcome. *Frontenac*, therefore, who during all the expedition was carried in an open sedan, very rationally concluded that it would be madness to prosecute farther so ineffectual, so dangerous, and so expensive an expedition; so that, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of *Callieres* and the other officers, he gave the signal for retreating, which he began to do on the 9th, and arrived at *Montreal* on the 20th, having lost in the expedition no more than six men.

At *Montreal*, *Frontenac* found *D'Argenteuil* with fifty *Frenchmen* from *Michillimakinac*, but who had arrived too late to be present at the expedition. From them he learned that the northern and western savages had, in fact, no good reason for not having joined the expedition, but the disadvantageous impressions they had of the *French* and their power. All they alledged was, that they had not joined the expedition, because they imagined, that like others of the same kind before, it would fall to the ground. Notwithstanding this, though *Frontenac* had returned to *Montreal*, he was far from putting an end to the war against the *Iroquois*. He was informed, but his intelligence was false, that their cantons were on the point of starving, and that the *English* of *New York* were in no condition to give them relief. He therefore flattered himself, that, by sending out parties to harass them, he should soon bring them to subjection; and having given orders accordingly, he returned to *Quebec*. A little time shewed him how much he had been mistaken. The *Iroquois* invaded the *French* settlements with as much fierceness as ever. Their cantons were restored to as good a condition as they had been in before they were destroyed. Instead of having subdued, he had only exasperated, them; and the *French* themselves, by the badness of their harvest, were in danger of suffering the calamities they had endeavoured to inflict upon their enemies.

TOWARDS the end of autumn, *Callieres* had orders to raise a large body of troops, and to march them over the ice against the *Agniers*; but found the design impracticable for want of provisions. Upon this, the governor-general ordered him to send only a party of fifty men to the ground on which the *Iroquois* had used to hunt, during the winter. But even this design was laid aside upon the *Onneyouths* being again in motion, and intelligence being received, that the *Iroquois* had, that year, changed their usual place of hunting. Notwithstanding this, some private rangers advanced on the side of *New York*; but few of them escaped being killed, either by the *Mahingans*, or the *Agniers*, or by their own savages, who mistook them for *English*. On the 5th of February, 1697, thirty-three *Onneyouths* arrived at *Montreal*, offering in the name of their canton to submit themselves to the *French* governor. They added, that other cantons would have followed them; but that lying between their enemies, the *Onnontague* held them by one arm, and the *Agnier* by another: that this had not altered their intention, and that if *Ononbio* would send any one to them, they would come to him, as soon as possible; as for themselves, they were willing to be settled wherever he pleased. All they begged was to retain the name of *Onneyouths*. *Callieres* gave his new guests a very favourable reception, and had orders from *Frontenac* to send back the chief man amongst them to the canton of *Onneyouth*, that he might there report the civil usage they had met with, and thereby entice them all to follow their example, and to settle amongst the *French*.

THE *Onnontague*, the *Agniers*, and the other cantons in alliance with them, conceived great umbrage from those proceedings of the *Onneyouths*; and the *Agniers*, under pretence of escorting two *Frenchwomen*, who had been taken prisoners sometimes before, sent two of their countrymen to *Quebec* to learn how matters went. From those female prisoners, the

His motives.

Affairs at Michillimakinac.

Other expeditions against the savages. A. D. 1697.

Their craft and haughtiness.

the governor-general understood, that the *Iroquois* were quite recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the late invasion and desolation of their country; that the *English* had made presents to the *Onnontague* sufficient to indemnify them for their losses, and to rebuild their villages; and that they proposed in the spring of that very year again to sow the lands which had been ravaged by the *French*. As to the two *Agniers*, they behaved with great freedom before the governor. They demanded to know whether the way between *Quebec* and their canton was free; and one of them insisted upon his son, who was a prisoner, being restored to him. *Frontenac* pretended, that had it not been out of regard to the two prisoners they had brought back, they should have felt the weight of his indignation for those insolent demands. He added, that he would give them no answer, till they behaved with perfect submission to his will, and till their canton had sent back all the *French* prisoners it detained. Not contented with this severe answer, he kept the two *Agniers* at *Quebec* during the rest of the winter, lest they should put their countrymen upon their guard against the *French* parties who were out. At the same time, he sent fresh orders to *Montreal* to harass the *Iroquois*, and, if possible, to gain intelligence of what was passing between their cantons and the government of *New York*. On the 15th of *May*, the savages of the highlands and the fall of *St. Lewis* came to offer their services to the governor of *Montreal*; but *Frontenac* gave them to understand, that, in the posture affairs then were, he would find sufficient employment for them at home; from whence he ordered them not to stir. This order was occasioned by the advice, which the governor-general had received by a *Canadian*, one *Vincelotte*; who, by a most amazing journey, had arrived at *Quebec*, over the desert mountains near fort *Pemmaquid*, where one *Gabaret* had arrived from *France*, with dispatches from that court to *Frontenac*.

The Iroquois
renew their
incursions.

Fort Nelson
taken by the
English.

THEY imported that the governor-general should send from home no troops upon any service whatever, and that a squadron of ships was ready to sail from the ports of *Old England*, to join another at *Boston*, to attack *Canada*; and that the governor should have in readiness 1000 or 1200 men to execute the orders, which should come from court. A strict compliance with those orders soon gave the *Iroquois* to understand, that they had nothing offensive to apprehend from the *French*; and therefore they renewed their incursions on the government of *Montreal*, which obliged *Callieres* to send out detachments against them. Soon after, some prisoners from *New York* informed him that whatever show the *English* made of invading *Canada*, the people of that colony were themselves so much distressed, that they were rather apprehensive of an invasion from the *French*. Advice came at the same time, that fort *Nelson* had been again reduced by the *English*. Towards the end of autumn last year, four *English* ships and a bomb-vessel had appeared in the road, as did, soon after, two *French* ships, but the latter immediately set sail; the one arrived safe at *France*, but the other was wrecked in sailing to *Quebec*. Upon their departure, the *English* began a brisk cannonading against the fort, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by the *French*. After this, the bomb-ketch plied the fort so warmly, that *La Foret*, the commandant, demanded a capitulation, and to be carried with all his garrison, who were to carry off their several properties, to some place belonging to *France*. According to the *French*, this capitulation was violated by the *English*, who carried the garrison prisoners to *England*. But this is extremely unlikely, and it is probable no capitulation was made; or, if made, that it was observed, as much as was in the power of the *English*. But the truth is, that the *French* accounts cannot be depended upon, when they rest upon the evidence of their officers, who never fail to magnify their own merits at the expence of truth. Four months after this garrison arrived in *England*, they were sent to *France*, where they had no sooner arrived, than understanding that an expedition was fitting out to retake fort *Nelson*, most of them embarked on board the four ships and a sloop that were destined for that purpose at *Rochelle*, and which were to be commanded by *Serigny*, who, when he came to *Placentia*, was to resign his command to his brother *Iberville*. The instructions of the latter were that before he went to *Hudson's Bay* he should visit fort *Naxoat*, on the river *St. John*; but they arrived too late in the year, the season being so far advanced, and the ships so much battered by the voyage, that he was obliged to sail directly for fort *Nelson*, and he accordingly arrived at the mouth of *Hudson's Bay*, on the 28th of *July*. By the 3d of *August*, the frost had set in so severely, that he lost one of his ships, and the men were with difficulty saved. He afterwards lost sight of all the others; but, on the 4th of *September*, he was within sight of port *Nelson*, and sent one of his officers ashore to reconnoitre, and to get intelligence of some *English* ships he had seen at the entrance of the bay. Next day, he saw three ships, who proved to be *English*, and, according to the *French* historian, though one of the *English* ships was stronger than his own, which was called the *Pelican*, and mounted only fifty guns, and though he had but a hundred and fifty men on

- a board fit for service, he engaged them all, and took one of them, the *Hudson's Bay*. After this, as he was preparing to attack fort *Nelson*, both he and his prize were wrecked in the night-time, at the river *St. Therese*. The crews, however, had the good fortune to save themselves, and artillery sufficient to attack the fort; but he was destitute of all provisions, and he depended for subsistence only on his success. As he was making his disposition for the attack, he saw three sail, who proved to be his own ships, which he had lost wrecked himself. So seasonable a reinforcement encouraged him as much as it daunted *Bailey*, the *English* commandant of the fort, who immediately proposed to capitulate, which he did on the following terms. First, that all his papers and books of accounts should be safe. Secondly, that his garrison, both officers and soldiers, should keep their chests, cloaths, and all that belonged to them. Thirdly, that they should be treated as well as the *French* themselves. Fourthly, that they should be sent directly to *England*. And lastly, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, without being disarmed. The garrison consisted of no more than fifty-two men, of whom seventeen had belonged to the *Hudson's Bay*, and had escaped from the *Pelican* when it was wrecked; but had the benefit of the capitulation. After this *Iberville* returned to *France* in the *Profond*, and, when he arrived at *Belleisle*, his crew was so distressed with the scurvy, that scarce a man of them was serviceable. The conquest of *Hudson's Bay* was of more importance than the *French* themselves were apprized of. First, because it furnished better furs than any other part of *North America*; and secondly, because the natives were so miserably poor, that they sold them much cheaper than they could be had elsewhere.

FRONTENAC all this time remained in great doubt concerning the meaning of the order he had received from court, concerning the force he was to keep on foot, when the head of the *Onneyouth* canton came all alone to *Quebec*, and with an air of unconcern, presented himself before the governor, telling him, that his countrymen, hearing how well their brethren had been received by the *French* were disposed to follow their example. This chief was the same whom *Callieres* by *Frontenac's* order, had sent back to acquaint his canton with the good reception of their brethren who had settled with the *French*. He added, that the *Onnontague* were upon the point of doing the same; and were about to send a belt to *Onontio*, to know whether he would be pleased to receive them; and another to the missionaries, to beg a peace with the *French*, from the God of the Christians. *Frontenac* instantly perceived that all those compliments were meant only to gain time. He had no choice left, but either to declare war, or to dissemble. The orders he had received from his court disabled him from the former; and, putting the best face upon the matter he could, he told the *Onneyouth* chief that he gave his countrymen to the month of *September* to determine whether they would come in a body and ask for peace; but that, if they should suffer that time to elapse, they should find him for ever their mortal enemy. Though he depended but little on the effect of this menace, yet the savages appeared in the field much sooner than he had expected or foreseen; for, in a few days, they renewed their incursions; a proof how well those savages could dissemble, when instigated by resentment, and how irreconcilable they were when they thought themselves injured. But this was not the only cause of disquietude that *Frontenac* had at this time.

Conduct of Frontenac upon the orders he received from France.

A LARGE party of the *Miamis*, who dwelt near the river *Maramek*, which discharges itself into the eastern part of the lake *Michigan*, had, in *August* the year before, begun their march to join their brethren, who were settled on the river *St. Joseph*; but they were attacked upon the road, and some of them killed, by the *Sieux*. The *Miamis* of the river *St. Joseph* resented this hostility so much, that they took the field against the *Sieux*, and, penetrating even into their country, found them entrenched in a fort with some *French* rangers. This did not daunt the enraged *Miamis*, who several times attacked the fort, but were always repulsed with a considerable loss of their bravest men. Upon which they were obliged to retreat homewards. While they were upon their march, they met a party of *French* who were carrying arms and ammunition to the *Sieux*, and stript them of all they had, but without doing them any other violence. The *Outaouais*, understanding what had passed, immediately lent a deputation to inform *Frontenac*, that it was absolutely necessary for him to appease the *Miamis*, lest they should join the *Iroquois*. *Frontenac* endeavoured to answer them with good words; but the *Miamis* continued to be so much exasperated, that *Perrot*, notwithstanding the great regard they had for him, must have been sacrificed to the flames, had he not been rescued out of their hands by the *Outagamis*. Though *Frontenac* at last found means to soften the *Miamis*, yet he was in great fear lest the affair should come to the ears of his court, from whom he had received express orders, that none of the *French* should carry on the least intercourse with those savages. *Champigny* and *Callieres* were of opinion, that a certain number of *French* should remain at the posts of *Micbillimakinae*, and suggested other precautions to prevent the abuses complained of.

He is embroiled with the Miamis.

As their proposals tended to diminish *Frontenac's* authority, he secretly traversed them, but, at last, he joined in a memorial to the court, representing the necessity of maintaining the posts of *Macbillimakinac*, and the river *St. Joseph*, to prevent the *English* from settling there, and establishing a trade with the natives. They added, that this could not be done, without sending every year at least twenty-five canoes, loaded with merchandizes, which were to be at the disposal of the governor-general, who was to distribute them amongst the friends of the *French*, to keep them from joining with the *English*; and that it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the missionaries sometimes to march troops into the savage countries. The *French* ministry, after long deliberation, agreed to those proposals; to which they were, in a great measure, determined by *Baron*, the savage chief we have already mentioned, having carried to *New York*, thirty *Huron* families, and was soliciting others to follow him.

He is joined by
other savage
nations.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, *Cadillac* who had been informed by *Callieres* of the apprehensions the colony was under of a new visit from the *English*, arrived at *Montreal*, with a considerable body of *French*, and three hundred savages from the tribes of the *Sakis*, *Pouteouatamis*, *Outaouais*, and *Hurons*. *Frontenac* was then at *Montreal*, and received them with high compliments upon their zeal and readiness to defend the colony, and upon their valour during the last campaign, in which they had killed or taken above a hundred *Tsonnonthouans*. About this time the *Iroquois*, to the number of two hundred and fifty, of whom about sixty were in canoes, having taken the field, were marching to join *Baron*, but were discovered by the *Rat*, who was now entirely in the *French* interest. Tho' he was at the head of no more than a hundred and fifty men, he marched to attack the enemy, and by a well-timed stratagem, he killed about forty-six, and took fourteen. This action, and the services he had done the *French* in putting them and their allies on their guard against the practices of *Baron*, brought the *Rat*, who had attended *Cadillac* to *Montreal*, into great credit with the governor-general. The latter, however, knew too much of their character to believe that they were disinterested in their professions, or that they came so far merely in compliment to his character and person. He therefore told them with an air of frankness, that he expected every one amongst them would lay before him their grievances, if they had any to complain of; that he would do all he could to remove them; and that they ought to take care not to divide themselves, but to unite against the *Iroquois* against whom he was resolved to continue the war. Upon this, *Onanguicé*, the head of the *Pouteouatamis*, and a leading orator amongst the savages, in the name of all the assembly, observed that more was generally promised to them, than was intended to be performed; that they had been often assured that they never should want for arms and ammunition, but that they had received none for a whole year; that the *English* did not treat the *Iroquois* in that manner, and that, if they continued to be so neglected, they would appear no more at *Montreal*.

His dealings
with them.

IN answer to this reproach, the governor said, that though it was true, that they had not been furnished for a year before with arms and ammunition, they should be no losers in the end; that he had a great warlike expedition to undertake, which he was not then at liberty to communicate to them, but that, as soon as he had made his arrangements, he would take care they should want for nothing. Upon this they parted, all seemingly satisfied. By this time, all fear of the *English* invading *Canada* was blown over, so that the governor dismissed the savages without farther audience. It now appeared, that the grand expedition, which had been kept so secret, was destined against *New England*; the conquest of which had been projected by *Pontchartrain* himself. *Frontenac* had been so forward in his preparations, that he informed that minister that he should be ready to march in eight days after he had received his orders; but that the conquest of *New York* was an object far preferable to that of *Boston*; that the latter did not at all incommode *New France*, but that the former might be easily conquered by the *French* shipping attacking *New York* itself, while the *Canadians* fell by land upon *New Orange*. His representations came too late. The *French* king had given to the chevalier *Nesmond* the command of ten ships of war, a frigate, and two fire ships, with orders to join, by the 25th of *April* at latest, the *Rocheport* Squadron under the command of *M. de Magnon*; and, to prevent the usual complaint of the lateness of the season, they were to sail directly to the bay of *Placentia*, and to drive the *English* entirely out of *Newfoundland*. After this, they were to sail to *Pemmaquid*, from whence they were to dispatch a vessel to *Quebec*, with orders to join them there with 1500 men, whom he was to have in readiness. This junction being formed, the fleet, after taking the troops on board, was to sail directly to *Boston*, and, after conquering that city, to lay all the *English* settlements between that and *Piscataqua* in ruins; so that it should not be in the power of the *English* to repair them.

THE *French* king, being apprehensive that *Frontenac's* great age might disable him from serving in person, left him at liberty, if he pleased, to substitute *Vaudreuil* in his room, in which case the latter was to be subject to the orders of *Nesmond*; but if *Frontenac* marched

Plan of the French for the conquest of English America.

- a in person, his command was to be independent. After taking *Boston*, and completing their ravages on the coast of *New England*, the *French* fleet and army had orders to reduce *New York*, and, in their march homewards, to lay that colony likewise in ruins; and, lest *Nesmond's* force should not be sufficient for such mighty operations, he was empowered to take along with him all the *French* ships of war that were employed in *Hudson's Bay*. When *Nesmond* anchored in the road of *Rochelle*, he found orders waiting for him, to give the *chevalier Villebon*, who was at *Naxoat* in *Acadia*, all the reinforcement and supplies he could spare; and, when he came to the bay of *Placentia*, he received intelligence from *Pontchar-train* of ten *English* ships, under the convoy of a man of war, who had sailed from *Portugal* with salt to fish on the coasts of *Newfoundland*, and which he was by all means to attack;
- b and, after that, he was to take or destroy all the *English* ships in those parts.

Fruitless expedition of Nesmond,

- SUCH was the mighty plan which the *French* laid down for the destruction of the *English* in *North America*, without considering the unsurmountable difficulties that lay in the way of its execution. *Nesmond* was two months on his voyage to *Placentia*, which he did not reach till the 24th of *July*. Upon calling a council of war the question was put, whether the fleet should sail directly for *Boston*, and it was carried in the negative, and because they were entirely ignorant of what the *English* were doing; because whatever dispatch they made, the forces from *Canada* could not reach *Pemmaquid* sooner than the 10th of *September*, by which time, the fleet, which was victualled only for fifty days, must be disabled from going upon any expedition. *Nesmond*, to his great mortification, had nothing to reply to those reasons; but dispatched one of his officers, *des Ursins*, with all the shipping he had brought for *Canada*, under his convoy, but with express orders to return, and give him notice, if, on his voyage, he should discover any *English* ships. *Nesmond* then took his station twenty-two leagues to the west of *Placentia*, as being the most convenient for acting against the *English*. In the beginning of *August*, he had intelligence that the *English* were fortifying *St. John's*; and, another council of war being held, it was unanimously agreed to make a descent upon that place, especially as they were informed, at the same time, that they might there make prizes of thirty-four sail of *English* ships. Of those some had sailed from *Plymouth* under the command of captain, afterwards admiral, *Sir John Norris*; and others had arrived from *Ireland*, with 1000 land troops on board, commanded by colonel *Gibson*.
- d The *French* fleet accordingly sailed to the east coast of *Newfoundland*; but *Nesmond* was disappointed in all his expectations, for he did not meet with a single *English* ship, and was obliged, without firing a gun, to return to *France*, after promising to himself the conquest of all the *English* *American* continent. But we are now to attend the affairs of *New France* in other parts.

and of the English against Naxoat.

- THE *French* court having greatly at heart the reduction of fort *Pemmaquid*, took it, as we have already mentioned in the history of *New England*, and, after demolishing it to the ground, *Iberville* and *Bonaventure*, who commanded the expedition, spied an *English* squadron, as they were sailing out of the river *Pemmaquid*. *Iberville* upon this ordered the ship, which he had taken from the *English*, and which had on board a hundred *Mickmack* savages, to keep close by him. The savages, understanding their danger, begged the captain of the ship where they were to board the largest of the enemy's vessels, as they were desirous of dying with their arms in their hands, rather than rot in the dungeons of *Boston*; which the captain promised should be done. But *Iberville* held so near the land, that the *English* ships durst not follow him, and they changed their course towards the river *St. John*, while *Iberville* arrived on the coast of *Cape Breton*. Here he put all the savages ashore, excepting three who refused to leave him, but could not reach *La Heve*, where others were ready to embark with him for *Newfoundland*, where, on the 12th of *August*, he anchored in the road of *Placentia*. In the mean while, the *English* ships, which he had escaped, fell in with the *chevalier de Villebon*, who was returning with a company of savages to his fort of *Naxoat*, and made him prisoner. The *English* then continued their course to *Beaubassin*, where one *Burgefs*, who had an estate in those parts, presented the commodore with a writing, by which the inhabitants of *Beaubassin*, at the time that *Acadia* was conquered by *Sir William Phipps*, engaged themselves to be faithful to king *William*. At the same time, two hundred and fifty *English*, and a hundred and fifty savages were put ashore. The commodore received *Burgefs* with great civilities, and the chief inhabitants of the place, who, tho' they were *English* subjects, had in fact revolted to the *French*, welcomed to shore the commodore and his chief officers, who were entertained at *Burgefs's* house. According to the *French* accounts, the commodore had promised full protection to the inhabitants, and had ordered the soldiers to take nothing in their quarters without payment, and to kill no cattle that were not immediately necessary for their subsistence; but they were guilty of great irregularities. The truth is, the *English* commodore discovered a writing under *Frontenac's* hand, laying down the terms of a trade between them and the other *French* subjects of *New France*; and, considering the attempts and barbarities of the *French* against the *English*

lish settlements in those parts, it is not to be wondered at if the soldiers were guilty of excesses. The inhabitants, however, in general, being conscious of what they had done, were so apprehensive of the consequences, that they secreted both themselves and their effects, which, perhaps, farther exasperated the *English*, who demolished or pillaged their houses, and reduced their church to ashes. The commodore then threatened to treat the remaining inhabitants as rebels; but was contented with obliging them to subscribe a fresh paper, by which they renewed their allegiance to the *English* government. The squadron then proceeded towards the river *St. John*, where *Villebon*, who, it seems, had obtained his freedom by producing a sufficient pass, commanding again at *Naxoat*, they were discovered by an ensign of the fort, who was reconnoitring with three or four soldiers, and who, escaping through the woods, gave *Villebon* intelligence of their arrival. Two days after, the same ensign returning to reconnoitre was surprised and killed by the *English*, and two soldiers he had with him were made prisoners. Those soldiers discovered to the *English* a great many concealments, where ammunition and merchandizes were lodged; and which being dug up, and put on board the squadron, it set sail for *Boston*. When they had proceeded a little way on their voyage, they were met by an *English* frigate of thirty-two guns, and two sloops, and their commander produced an order for them to return and attack fort *Naxoat*. It was the 16th of *October*, when *Villebon*, who imagined the *English* at that time had reached *Boston*, was informed of their return, and that they intended to besiege his fort. He immediately put every thing there in a posture of defence, threw up new entrenchments, and drawing out his garrison under arms, he harangued them like a *Frenchman*, by extolling the superiority of the *French* courage and glory over those of the *English*, exhorted them to fight bravely, and promising, that if any of them were disabled in the service, his most Christian majesty should provide for them all the rest of their lives. Every thing was now disposed for a vigorous defence; the garrison was in high spirits, and passed the night under arms; and, on the 18th, the *English* made good their landing, and began the attack. We are not much prepossessed in favour of the *English* military skill in *America* in those days; but, had it been greater than it was, little could have been expected from the success of an enterprize undertaken at a season so bitter, that the most hardy troops could not keep the field, especially in the night-time. In short, the *English* were obliged to give over their enterprize, and the siege was raised; but *Villebon* could not persuade his savages to pursue them. The loss of men on both sides was very trifling; but the *English*, before they retired, burnt down some settlements.

Affairs of
Newfound-
land.

THOUGH the natural vanity of the *French* magnified every little incident happening in *America* to extravagance in their own favour, yet it is certain, that they never had amongst them a genius for commerce, comparable to that of the *English*. Their settlements on the continent of *America* were, at this time, a dead weight on their mother country, while those of the *English* enriched theirs, even on the bleak island of *Newfoundland*; where their fisheries were reckoned to amount to little less than a million sterling a year. The *French*, in vain, endeavoured to rival them in this commerce, and, though in possession of *Placentia*, one of the finest harbours in *North America*, all they could do was to keep themselves from starving, while the *English* there lived at ease and in opulence. The governor of *Placentia* at this time was *de Brouillan*, a brave intelligent officer, but covetous, rough, and disagreeable in his manners to all about him. His garrison consisted of no more than eighteen soldiers, but it might upon an emergency have been reinforced with about eighty fishermen; but all of them with little or no experience in war. The island of *Newfoundland* being thus divided between the *English* and the *French*, *Iberville*, after his conquest of *Pemmaquid*, proposing the entire reduction of it, arrived for that purpose at *Placentia* on the 12th of *September*. Three days before this, *Brouillan* had set sail in the *Pelican*, a ship of war, and with eight *St. Malo* vessels, to reduce the fort of *St. John*, the principal settlement which the *English* had on the island. While they were intent upon entering the bay, they took an *English* officer, from whom *Brouillan* understood, that there lay at *St. John* forty *English* ships, some of whom mounted from eighteen to thirty-two guns. This did not intimidate *Brouillan*; but the current set so strongly against his ships, that it was with great difficulty he entered the bay, where he made good his landing, and took or silenced some *English* forts. *Brouillan* then advanced against the fort of *St. John*, which he passionately desired to take before the arrival of *Iberville*; but happening to quarrel with the *St. Malo* people, he was obliged to attack fort *Forillon*, which he took sword in hand, and made the *English* commandant, who was captain of the *Zephyr*, prisoner of war with all his garrison. He then advanced against some other *English* posts, which the *French* call forts, and which he found deserted; but the quarrel between him and the *St. Malo* men continuing, all he could do was to pick up about thirty fishing vessels, and he was obliged to return to *Placentia* without taking fort *St. John*. It was the 17th of *October* before he returned thither, where he found *Iberville*, who, for want of provisions, had been unable to join him. At last,

a last, receiving provisions and reinforcements from *Quebec*, he was preparing to attack *Car-boniere*, the most northerly post the *English* possessed. When *Brouillan* returned, *Iberville* acquainted him with his intention, which *Brouillan* resolutely opposed, and told *Iberville* that if he was resolved to proceed he would order the *Canadians* not to follow him. *Iberville*, upon this, prepared to return to *France*, as he foresaw that it was impossible for him to act in conjunction with a man of *Brouillan's* disposition. The *Canadians* hearing of his resolution refused to obey any orders but his, and threatened to return to *Quebec*. The fact was, that *Iberville* himself was a *Canadian* by birth, and being one of the ablest officers that country ever produced, was adored by his countrymen. Brouillan and Iberville dis-

THE character of the *Canadian* troops was, that when they were roughly treated they were intractable, when gently, submissive. But, besides them, the *St. Malo* men made bitter complaints of *Brouillan*, who found himself obliged to come to a better temper, and to enter into an accommodation with *Iberville*. At last, it was agreed, that they should proceed to the attack of *St. John's* fort in separate bodies; *Iberville* at the head of the *Canadians*; and *Brouillan* of the regulars and the militia; but when all were united, that *Brouillan* should have the command, though *Iberville*, who had contributed the most to the expedition, was to have the greatest share of the plunder, when they became masters of *St. John's*. This accommodation being made, *Brouillan* embarked on board the *Profond*, which was still commanded by *Bonaventure*, who, though a *Canadian*, had taken no part of the dispute, and *Brouillan* found means to fix *de Muys*, who sailed in the same ship with himself, by promising him in due time, the command of the *Canadians*. *Iberville* began his march on the first of *November*, and after surmounting prodigious difficulties, for nine days, arrived at *Forillon*, where he was joined by the chevalier *de Rangogne*, whom *Bouillan* had sent out with a small party to reconnoitre fort *St. John*. *Rangogne*, in his march, had taken an *English* man, who, having escaped, had given the alarm to fort *St. John*, from whence the *English* governor had sent out a detachment in pursuit of *Rangogne*, which killed, wounded, and took prisoners, about sixty of his party. On the 12th *Iberville* went in a sloop to *Rognouse*, which was the general rendezvous of the *French*, where he had an interview with *Brouillan*. He was surprized to find the latter insist upon his (*Iberville's*) division attending him to *Forillon*, and upon his having half the plunder which should be made at *St. John's*. *Iberville* put him in mind of the compromise he had entered into on that head; but the other denied it, and insisted so resolutely on what he proposed, that he resolved to abandon all concern in the expedition: but *Bouillan*, afraid of the consequences, once more desisted from his pretensions, and the whole expedition sailed for the bay of *Toulle*, lying between *Rognouse* and *St. John's*. During their march they understood that one hundred and ten *Englishmen* were in the bay of *Toulle*, and that such of them as had been conquered by the governor of *Placentia*, and the *St. Malo* men, had lost only their wretched habitations, which they intended to rebuild in the spring. Upon this intelligence, *Iberville* determined to attack the enemy by the wood, and the *Profond* was sent back to *France* with prisoners. *Brouillan* then renewed his pretensions to the command of the *Canadians*, to which he appointed *de Muys*, and treated *Iberville* with great haughtiness. The behaviour of the *Canadians*, however, soon made him resume a better temper, and a fresh reconciliation taking place between the two commanders, they continued their march towards the bay of *Toulle*, in order to attack *St. John's*, which they did after defeating several small parties of the *English*, posted to oppose them. Every little skirmish in this expedition is most ridiculously exaggerated, when we consider that the whole garrison of *St. John's* consisted only of two hundred and fifty men; of whom not above ten or twelve had ever seen a gun fired, the rest being poor fishermen; that they were commanded by an inhabitant of the place, who was appointed by the captains of the ships lying there; and that the fort itself was in a most miserable situation, and in want of every thing, not having wherewithal to subsist upon for twenty-four hours, nor a bit of wood to burn. After the *French* had sent in their summons for surrendering, the commandant endeavoured to gain time, because he had seen two large ships, which he thought to be *English*, two days before, endeavouring to make the bay. The *French* officers, having a suspicion of his intention, demanded his answer upon the spot, with which he was obliged to comply. The terms he obtained were, that two ships should be allowed him for carrying his garrison to *England*; that no person should be rifled, and that such of the *English* as had a mind to settle at *Bonaventure* might repair thither with all safety. It was remarkable, that *Brouillan* did not pay *Iberville* even the compliment of desiring him to sign the capitulation. Surrender of fort St. John;

THE two ships we have mentioned, who were *English*, understanding the place was taken, immediately sailed for *England*. As to the *French* they seem to have behaved in a very unmanly manner to the poor defenceless *English* inhabitants; whom they pillaged and imprisoned. When the division of the booty came in question a fresh misunderstanding, which had almost proved fatal, broke out between the two *French* commanders; but its effects

which is
burnt by the
captors.

were prevented by a prudent mediation. *Brouillan* proposed to preserve the fort and its dependencies, and to make *de Muys* governor of it, to which *Iberville* consented, provided none of his *Canadians* were left in garrison. *De Muys* refused to accept the command on that condition; upon which a resolution was taken to abandon their conquest, and to set fire to the fort, and all the houses in or near it that were still standing. This being executed, *Brouillan* and *de Muys* returned to *Placentia*, while *Iberville* and his *Canadians* carried on their operations in the eastern parts of the island; so that in two months time the *English* lost all their settlements in *Newfoundland*, but those of *Bonaville* and the island of *Carboniere*. The first of those posts was too well fortified to be surprized by the handful of *Canadians* and savages that *Iberville* commanded. As to the isle of *Carboniere* it is almost inaccessible in the winter, and it contained above three hundred *English*, who had flocked thither from all parts of the island, and had put it into so good a posture of defence, that *Iberville* durst do nothing against it. His scheme was to have attacked it first; in which case, it probably would have fallen into his hands. The *French* pretended that during this campaign they made six or seven hundred *English* prisoners, who, being sent to *Placentia*, escaped from thence, there being there no place of safety for their confinement; an excuse so frivolous that it renders the other particulars of their relation * the more questionable (I). After all, *Iberville's* boasted conquests in *Newfoundland* on this occasion seem to have been little better than roving from one post to another; for he was obliged to abandon them all, and to return to *Placentia*, in hopes of succours from *France*, which never arrived; those which came being destined, as we have already seen, for another expedition, which proved unsuccessful.

A new fishery
projected.

It is of importance to this history now that the *English* are masters of *New France*, to mention that in the year 1697, one *Riverin*, an active enterprizing *Frenchman*, projected, at *Mount Lewis*, which lies on the south coast of the river *St. Laurence*, about half way between *Quebec* and the sea, and is provided with a noble harbour, a fishery. A society of *French* merchants had formed themselves for improving those kinds of fisheries upon that river; and this situation was particularly proper for such a settlement; but when the undertakers had provided ship-falt, with every thing necessary for their purpose, and were ready to embark, the governor-general, in consequence of his orders from *Europe*, laid an embargo upon their voyage, which discouraged the society so much, that for that time they gave over their undertaking. *Riverin*, however, was not discouraged, but by the assistance of the few settlers at *St. Lewis*, prosecuted it with so much success that it was afterwards resumed.

Frontenac
countermands
an expedition.

ALL the spring of this year, *Frontenac* had on foot a respectable body of regulars and militia in *New France*, to be in readiness to execute the orders of his court when he should be called upon; and thereby he kept the *Iroquois* in awe; by which his government was restored to a tolerable state of tranquillity. He had made propositions to the four superior cantons, and had given them till *June* this year for returning an answer: after which, he threatened to march against the *Iroquois* with the whole of his force, and to begin with the *Agniers*, against whom he was to send five hundred men. His threats seem to have had no meaning; for, making no impression upon the *Agniers*, he countermanded the expedition, and was obliged at the same time to support, with the necessaries of life, the *Iroquois* Christians, who, by holding themselves ready to serve in the expedition, had neglected their hunting, and were in a most deplorable condition. Matters were in this situation when he received from *Old France* a fresh ordonnance, by which all officers in out posts were prohibited, under pain of cashiering and degradation, and the soldiers under pain of the galleys, to carry on any commerce whatever. The same ordonnance extended to travellers and rangers of all denominations, who, when detected, were to be sent prisoners to the government, and if found guilty, were to be condemned to the galleys. This ordonnance aimed so considerable a blow against the governor-general's power as well as profit, that he made remonstrances against it at court. But all was to no effect. *Pontchartrain* repeated the orders, and maintained that they were for the interest both of the colony and the savages; who would thereby have *French* goods at the first hand from the northern company. Notwithstanding this, it appears pretty plain that the commerce still continued, and *Frontenac*

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 289.

(I) The jesuit, in this period of his history, takes occasion to extol the intrepidity, valour, and the good qualities, both civil and military, of his countrymen in *North America*, and, at the same time, represents the *English* and their governors as so many brutes, intent only upon cultivating their lands, and improving their commerce, which, by the bye, we apprehend to be the chief, if not the sole end of all colonies. The

event of the conquest of all *French North America*, by those *English*, whom he represents as being so despicable, shews how very fallible the father's judgment of the two people was. The truth is, men, who, as officers, would be but barely mentioned in an *English* history or narrative, are magnified by the *French* into herces, philosophers, the wisest of men, and the best of Christians.

either

a either paid very little regard to the ordonnance, or found means to elude the execution of it.

THE advantage which the *Abenakis*, and the other *French Indians* had obtained the preceding year over the *English* and their savages allies, still continued to flatter *Frontenac* with the hopes that fear would prevail upon the *Iroquois* to join the *French*. The *Black Cauldron*, who continued to be in high credit with his nation, and to be the irreconcilable enemy of the *French*, at the head of a party advanced towards fort *Cataracouy*, where he informed *la Gomeraye*, the *French* commandant, that the elders of the four superior cantons were set out to treat of a peace at *Quebec*. *La Gomeraye* suspected his sincerity; and *Frontenac* sent him orders not to provoke the *Iroquois*, but without any noise to endeavour to get into his hands one or two of the chiefs of the *Black Cauldron* party. Before this order came, thirty-four young *Algonquins* attacked and cut in pieces the *Black Cauldron* and his party, excepting a few whom they made prisoners. *Charlevoix* calls this a noble action of the *Algonquins*, though he seems to own, at the same time, that the *Black Cauldron* and his party, depending on the faith of the negotiation, were hunting without any mistrust in the neighbourhood of *Cataracouy*, and were there destroyed. Soon after, *Oureoubaré* came to *Quebec*, where he gave *Frontenac* the strongest assurances of the good disposition of his canton of *Goyogouin* towards the *French*; but in a few days after he fell ill of a pleurisy, which carried him off, to the vast regret of *Frontenac* and all the *French*, who bestow extraordinary encomiums upon his piety, fidelity, and virtues. In the month of *February* 1698, the *French* in *Canada* had advice by four *English* traders of the peace of *Ryswick* being concluded, which, in *May* following, was confirmed by colonel *Schuyler*, who arrived at *Quebec* with nineteen *French* prisoners, and a letter from the earl of *Bellamont*, governor of *New England*, demanding the release of all the subjects of the king his master, who were detained prisoners in *New France*, *English*, as well as *Indians*, promising to send all the *French* savages who were prisoners in his government, under a good escort, if necessary, to *Montreal*. *Frontenac* agreed to the release of the *English* prisoners; but evaded the other demand of releasing the *Iroquois*, as the reader may see in the history of *New England*. He likewise pretended that he had no power to oblige the *Canibas*, and the other *French* savages who were settled on the borders of *Acadia*, to release the *English* prisoners. In short, the whole of *Frontenac*'s answer was a piece of mere chicanery; and it is plain from the relation of *Charlevoix* himself, that his great intention was to make use of the peace to divide the *English* from their *Indian* allies. *Schuyler*, and one Mr. *Dellius*, who was joined with him in the negotiation, were obliged to be contented, with this answer; and two months after their departure, the fruits of *Frontenac*'s artifices and infidelity were seen by the *Agniers* throwing into the fire all the papers which passed between them and the *English* government, relating to the purchase or payment of their native lands, as an evidence that they looked upon all such negotiations to be invalid, and that they were resolved to be independent of the *English*. This ceremony being over, they offered to detain all the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis*'s fall, who were with them till *Frontenac* should send back their countrymen, who were prisoners in his government. The earl, as appears from the accounts of the *French* themselves, honestly rejected the proposal, and offered to negotiate a peace between them and the *French*. *Frontenac*, who was informed of all those particulars by the savages of *St. Lewis*'s fall, resolved to improve the misunderstanding between the *Agniers* and the *English*. Being informed that some of the *Agniers* were paying a visit to their countrymen of the fall of *St. Lewis*, between whom a very tender affection still subsisted even during war-time, he gave those savages a most polite invitation to repair to *Montreal*, where they were for some weeks highly caressed, and nothing was wanting that could inspire them with a jealousy and hatred of the *English*. It is sufficient, at this time, to add, that *Frontenac*'s conduct on this occasion drew from the earl a very severe letter, which was answered in the same terms. The *Frenchman*, however, failed in his main point.

The Black Cauldron killed.

The peace of Ryswick concluded.

Artifice of Frontenac.

New differences with the English.

WHILE this controversy was on foot another started up. Mr. *Dellius*, in his return from *Quebec*, stopt at *Montreal*, where he roundly demanded *Michilimakinac*, and all the lands to the southward of that post, in the name of the *English* governor; as having formerly belonged to *New Belgia*, now *New York*; of which the *English* had obtained the full cession from the *Dutch*. *Callieres*, on the other hand, pretended that those posts had belonged to the *French* long before the *Dutch* had a foot of ground in *America*; nor do we find that the demand was farther insisted on. Of all the thorns to the *English* government in *America*, the savages on the side of *Acadia* were the most severe; which induced the former to think of rebuilding fort *Pemmaquid*, and to people both sides of the river *Kennebeck*, both which projects met with strong opposition on the part of *Villebon*, the *French* governor of *Acadia*. All this while the courts, both of *France* and *England*, were in the dark as to the limits between the two nations in *Canada*, and commissaries were named for fixing

Death and
character of
Frontenac.

Farther tran-
sactions with
the savages.

Callieres go-
vernor of
New France.

them by both crowns. As that dispute is now at an end by the cession of the whole coun-
try to the *English*, it is needless to resume the argument here. The *Iroquois* acted more
wisely than either of those nations, and, at this time, actually held the ballance of power
in *North America*. They declared themselves independent of both, and neither cared to
provoke them, for fear of throwing them into the arms of the other. This year died count
de Frontenac, in the 78th year of his age, after supporting, under prodigious disadvan-
tages, the interests of *Canada* during his long government. It is certain, that the court of
France had received from the jesuits, and the northern company, very false impressions of
that colony, and *Frontenac* was often obliged to encounter vast difficulties, and which a
man of any other character but his, must have sunk under. But though he could not al-
ways surmount them, he always was equal to them. One amazing reflexion arises from
the history of his administration, which is, that though *France* then boasted itself to be the
most powerful kingdom on earth, yet she never was able to furnish that public support to
the government of *Canada* which its affairs required. This was owing to two causes, the
first was, that the perpetual wars his most Christian majesty was engaged in *Europe*, did
not admit of his sending but very few troops to *New France*. The second was, the incon-
stant volatile temper of the *Canadians*, and the *French* themselves, who could not conform
themselves to those painful industrious habits, which alone can render a colony powerful
and flourishing; and which were so natural to the *English*. But what is still more extra-
ordinary is, that the toil and fatigue, which those very people suffered in their marches
against the *Indians* and the *English*, were greater than all that was necessary for cultivating,
improving, and fortifying their country.

So great was the reputation, which *Frontenac* held in his life-time amongst the savages,
that upon his death the *Iroquois* thought of breaking the treaty, or, rather, the neutrality
they had entered into with him. *Callieres*, during the vacancy of the government, acted
as governor-general; and those savages in the month of *March* sent deputies to *Montreal*,
on pretence of bewailing the late governor's death, but, in reality, to learn the state of the
colony, now that he was no more. They presented to *Callieres* three *French* prisoners, and
promised to send him all the others they detained, provided he would set at liberty all he
had of their countrymen. They begged him, at the same time, to send *de Maricourt*, a
Canadian gentlemen, and two of the *French Indians* with them to *Orange*, where they pro-
posed to make the exchanges, and to conclude the peace. In short, they represented to
him, that as long as he suffered the war kettle to remain on the fire, and his allies to keep
their hatchets in their hands, they could not trust him. *Callieres* replied, that he was de-
termined to treat at *Montreal*, and not at *Orange*, and that before he entered into any ne-
gotiation, he must be satisfied that they were sincerely disposed to fulfil all the terms that
had been imposed upon them by the late governor-general. He then, at their own re-
quest, gave them a truce for sixty days, and indulged them in some other matters of small
consequence; but in the main was very ill received, having some reason to believe that all
their intention was, by degrees, to draw their own prisoners out of the hands of the *French*
before they entered upon hostilities. They then took their leave, promising to return be-
fore the month of *June*. By this negotiation it appears pretty plain, that after the death of
Frontenac the *English* recovered their ascendancy over the savages; for the earl of *Bellamont*,
at that very time, was in treaty with their heads, or sachems at *Penobscot*, and they had
promised to be directed by him in their future negotiations with the *French*.

THE chevalier *de Callieres* was nominated by the court of *France* to succeed the count *de*
Frontenac as governor-general of *Canada*, to the disappointment of *de Champigny*, the inten-
dant, who expected the preference. His promotion, on account of his well-known abili-
ties and valour, was extremely agreeable to the colony. As he had neither birth, rank,
nor alliances equal to those of his predecessor; neither did he possess his violences, haugh-
tiness, and prejudices, and his great moderation gave the colony hopes of living at more
ease under his government, than they had done under that of his predecessor. About the
same time *Vaudreuil*, who had lately returned from *France*, and was likewise an officer of
great merit, was appointed to the government of *Montreal*. Fort *Cataracouy* was now be-
come a post of so much importance, that his most Christian majesty left the nomination of
its commandant to the governor-general, who had it in charge to bestow it on none, whom
he could not depend on for acting without orders, if accidents and circumstances of affairs
should so require. Those precautions were the more necessary as the governor of *New*
England had brought a claim against some of the *Abenakis* tribes, the most faithful allies the
French had in *America*; as if the *Canibas*, by being settled on the river *Kennebeck*, were actual
subjects of *England*. *De Callieres* received orders from his court to conclude nothing defi-
nitive with the savages till after the limits in *North America* were fixed; but he had so good
an opinion of the *Abenakis*, that he left the management of their negotiation with the *Eng-
lish*, to themselves. The preliminaries they insisted upon with the *English* governor were,
first,

a first, that he should order all the *English* to retire out of their country. Secondly, that he was not to pretend they owed any allegiance to the crown of *England*, because they professed themselves to be the voluntary and faithful subjects of his most Christian majesty, from whom alone, and his generals, they were determined to receive orders. Thirdly, that they should be at liberty to permit the *French*, and no other nation, not even the *English*, to settle upon their lands. Fourthly, that they heard, with some surprise, the *English* governor intended to send amongst them other missionaries than *French*; but that they never would change their religion; for which they were resolved, if necessary, to fight and to die.

It is certain, that the bickerings between the *French* and the *English* in North America hurt both parties, without benefiting either; so that the two courts ordered a cessation of all hostilities to take place there. His most Christian majesty's letter for this effect came under the earl of *Bellamont*'s cover, to be by him forwarded to *Callieres*, who, in like manner, was honoured with the delivery of his *Britannic* majesty's letter to the earl. *Callieres*, notwithstanding the confidence he had in the *Abenakis*, was so anxious about the success of the negotiation with the *English*, that he sent *la Valiere*, the major of *Montreal*, with father *Bruyas* to *Boston*, where they were to negotiate the exchange of prisoners, and to inform themselves in what condition the negotiation between the *English* and the *Abenakis* stood, or how the *English* governor was affected as to the proposed reconciliation between the *Abenakis* and the *Iroquois*. The latter had of late committed some hostilities against the *Miamis*, of whom they had killed a number. Notwithstanding this the *Iroquois* in general were well disposed towards peace, and the earl of *Bellamont* omitted nothing to render himself the arbiter of it. It happened that *Callieres* had obtained a duplicate of the orders the earl had received from his master, by which he was instructed to oblige the *Iroquois* to disarm themselves. *Callieres* finding that he could not get the better of *Bellamont*'s interest with those savages, sent copies of this letter all over their cantons, that they might see the *English* regarded them only as their subjects. He likewise signified to them that they were to expect no assistance from *New York*, because his *Britannic* majesty had expressly ordered his *American* governors to give them no assistance either directly or indirectly. At the same time he gave them to understand, that it would be no difficult matter for him to reduce them to accept the terms proposed by his predecessor, now that they were deprived of the assistance of the *English*. The cantons still observed their former policy in endeavouring to live well, both with the *French* and the *English*, to whom they said they would behave as brothers, but not as subjects, which the *English* appeared to be satisfied with; but *Callieres* still persisted to press them to a decisive resolution to accept the terms proposed by his predecessor. To evade this they endeavoured to gain time from the 21st of *March* to the month of *July*, 1700. Three months after this, a number of the *Outaouais* landed at *Montreal* to justify their conduct towards the *Iroquois*, whose cause *Callieres* espoused. On the 18th of *July* two deputies from the canton of *Onnontague*, and four from that of *Tsonmonthouan*, had a very formal audience of the governor, to whom they made great professions of friendship, pretending that they had powers of deputation from all the four upper cantons; and that the reason why no deputies were with them from the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouth*, was, that they were gone to *New England* to enquire into the reasons why the earl of *Bellamont* had sent *Schuyler* to dissuade them from repairing to *Montreal*. They then complained that while they thought themselves safe under the treaty between *France* and *England*, in which they were comprehended, they had been attacked by the *Outaouais*, the *Illinois*, and the *Miamis*, who had killed them one hundred and fifty men, and they begged of the governor to send along with them father *Bruyas*, *Maricourt*, and *Joncaire*, who were in great credit with their cantons, and into whose hands they would deliver all the *French* prisoners in their country.

His negotiations with the earl of *Bellamont*.

CALLIERES, in answer, expressed his surprise that the deputies of the *Goyogouins* and the *Onneyouths*, instead of coming along with their brethren, should wait upon the *English* governor upon a point that could require no farther explanation, after the conclusion of the treaty between the *French* and the *English*. He added, that what they had suffered was owing to themselves, having at first attacked the *Miamis*, and having so long trifled with him in the affair of the peace, and that he had done all he could with his allies to prevent all hostilities during the negotiations. That he was sorry for what had happened, but that to prevent the like accidents in time to come he had ordered all his allies to send their deputies in thirty days to treat; and that if they (the *Iroquois*) were sincerely inclined to peace, they would likewise order deputies from all their cantons to be present. That in such a case, all the war kettles should be overthrown; the great tree of peace established, the rivers cleaned, the roads made strait, and that every one then might go and return as he thought proper. As to the missionary, and the two officers they required, he consented

and conference with the *Iroquois* deputies.

to their going along with them, but upon condition that they should bring back with them a deputies furnished with full powers to conclude a durable peace; that upon their arrival at *Montreal* all the *Iroquois* prisoners should be set at liberty; but that some of the deputies there present should remain as hostages with the three persons who were to go along with the others. Upon this four of the deputies offered to become hostages; and being accepted of, the rest of the audience passed in good humour, only the *Abenakis* and the Christian *Iroquois* were far from being so complaisant as the governor-general had been to the *Iroquois* deputies, but treated them with great freedom and many reproaches.

A French embassy sent to Onnontague.

WHEN *Callières* took his leave of this assembly he declared that he would wait till the month of *September* for the grand deputation. The three *French* ambassadors, when they came to the canton of *Onnontague*, were received with unprecedented demonstrations of joy, b and conducted to the chief township in triumph. *Teganissorens* on this occasion acted as the mouth of the canton, and harangued them in the most polite, but friendly manner, which was the more agreeable to the ambassadors, as they knew that he was sincere. Being introduced under repeated discharges of a numerous musketry into their grand council-hall, they there found deputies from all the upper cantons. There father *Bruyas*, who was the spokesman of the *French*, presented them with three belts. By the first he intimated, that *Ononchio* was their father, and the *English* governor no more than their brother; and that therefore they ought in all events to behave to him as children, whether they were in friendship with the *English* or not. By the second belt he signified the high regard which his brethren the missionaries still entertained for the *Iroquois* nation, notwithstanding all the sufferings they had undergone, and their condolence upon their losing many of their chiefs of great distinction. The third belt expressed the sincere desire for peace, which they knew *Ononchio* had; and which he was willing to grant them, provided they acted by him with the same candor, and agreed to the conditions which he, the missionary, was ready to lay before them. c

Proceedings of the great assembly of the Iroquois.

THIS speech was received by the assembly with vast seeming satisfaction, and was succeeded by another from *Maricourt*, which turned upon the great power of *Ononchio*, and the inability they were under to resist him if they should reject his terms, which he held forth to be extremely reasonable. As those savages always require time to deliberate on the propositions made to them, they met next day in council, where a young *Englishman* d and an old *Onnontagué* presented themselves from the earl of *Bellamont*, putting them on their guard against the practices of the *French*, and informing them that his lordship expected them in ten or twelve days at *Orange*, where they should know his farther pleasure. So imperious a message, far from winning over the assembly, disgusted them entirely. "I know not (said *Teganissorens*) what my brother can mean in endeavouring to dissuade us from hearing the voice of my father, and in singing the war-song, at a time when every thing invites us to peace." This temper of the assembly was improved by the missionary to his own purposes. He animadverted on the haughtiness of the *English*, who wanted to treat them as their subjects; and what they were to expect should they let slip the opportunity now offered them, and this point was farther pressed by *Joncaire*, who observed e that the view of the *English* in being so solicitous to dissuade them from peace, could only be, that they might weaken themselves by war, so as to be unable to resist their tyranny.

NOTHING decisive seems to have happened that day; for upon the assembly's breaking up, *Joncaire*, who had his cabin among the *Tsonnonthouans*, that is, who was adopted into that canton, and had all the privileges of a native, set out thither, and was received with the highest demonstrations of regard and affection. His business was to reclaim the *French* prisoners who were there, and whose liberty was immediately granted them. What followed, though extraordinary, is natural. Most, or all, of those prisoners had been adopted likewise; and the life of a savage was, in their eyes, so much preferable to that of a *French* f *Canadian*, that they refused to return to their country. This circumstance may be easily accounted for. Amongst the savages they enjoyed in full extent, not only that freedom, which they could not find under *French* government, but, if they were industrious, more abundance; because, what they acquired by hunting and sowing was their own, untaxed and unimpaired by the griping hand of power. Not to mention that the civil and military duties amongst the *French* were more irksome and laborious than amongst the savages. Some of those captives, therefore, rather than follow *Joncaire*, concealed themselves, while others flatly told him they would remain where they were.

Their resolutions favourable to the French.

MEAN time, the general council of all the *Iroquois* nation was reassembled at *Onnontague*, to pronounce their definitive resolution, and the young *Englishman* was present. *Teganissorens* continued to be the mouth of the assembly, and declared to the *French* ambassadors, that his nation was resolved to hear the voice of its father, and instantly to send two deputies g

a ties from each canton to *Montreal*. "I do nothing in secret, said he, (addressing himself to the *Englishman*, in the name of his whole nation,) inform my brother *Corlar*, who sent thee hither, that I am setting out for *Quebec*, there to receive the orders of my father *Onontario*, and to plant the tree of peace. I, after that, will go to *Orange*, and learn the will of my brother *Corlar*." *Teganissorens* then laid five belts at the feet of the ambassadors, and father *Bruyas* pressed the assembly to dispatch the deputation, that they might arrive time enough to confer with the deputies of the upper cantons. But though *Charlevoix*⁹ has, in honour to his order, one of which was at the head of the embassy, represented this negotiation in a favourable light for the *French*, yet it is highly improbable that matters were carried on so smoothly as he has represented. The declaration which the earl of *Bellamont* had made by his master's order, that he would no longer support the *Indians* against the *French*, no doubt made an unfavourable impression upon those savages; but it is plain that their real intention was not to break with the *English*, if they could avoid it; and, notwithstanding all the jesuits could do, the *English Iroquois* were at least as well disposed to protestantism as to popery; though the bulk of the nation was indifferent as to both. The jesuits were alarmed when they understood that lord *Bellamont* had even prevailed upon them to receive Protestant missionaries, who had been successful in making profelytes; and that they could not bring the natives to expel them. It must, indeed, be owned that the jesuits, for the reasons we have already given, were far more active, and more pains-taking than the Protestants at this time. The zealous sect of *New England* ministers, who made the conversion of the *Indians* a work of conscience, was now worn out, that colony being planted with men, who regarded religion chiefly as it was connected with interest; and the *English* divines lived too comfortably at home to hunt for danger in making conversions abroad.

The jesuits alarmed.

THE *Onnontague* and the *Goyogouin* deputies set out with the *French* ambassadors on their return to *Montreal*. They were all of them conducted in great state to *Gannentaba*, where they expected to be joined by the *Onneyouth* deputies; but that canton, which it seems did not chuse to part with their prisoners, only sent them a belt, pretending that their chief deputy was indisposed. Soon after, *Joncaire* joined them with six deputies from the *Tsonnonthouans* and three *French* prisoners, which were all he could deliver. While the ambassadors and the deputies were ready to embark, a *Tsonnonthouan* arrived at *Gannentaba* from *Orange*, with an account that the governor of *New York*, irritated at the proceedings of the *Iroquois*, had not only put in irons an *Onneyouth*, who was suspected of having killed an *Englishman*, but had seized upon all the furs belonging to the *Iroquois* at *Orange*; that he had hoisted a red flag, had ordered the *Mabingans* to begin the war against the cantons, and threatened to come in person to chastise them. The *Iroquois* pretended to the *French*, that they received those menaces with indignation. When they came to *Montreal*, where the deputies of the upper cantons were waiting, they were received under a discharge of artillery, which gave offence to the savage allies of the *French*. When the assembly met, the *Iroquois* orator magnified the vast deference which their cantons had paid to *Bruyas*, in having, at his desire, suspended all hostilities against their enemies. He then affected to treat the *New York* governor's menaces with contempt; but artfully added, that as it was probable their nation must now go to war with the *English*; they hoped to find at *Catarocouy* not only the merchandizes they used to be furnished with at *Orange*, but arms and ammunition for their defence. The answer *Callieres* made to this harangue was very civil, and he gave the deputies to the month of *August* the following year for releasing the remaining *French* prisoners, and those of the *French Indian* allies. In the mean while, he referred them upon no account to revenge any private quarrels amongst themselves, but to refer them to him, and promised to do all he could to obtain a like order on the part of the earl of *Bellamont*. As to their request about fort *Catarocouy*, he said he should lay it before the king his master, but that in the mean while he would send thither an officer with some merchandizes, and a smith.

Grand congress at Montreal.

THIS answer highly pleased the assembly, and a provisional treaty was agreed on conformable to what had been communicated by the governor-general. The manner in which this treaty was signed was very particular. After *Callieres* and his officers, civil and military, with the ecclesiastics, had put their hands to it, each of the savage nations signed it with a particular figure peculiar to themselves. The *Onnontague* and *Tsonnonthouans* delineated a spider. The *Goyogouins*, a calumet or pipe of peace; the *Onneyouths*, a piece of cleft wood with a stone in it; the *Agniers*, a bear; the *Hurons*, a beaver; the *Abenakis*, a kid, and the *Outaouais* a hare (K). This treaty is dated the 8th of *September* 1700. It ap-

A provisional treaty.

Remarkable signatures.

⁹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 357.

(K) *Charlevoix* acknowledges that neither the *Agniers* nor the *Onneyouths* had any deputies at this congress; what degree of authority therefore is due to their signatures, unless it appeared, which it does not, that they had commissioned some one to sign for them?

appears that the earl of *Bellamont*'s views were not to excite a war between the *Iroquois* and the *French* or their allies, but to prevent those savages from uniting under the *French* government, whose territories lay much more convenient than those of the *English* did for effecting such an union. *Callieres*, on the other hand, whose views were really pacific, knew the vast advantages, in case of another rupture between *France* and *England*, that such an union would produce to the former. Thus the whole dispute was a kind of a trial of skill between the two governors rather than the two crowns.

Views of the
French and
English.

Bad policy of
the English
governor.

CALLIERES, in pursuance of this plan, laboured to make it as extensive as possible. He dispatched *Courtemanche*, and another agent, to the most distant tribes in the North and the West, to persuade such of them as had not sent their deputies, to accede to the provisional treaty, and to send deputies to the meeting, which was to be held the following *August*, that it might be general, in order to conclude a definitive treaty. Those measures being resolved on, *Callieres* gave advice of them to *Pontchartrain*, and informed him, that it would be possible, in the approaching congress about boundaries, to get some signal advantages to *France*. If during the course of the negotiation she could not obtain the property of the *Iroquois* country, it ought at least to be declared neutral; and that it should be unlawful either for the *French* or the *English* to make any settlement upon it. With regard to missionaries, he thought there could be no danger to the *French* interest to admit the *English* ministers to act as such amongst the savages. Lord *Bellamont* perhaps on this occasion did not act with so much moderation, or indeed justice. The *English* had always sought to avail themselves of the cessions of lands made to them by the savages, who paid very little regard to such deeds, and often pretended that they had been outwitted or intoxicated when they agreed to them, having received for them no valuable consideration. Though there sometimes was but too good foundation for those remonstrances, yet it is certain the *English* were far more justifiable in that respect than the *French*, the latter having never given any consideration for their vast possessions in *America*, while the most considerable of the *English* had been purchased and duly paid for to the natives. The earl of *Bellamont* demanded (we must think very impolitically, if true, for we have it only upon *Charlevoix*'s word) that the *Iroquois* should hang all the jesuit missionaries who came amongst them, and he proposed to build forts in the cantons of *Agnier*, *Onneyouth*, and *Onnontague*; and one particularly at the mouth of the river *Choguen*, lying near lake *Ontario*. But the natives seemed to be so much shocked at those propositions, that his lordship did not think proper to insist upon them. About this time, *Riverin* attempted to re-establish his fishery at mount *Lewis*; but through the avarice and villainy of those he was concerned with, his project again fell to nothing. We are now to attend affairs in the other parts of *Canada*.

His admin-
istration.

THE *English* still continued to fish upon the coasts of *Acadia*, but it appears as if the *French* court had cooled in its zeal for the re-establishment of that colony. A son or relation of *le Borgne*, whom we have already mentioned about the time of the peace of *Ryswick*, in right of his predecessors of that name claimed the property of all the peninsula of *Acadia*, reaching from cape *les Mines* towards *L'isle Verte* to the West; and in consequence of this claim, the *English*, notwithstanding the peace, continued still to trade upon the coast of *Acadia*, on pretence of being authorized by *le Borgne*, to whom they paid fifty crowns for each ship. All that *Villebon* could do was to erect fort *de Naxoat* on the river *St. John*; but receiving no assistance from *France*, it was of very little use. We continued, however, to make such representations to the *French* court, that an engineer was sent over, by whose advice, in the year 1700, the inhabitants of *Naxoat* were transported to *Port Royal*. No care, however, being taken to fortify that settlement, on any part of the coasts of *Acadia*, the *English* still went on to engross the fishing trade there, and are charged by the *French* with the same practices they themselves have ever been charged with by the *English*, and in almost the same terms. Upon the breaking out of the war in the year 1702, no care had been yet taken to fortify *Port Royal*, and the other posts on the coast of *Acadia*; but the importance of that province appeared now so evident to the *French* court that *de Callieres* received the strongest assurances that new missionaries should be sent to *Acadia* for converting the natives, and that proper measures should be taken for peopling the colony with *French*. The bishop of *Quebec*, who was then in *France*, undertook the former province, as the court did the latter; but such was the state of the *French* affairs in *Europe*, that both projects fell to the ground.

Broullan
governor.

By this time *Villebon* was dead; but was succeeded in his government of *Acadia* by *de Broullan* who had been governor of *Placentia*. He found the affairs of his province in a most miserable situation. The *Bostoners* and the *New England* men had ravished all the sea-coasts, and had either driven the inhabitants into the woods, or carried them prisoners to *Boston*, from whence they sent most lamentable complaints of cruel usage. An order had come from the *English* government, that none of the *French* prisoners there should be exchanged;

a changed; and a French captain, one *Baptiste*, was threatened with hanging, on pretence of his being a pirate. *De Brouillan* upon this, sent an express, acquainting the *English* governor of *Boston*, that he would make use of reprisals, in case he should put his threats in execution against *Baptiste*; which saved the captain's life. This messenger did a more important service to the *French* in *America*; for while he was at *Boston* he discovered that the *English* were making preparations for attacking *Quebec*; and upon his return *de Brouillan* sent advice of the same to the governor-general of *New France*, by which means he had so early an intelligence, that the expedition miscarried. It is certain that the affairs of the *English* government were at that time very ill managed on the coasts of *North America*, where a squadron of their men of war was commanded by admiral *Graydon*, a corrupt brutal officer, and a disgrace to the marine service of his country. It is true, the *New England* men found their account in ravaging the *French* coasts; but only a few particulars were benefited; for the national service was neglected. It may be proper to inform our readers, that we have carried the affairs of this province thus far, that they may not interfere with the more general history of *Canada*, to which we now return.

DE CALLIERES continued his indefatigable endeavours to effect his favourite measure of uniting all the savages of *North America*, and thereby establishing a general peace amongst them; but an unforeseen accident had almost ruined his labours. The *Iroquois*, after their deputies had returned to their own country, had gone to hunt upon lands which had been appropriated immemorably to the huntings of the *Outaouais*, and had there destroyed some beaver huts. The *Outaouais*, provoked by so unjust an invasion of their property, fell upon a party of the *Iroquois* hunters, killed some of them, and carried off their chief, prisoner. The *Iroquois* in their turn resented this hostility, and would immediately have made severe reprisals, had not their deputies put them in mind of their promise to refer all their differences to *Ononthe*. This pacified them for the present, and a fresh deputation was nominated, which, on the 2d of *March*, 1701, reached *Montreal*, where they found the governor, and laid before him their grievances, praying that he would interpose for the delivery of their chief, who had been carried prisoner to *Michillimakinac*. *Callieres* endeavoured to excuse the *Outaouais* for what had happened, as the party who had committed the hostility did not then know of the treaty that had been concluded. He promised, at the same time, to procure the release of their chief, and assured them, that they should not suffer by referring their complaints to him. The deputies found no fault with this answer. But on the 5th of *May*, *Teganifforens*, attended by a good number of *Iroquois* chiefs, arrived at *Montreal*. Their business was not only to renew the complaints against the *Outaouais*, but to be informed whether there was any truth in the report, that the governor-general intended to make a settlement upon the strait, that communicates between lake *Huron* and lake *Erie*, which, by way of eminence, is called *Detroit*? and whether the war was ready to break out again in *Europe* between *England* and *France*? With regard to the *Outaouais*, *Callieres* answered as he had done before; but the settlement was a matter of more importance, because it was a measure he actually had resolved upon. All he would say was, that he could not perceive how either the cantons or the *English* could take any umbrage about *Detroit*, as it belonged to himself. That all he meant by establishing such a settlement was to preserve all the nations in peace, and that he had given orders to the person who was to act for him at the settlement in question, to accommodate all the differences that might happen amongst his allies. During the course of this conversation, it appeared that lord *Bellamont* had at that time the very same design, and that *Detroit* was one of the places he had mentioned to the *Iroquois* deputies for erecting a fort. The knowledge of this rendered *Callieres* still more obliging to the deputies; assuring them that he would treat them as his own children; and that all he was doing was for their good. *Teganifforens* replied nothing on this head, and frankly owned that the elders of his canton would report his answer to the *English*; but *de Callieres* made very light of that circumstance, and gave no direct answer to another request made by *Teganifforens*, that in case the war should be renewed between the two crowns, the cantons might not be obliged to take any share in it. *Callieres*, upon *Teganifforens* leaving *Montreal*, sent his three former ambassadors along with him to *Onnontague*, both to do him honour, and to assist in bringing back the *French* prisoners, who still remained in that canton. The ambassadors were surprized when they arrived at *Onnontague*, to find *Englishmen* mingled with the savages who came out to meet them. The truth was, that an *Englishman*, whom *Charlevoix* calls *Abraham*, had arrived at *Onnontague*, on the part of lord *Bellamont*, to endeavour to dissuade the elders of the canton from sending their deputies to the *August* congress; and some of this *Abraham's* retinue had gone out with the savages to meet the ambassadors.

Quarrel amongst the savages.

Apology of *Callieres*, who is pressed by the Indian deputies.

The latter were conducted into the principal village with the same honours as before, and the ambassadors were introduced alone into the assembly of their elders. There, father *Bruyas* taguese, *Proceedings of the Onnontague.*

Bruyas spoke very sharply on their negotiations with the *English*, and threatened that *Onontio* would no longer treat with the *Iroquois*, if they did not send their deputies along with those of the other nations to the grand congress, which was to establish a general peace amongst them all. He added, that very possibly wars might be renewed between the *French* and the *English*, but that the interest of the cantons led them to observe a strict neutrality. It was three days after this speech was made, before the subject of the embassy was resumed; and the *English* were introduced into the meeting, where *Teganissorens* immediately presented a belt to *Abraham*, exhorting him not to oppose the accommodation that was ready to be concluded between the canton and the *French*. He then laid another belt at the feet of *Bruyas*, giving freedom to all the prisoners in the canton, and expressed the resolution it had come to, in the following lively terms, “ I open all my gates, (said he, still speaking in the character of his canton,) I stop no body. I want to live in good correspondence with my father *Onontio*, and my brother *Corlar*; I hold each of them by a hand, and am resolved hereafter never to divide myself, either from one or the other. Five deputies are to go to *Montreal*, and two others to *Orange*. For my own part, I will lie still on my mat, to convince all the world, that I take no party, and that I am resolved to observe an exact neutrality.”

concerning the
prisoners.

THIS declaration from the mouth of *Teganissorens*, who was known to have so much authority in his canton, and to be a firm friend to the *French*, gave great pleasure to *Bruyas* and *Maricourt*, who had already sent *Joncaire* to *Tsonnonthouan*, as they had another *Frenchman*, one *la Chauvignerie*, to *Onneyouth*. Soon after *Villedonné*, a *French* officer, arrived with the agreeable news, that the deputies of all the nations were on the road to *Montreal*. This intelligence, however, was somewhat qualified by the return of *Chauvignerie* from *Onneyouth*, with an account that he had found that canton in a very bad disposition towards the *French*; and that he was not able to bring from thence a single prisoner. This was likewise the case with the *Onnontaguese*. *Teganissorens* declared to the deputies, that all the *French* who lived in the canton had been adopted by the natives, and most part of them being married, their friends and relations refused to consent to their release; and they themselves being equally averse, nothing could be done in the affair; and that he was much grieved to find himself under the dismal necessity of being worse than his word to his father. The ambassadors knew the character of *Teganissorens* and his canton too well to endeavour, to reason either the one or the other out of what had been resolved on. They were therefore obliged to dissemble, otherwise all the credit of *Teganissorens* could not have prevented his countrymen from throwing themselves into the hands of the *English*. The whole of this negotiation appears to have been conducted by the savages with exquisite address, and proves of what singular advantage their personal independency upon all superiors was to them in the affairs of government; because if their deputies ever exceeded their instructions, or concluded any thing disagreeable to their constituents, the latter always thought themselves at liberty to withhold their consent.

Success of
Joncaire
with the On-
nontaguese.

THE ambassadors, for obvious reasons, still concealed their discontent, but *Joncaire* succeeded better with the *Goyogouins* and the *Tsonnonthouans*, from whom he brought deputies with several prisoners; and their example had such an effect upon the *Onnontaguese*, that they gave up five *French* captives. The *Onneyouths* likewise sent deputies, and the ambassadors, attended by two hundred *Iroquois*, arrived at *Montreal*, the 21st of July. We have already mentioned *Courtemanche* and father *Anjelran* having been sent by *Callieres* to *Michilimakinac*, where *Anjelran* treated with the *Outaouais* and the *Hurons*, while *Courtemanche* went to the river *St. John*, where he found the *Miamis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, the *Sokokis*, the *Oniagamis*, the *Hurons*, and the *Mahingans*; and most of them preparing to go to war with the *Iroquois*. *Courtemanche* threatened them, the *Miamis* in particular, with the governor-general's indignation, if they did not alter their intention, upon which they not only commanded their warriors, but recalled their war-parties. He had more difficulty in persuading them to give up the *Iroquois* prisoners, whom they had adopted, but he succeeded even in that; and all of them promised to send deputies to the general congress. *Courtemanche* then visited the *Illinois*; all of them, excepting the cantons of *Kaskaskias*, were likewise preparing to go to war with the *Iroquois*, but he reconciled them to more pacific intentions by the same arguments he had used with the *Miamis*; as he likewise did the *Ouyatanons*, a *Miamis* nation, who were going to war with the *Sieux* and the *Iroquois*; and all of them, in like manner, promised to send deputies to *Montreal*. He had the same success, but with more difficulty, with the *Mascontins*, amongst whom he arrived the 5th of May. He then continued his route to the bay of *Puantes*, where he arrived the 14th, and there found the *Sakis*, the *Otchagros*, the *Malbomines*, the *Outagamis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, and the *Kicapous*; and, reconciling all differences amongst them, he persuaded them likewise to send their deputies to *Montreal*. On the 2d of July, he returned to *Michilimakinac*, after travelling

above

a above four hundred leagues. Every thing there having been settled by *Angelran*, he set out for *Montreal*, with two *Iroquois* prisoners, whom he had recovered out of the hands of the *Outaouais*, while *Courtemanche* remained at *Michillimakinac*; from whence he set out for *Montreal* with a fleet of a hundred and eighty canoes, carrying between seven and eight hundred savages; but thirty of the canoes were sent back with their sick. When they arrived, on the 22d of *July*, at *Montreal*, they were received under a discharge of the artillery; and the *Rat*, in the name of all the other savages, complimented the governor-general.

CALLIERES thought proper, before he held the general congress, to sound all the deputies one by one; and then a kind of preliminary congress was held, in which an *Outaouais*, called *John the White* from the fairness of his complexion, made presents to *Onontio*, and harangued him with great applause. He was followed by other *Algonquin* chiefs. The drift of all their speeches was, that he should diminish the prices of the *French* merchandise, and take off their hands the smaller furs, because the beaver skins were becoming scarce. The *Rat*, on whom *Callieres* depended greatly for the success of this congress, then presented his *Iroquois* prisoners, but demanded why all the rest of the nations had not done the same. The chiefs of the *Pontouatamis* then, in the name of all the western savages, declared, that their nations were so zealous to fulfil the will of their father *Onontio*, that they had not been deterred from it, even by the report of a contagious distemper reigning at *Montreal*. The *Miamis* chief made his harangue to the same effect. He then drew forth a calumet or pipe of peace for all the nations to smoke at, declaring, that, if he made peace with the *Iroquois*, it was not because he feared them, but in obedience to his father's will. The deputy of the *Sakis* next, by means of *Onanguice*, the *Miamis* chief, made presents of atonement for a *Frenchman* they had killed. The general gave many other separate audiences, and acquitted himself with great dexterity with all, but *John the White*, who was too clear-sighted to be so easily satisfied as the others were. When the *Iroquois* deputies made their appearances before him, their orator endeavoured to shew how impossible it was for his nation to send back all their prisoners, many of whom, being taken in their infancy, knew no other parents, but those who adopted them. He then insinuated, that he thought such a restitution immaterial, because *Maricourt* and *Joncaire* had not much insisted upon it. This apology gave great distaste to some of the other cantons, and it was for some time before they could be reconciled.

Policy of
Callieres.

THE conferences opened on the first of *August*; and while a *Huron* chief was haranguing, the *Rat*, who had been the principal instrument in effecting this wonderful congress, fell ill, to the great concern of *Callieres*; but, being somewhat recovered, he was placed in an elbow-chair in the middle of the assembly. As he was the greatest orator and the most acute wit of all the *American* savages, they flocked round to hear him; and he delivered a discourse upon the benefits of peace, which drew the loudest applauses from all present. At last, his voice failed him, and he never spoke more in public, for he died soon after the breaking up of the conference. *Charlevoix* speaks of this savage, as if he had been an ornament to human nature, and superior in wit even to the *French* themselves. At the time of his death, he had the rank and pay of a captain in the *French* army, and therefore received a noble military funeral; at which the governor-general and all the chief officers assisted. *Joncaire* on this occasion covered him, that is, made presents to his nation on account of his death, at the head of sixty warriors of the fall of *St. Lewis*. The inscription upon his tomb-stone was, "Here lies the *Rat*, a *Huron* chief." His death was an irreparable loss to the *French*; but his countrymen promised to follow his example in an inviolable attachment to *Onontio*.

The general
conferences
opened.

Death and
magnificent
burial of the
Rat.

THE ceremonies of the *Rat's* burial, which took up some days, being over, the *Iroquois* complained of their being distressed in the affair of their prisoners, and promised that, if the governor-general would give them back their captive countrymen, he should have no reason to repent of having trusted them. *Callieres* had, before the *Rat's* death, consulted him upon that subject; and it was not only his opinion, that they should be gratified, but he brought over several of the deputies to the same. *Callieres* therefore, after endeavouring to make the *Iroquois* sensible how unreasonable both their complaint and request were, promised to lay the latter before the general assembly of the deputies; which he did, and they agreeing to it, he trusted them, and was justified by the event. Mean time, an epidemic distemper breaking out amongst the savages swept off great numbers of them, of the *Hurons* particularly, who attributed it to witchcraft, and applied to the jesuits for destroying the enchantment. According to *Charlevoix*, all who died were baptized. This accident, however, obliged the governor to press the finishing of the treaty, and on the 4th of *August*, it was agreed that the articles should be signed, and the peace published with the greatest solemnity. For this purpose, a theatre of one hundred and twenty-eight feet long,

and seventy-two broad, was erected on a plain without *Montreal*. At the end of this theatre was raised a large box for the ladies, and all the people of fashion in that city. *De Callieres* was attended by *Vaudreuil*, and all his principal officers, and 1300 savages were seated in order within the rails of the theatre, which were surrounded by soldiers under arms.

Progress of the
congress.

THE meeting was opened with a speech made by *Callieres* upon the benefits of peace, and of their being under the protection of their father the great *Onontio*, and his words were repeated to the several nations by proper interpreters, and received with the highest acclamations. This being finished, each chief received a belt of wampum, and rising one after another they marched gravely up in their long fur robes to the governor-general, and each presented him with his prisoners, and a belt, besides their compliments, some of which are said to have been very fine; but all of them took great care to make him sensible how much they suffered in their private interests, by their compliance with his will in trusting the *Iroquois*, whom they neither feared, nor expected to be grateful. *Callieres* received each in the most gracious manner, and consigned the prisoners as he received them, to the *Iroquois*. The finery of the savages, their different manners of address, the oddities of their devices in their attire, and the whimsical state they assumed when they spoke to the governor, formed a scene of ridicule, that exceeded all belief. *Charlevoix* has been very minute in describing them. The ingrossed treaty of peace was then brought, and signed by thirty-eight deputies, but with other devices than those they made use of when they signed the former treaty. They brought at the same time, the great pipe of peace, out of which the governor-general smoked first, the intendant after him, and then *Vaudreuil*, and lastly, all their chiefs and deputies, each in his turn. After this, *Te Deum* was sung, and then the great kettles were produced, in which thirty oxen had been boiled. The meat was served up to each in order, without noise or confusion, every thing passed with great cheerfulness, and the whole ceremony was concluded by discharges of artillery both great and small, bonfires and illuminations.

And a peace
concluded.

Conferences
with the de-
puties.

Two days after, *Callieres* had a particular conference with the deputies of the upper nations, whom he warned against committing any depredations upon the *French*, in which case he threatened to chastise them; but, in the mean while, he gave them presents in the name of the king. The *Outaouais* begged that he would send with them father *Anjelran* and *Nicholas Perrot*, to which the governor agreed. Their deputy then most earnestly begged of the governor, that he would suffer no brandy to be imported amongst them, on account of its fatal effects upon their youth. This request was highly applauded by all present, except one *Huron* chief, who, being a great drunkard, had provided himself with a large stock of that liquor. Next day, *Callieres* gave audience to the deputies of the *Iroquois* cantons, whom he ordered to deliver their prisoners into the hands of *Joncaire*, who was to return with them, and promised, that if any of them should desire to return to the cantons they should have full liberty; he having granted the same to the *Huron* prisoners. He then recommended to them a strict neutrality between the *French* and the *English*; and endeavoured to make them sensible how much it was against their interest that the *English* should build any forts upon their lands. He next informed them, that the settlement at *Detroit* was far advanced under the inspection of *La Motte Cadillac*, who had with him a hundred men and a jesuit; adding that his motive for making this establishment was to be beforehand with the *English*, who intended to do the same. Every thing being thus amicably adjusted, the deputies took their leave of the governor, but scarcely were they gone, when deputies came from the *Agniers*, who had sent none to the congress, and signed the treaty. Soon after *Joncaire* returned, but brought with him very few prisoners; the captives, for the reasons we have already seen, refusing to attend him. Next year the *Iroquois* sent a solemn deputation to *Callieres*, and the upper nations did the same, to thank him for having given them peace. The *Iroquois* even requested him to send jesuits amongst them. This gave great pleasure to *Callieres*, who, for many reasons, had not ventured to offer them any of those fathers; but he most passionately desired, that they would voluntarily apply for them. Those deputies informed him at the same time of the death of *Garakonthie*, who, to his last, had continued faithful to the *French* interest, and presented to the governor his nephew, who offered to supply the place of his uncle, which the governor agreed to. The request of the deputies for the jesuits was instantly complied with, and *Maricourt* introduced them to the cantons, where, even (according to *Charlevoix*,) their business was rather that of spies than missionaries.

1702.

War declared
between
France and
England.

By this time the war was declared between *France* and *England* in *Europe*, and *Callieres* received the strongest assurances from his court that *Acadia* should be peopled and fortified. This was the only province of *New France* that gave *Callieres* disquietude, because, now that the *Iroquois* were secure, it was the most exposed to the invasion of the *English*. This project went so far with the court of *France*, that the bishop of *Quebec*, who was then there, was endeavouring to provide a plentiful supply of ecclesiastics, without being obliged to

part

a part with any in *Canada*, for the new colony. This passion for the establishment of *Acadia* soon cooled, and it still remained exposed to the ravages of the *New England* men. It was not long before the *Iroquois* grew heartily tired of their new alliance with the *French*, and not only they, but some of the *French* savages, by their agency, renewed their intrigues with the *English*. The truth is, that, though the measures *Callieres* had taken were wise and happily executed, and though he had greater abilities than any governor of *New France* ever had, yet it was not in his power to keep those savages in the *French* interest, for this plain reason, among many others; because his *Canadians* were so miserably needy, that the barbarians could get nothing by trading with them; so that mere indigence, had there been no other cause, obliged them to trade with the *English*. *Callieres* in vain represented to his court, that the source of all the danger of his government lay in its poverty and weakness, which could only be remedied by supplies from *Old France*. But, while he was endeavouring to encrease the fortifications of *Quebec*, to disconcert the intrigues of the *English* amongst the *Iroquois*, and to re-establish the system he had so wisely planned, he died on the 26th of *May*, 1703.

Death of
Callieres;
1703.
who was suc-
ceeded by
Vaudreuil.

VAUDREUIL, who was then governor of *Montreal*, took upon him, of course, the government of *New France*, till the pleasure of his court should be known. He had great experience in the manners of the savages, had always discovered resolution and address in every thing he undertook; and, by his polite, generous, and affable behaviour, he had gained the esteem and affections of all the colony, who unanimously applied to the *French* court, that he might succeed *Callieres*. *Champigny*, the late intendant, having now returned to *France*, and given over all concern in *American* affairs, the marquis de *Vaudreuil* was without a competitor; and the *French* king, who had a personal knowledge of *Vaudreuil's* courage in *Europe*, shewed great satisfaction in appointing him to the government of *New France*, the news of which was received with raptures by the *Canadians*, whom he had endeared to himself by his government during the inter-reign. His first care was to make sure of the *Tsonnonthouans*. This canton had sent a deputation to him upon the death of *Callieres*; and, when the deputies returned, they were accompanied by *Joncaire*, who brought back one of their chiefs. This savage, after making many compliments upon the governor's taking his canton under his protection, appeared highly offended that the *Onnontague* had not sent the governor-general a deputation likewise to pay him their compliments, and this he attributed to the bad designs they had. According to *Charlevoix*, whose relation, on this occasion, is not only unauthenticated, but improbable, the deputy made a formal cession of the property of the *Tsonnonthouan* canton to *Vaudreuil*, but in so secret a manner, that none but themselves were to know any thing of the matter; and, for this purpose, he presented the governor with three belts: the first signifying the absolute cession of their country to him; the second, to express that his countrymen would rather lose their lives than suffer any harm to come to the jesuits; and the third, to obtain permission for *Joncaire* to go along with them and spend the winter. *Vaudreuil* granted those requests with better will than they were asked. We are, however, to observe that the savage, in making the cession of his country to the *French*, signified that he expected the latter would protect him in all the differences he might have with his neighbours. Upon the whole, therefore, it is reasonable to believe, that there either never was such a sham cession, or that it was made entirely for the conveniency of the savages, who had already sufficiently disclaimed all such transactions, if found inconsistent with the general good. But the jesuit had a view in entering such claims, which, absurd as they were, were afterwards often insisted upon by the ministers of his court merely from his authority in the *American* disputes between the *French* and the *English*. Soon after this deputy's return to his own country, *Teganissorens* arrived at *Montreal*. This savage, though strongly attached to the *French*, shewed the greatest affection for his country. He honestly told the governor, that "the *Europeans* were a wicked set of people; that when they made a peace, a very nothing made them take up the hatchet again. We, continued he, do not act in that manner. When we once have signed a treaty, we must have very important reasons for breaking it." He then declared that his canton would take no part in the war, either on one side or the other. *Vaudreuil* approved of this resolution, and *Teganissorens* promised that the missionaries should remain in his canton. For that reason, and lest any pretext should arise for breaking the neutrality, *Vaudreuil* delayed sending any expedition against *New York* for that time. Mean while, the *Boston* men had endeavoured to engage the *Abenakis* into a like neutrality; but without effect. *Vaudreuil* had engaged a party of them to make an irruption into *New England*, and had joined to them some *French* with a *French* officer, one *Beaubassin*, at their head. The *French* historians ridiculously say, that this party, in the incursion they made, killed three hundred *English*; but, that otherwise they did very little damage to the colony. *Beaubassin* might make such a report upon his return; and very possibly none contradicted it. But besides the silence of the *English* accounts, it is well known,

Falsities of
the French
historians.

Disgust of the
savages.

*Irruption of
the French in-
to New Eng-
land.*

known, that, had such a slaughter happened, the booty must have been very considerable to a people so needy as the *French Canadians* and savages were, and in a colony so rich and flourishing as that of *New England*. But, in reality, *Vaudreuil* had scarce any view in this expedition, but that of exasperating the *English* against the *Abenakis*, so as to render them irreconcilable enemies to each other. Towards the end of autumn, the *English* repaid the visit by invading the country of the *Abenakis*, where they put many of those savages to death. The latter upon this, applied to *Vaudreuil* for assistance; and he sent them, in the winter time, two hundred and fifty men commanded by one *de Rouville*, who, as *Charlevoix* pretends, killed a great number of the *Englishmen*, and took a hundred and fifty prisoners. We shall here, once for all observe, that any one who knows the spirit of the *English* colonists in *North America*, how apt they are to exaggerate the loss they suffered from the *French*, and to call out on their mother-country for protection and assistance, will easily see the improbability of those *French* accounts, as no such losses are to be met with on the face of the *English* history, or even in the common gazettes of the time, which are always very full of such incidents.

*The savages
break with
the French.*

IN the year 1704, amidst all those fancied triumphs over the *English*, *Vaudreuil* was alarmed by the dispositions which the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*, who went to visit *Detroit*, discovered against the *French*. They were headed by a chief who was nick-named *Forty-pence*, and who was a friend of the *English*. The *Outaouais*, part of whom likewise visited *Detroit*, and the *Miamis*, were equally exasperated, and wanted to renew the war against the *Iroquois*, who, they thought, were the only gainers by commerce with the *French*. The *Outaouais* even attacked a party of the *Iroquois* under the cannon of fort *Cataracouy*, and killed a considerable number of them. Upon this, *Schuyler*, governor of *New York*, an active *English* officer, but of *Dutch* extraction, had no great difficulty in persuading the *Iroquois* to break with the *French*, after so notorious a violation of all their promises of protection. He carried his views so far that he startled a great number of the Christian *Iroquois*, who had been in a manner naturalized with the *French*, and who insisted upon their chief's representing, what had happened to the governor-general, and demanding satisfaction. *Ramezay*, the governor of *Montreal*, did what he could to avert the blow; but all must have been in vain, had it not been for the *Abenakis*, who were then at *Montreal*, and represented the *English* as not being Christians; which deterred those pious savages from all communication with them. *Joncaire* had been again sent by *Vaudreuil* along with father *la Vaillant*, where they learned that *Schuyler* had succeeded in obtaining a general assembly of all the *Iroquois* at *Onnontague*; where the following capital points were to be insisted upon. First, that the cantons should banish all the missionaries. Secondly, that the *Abenakis* should be obliged to discontinue their hostilities. Thirdly, that the *Makingans*, who had for some time been settled in the country of the *Agniers*, should be obliged to return to their former habitations near *Orange*. And, fourthly, that a free passage should be given through their cantons for the upper savages to trade with the *English*. But this intelligence was not the only subject of vexation which the *French* governor had at this time. Some of the savages at *Detroit* had visited *New York*, where they were greatly caressed, while others set fire to *Detroit* fort, which was saved from being burnt down with some difficulty. The meeting of the assembly, that was summoned to *New Orange*, was put off on the news of the hostility committed by the *Outaouais* at fort *Cataracouy*; and the *Tsonnonthouans*, who had been the sole sufferers, sent *Vaillant* and *Joncaire* to *Vaudreuil* with complaints of what had happened. So doubtful, but so unexpected, a proceeding gave great pleasure to the governor-general, and he promised the *Tsonnonthouans* ample satisfaction. It now appeared that the building the fort at *Detroit* had given rise to the quarrel between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois*; and the governor-general came to a resolution to abandon it. He desired the *Tsonnonthouans* and the *Onnontaguese*, of whose fidelity he now was well assured, by all means, to repair to the meeting at *New Orange*, that they might oppose any resolution proposed to the prejudice of the *French* interest. They managed so well, that even the baron *de Longueil*, who had succeeded his brother *Maricourt*, now dead, as resident with the *Onnontaguese*, that *Joncaire*, and father *Vaillant*, were admitted to the assembly, notwithstanding all that *Schuyler* could do to prevent it; so that the meeting broke up without coming to any resolution. *Schuyler*, upon his return to *New Orange*, happening to meet some *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis*, engaged them by presents to follow him to *Cerlar*. There, after mentioning that they had been the authors of the war, he offered them lands if they would settle within the *English* government, and presented them with a belt for their own village, and two others for those of the mountain and the *Recollect-fall*, by which he exhorted them to remain in peace, and to open a correspondence with him. Those belts were delivered to the several villages; but *Ramezay*, coming to the knowledge of the transaction, dealt so effectually with their elders and their chiefs, that they were sent back without any answer, and three villages agreed to raise men to make war upon the *English*.

SOME

^a SOME time before this, the *English* having surprized and killed some of the *Abenakis*, the latter demanded assistance from *Vaudreuil*, who sent them the *sieur de Montigny*, and four or five *Canadiens*. *Montigny* soon put fifty of the *Abenakis* in arms, and, leading them against the *English*, he pillaged and burnt a fort, (more probably a farm-house) and carried off some prisoners. At this time, other *Abenakis* were so closely hemmed in by the *English*, that, receiving no supplies from the *French* settlements, they were in danger of perishing through famine. *Vaudreuil*, hearing of their situation, immediately resolved to execute a design, which he had formed soon after he came to his government. He proposed to the savages, that they should come and live in the colony, to which they consented, and they were settled on the river *Bekancourt*, where they served as a very useful barrier against the *Iroquois*, when the latter were persuaded to take arms for the *English*. Though this was not easy for the *English* to bring about, yet *Vaudreuil* plainly saw that the great drift of the *Iroquois*, the *Tsonnonthouans* in particular, in so strictly adhering to their neutrality, was, that they might be able to hold the balance between the *French* and the *English*, whom they made it a point of honour to include in the neutrality * (L). Nothing could be more easy than this, but it cross *Vaudreuil's* views, and he sent to his court for instructions how to behave. He was answered in terms perfectly conformable to his own insidious intentions; "that, if he thought he could make war with success, without engaging the king's master in any extraordinary expences, he was to reject the proposal of the *Iroquois*, otherwise he was to conclude the neutrality. But it was by no means for the honour of the crown of *France*, that he should make the first advances, and far less that the *Iroquois* should be the sole mediators." The minister, therefore, proposed that the missionaries should deal with the savages to persuade the *English* to desire a neutrality, in which case, *Vaudreuil* was to hear what they had to offer; but he was to conclude nothing without orders from court.

The Abenakis relieved and assisted.

Instructions to Vaudreuil from France.

THE tentative proposed by the minister proving of no effect, all that *Vaudreuil* could do was to endeavour to keep the *Iroquois* in good humour, and a very happy incident for that purpose presented itself. The chief of the *Outaouais* party, which had attacked the *Iroquois* under fort *Cataracougy*, in his return to his own country passed near fort *Detroit*, where he displayed the trophies of his victory, and summoned all the *Outaouais* settled there to join him. *Tonti*, who commanded there in the absence of *la Motte Cadillac*, to chastise this gross insult, ordered an officer with twenty men to attack the barbarians, who, though they were supported by their countrymen at *Detroit*, were put to flight, and obliged to leave behind them all their prisoners; who were immediately delivered back to the *Tsonnonthouans*. This seasonable check not only established the *French* interest amongst the savages, but entirely disconcerted the measures of the *English*, who were equally unfortunate in other parts of *Canada*.

IN the year 1704, *July* the 2d, some *English* ships appeared in the basin of *Port Royal*, where they had set some men on shore, who made several of the inhabitants prisoners. This armament, according to the *French* accounts, consisted of ten vessels; one carrying fifty pieces of cannon; one of thirty; a *Boston* galley of eight; and seven brigantines; but other *French* accounts make the *English* force upon this expedition to be almost double: nor indeed are the accounts of the *English* themselves consistent with each other; because all parties were ashamed of their management. There is reason, however, to believe, that the *French* have greatly exaggerated both the *English* force and their own valour on this occasion. This formidable fleet seems to have been no more than a few *Boston* vessels, with five hundred and fifty volunteers on board, commanded by major *Church*, who visited *Penobscot*, *Passamaquady*, and *les Minas*, and attempted *Port Royal*, but could not take it; though they carried off about an hundred prisoners. *Charlevoix* presents us with a detail of noble actions performed by the *French* governor, and the inhabitants of *Port Royal*, against the *English*, whose numbers are represented to have been sixteen hundred; and who, after being defeated in repeated attacks, re-embarked, with about fifty prisoners, on the 21st of *July*. Before the *English* sailed, they set on shore one of their prisoners to acquaint the inhabitants, that they had nothing to fear, provided they kept themselves neutral. Soon after this, *de Brou-*

A.D. 1704. attempted by the English.

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 436.

(L) We have here followed *Charlevoix*, who has inadvertently discovered the meaning of a *French* neutrality in *North America* to be no other, than that the *Indians* should abstain from attacking them, but, if required, should assist them in cutting the throats of the *English*. The savages, in the passage before us, appear very sensibly to have considered this

as no neutrality; and that they could not be neutral, unless they were so between the *English* and the *French*, which bound them up from attacking the former as well as the latter; nor indeed were they safe unless the *English* were comprehended in the neutrality.

Subercase governor.

Defeats the English expedition against Acadia.

Loss of the English.

illan died, and was succeeded in his government by M. de Subercase, who had been governor of Newfoundland, where he had done infinite damage to the English. M. de Vaudreuil was still governor-general of New France, and, it is said he had privately entered into a correspondence with captain Rowse, an Englishman, of Charles-Town, for furnishing the French of Acadia with provisions, which Rowse did, under colour of carrying flags of truce into their harbours, for exchanging prisoners. Subercase, on his part, lost no advantage, which the support of Vaudreuil, and the friendship of the Abenakis, (who spread their ravages all over New England) afforded (M). At last, Dudley, the governor of New England, resolved upon an expedition for driving the French entirely out of Canada. His preparations for this purpose were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Two regiments of militia; those of Wainwright and Hilton were embarked on board transports under the command of colonel March; and covered by the Deptford man of war, and the Province galley. The entrance of what is called the basin of Port Royal is very narrow, and Subercase had placed there, in a watch-tower, fifteen men, with orders to alarm Port Royal, on the first appearance of ships approaching the basin. On the 16th of June, perceiving the English squadron, they retreated to the fort of Port Royal, but had scarce entered it, when the English squadron was seen at anchor within a league of the place. Next day, according to Charlevoix¹, the English landed 1500 men on the side of the fort, and 500 on that of the river, which struck such a terror into the garrison, that it was with difficulty they could be kept to their arms; especially as the fort had several breaches in its walls. The English, who had landed, had very thick woods to pass through, before they could attack the place, and Subercase having called in to his assistance all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, a resolution was taken to harass and cut off the English, on their march, in detached parties. This ill-advised march, however, of the English, though not taken notice of by the French historian, was occasioned by the obstinacy and want of discipline of the officers of the Deptford man of war, who refused to come nearer the fort; and, to say the truth, the marine of England was then under a miserable direction. It was no wonder, if this disagreement between the sea and land forces rendered this expedition, as it has since done many others, ineffectual. The English, in marching through the woods, were dreadfully harassed, and lost many men, without being revenged on the inhabitants, who were provided with canoes, that, whenever they were pressed, carried them back to the fort. At last, the five hundred English, who had landed, with great difficulty, arrived on the banks of a river, which they had still to pass; while the governor, and a Canadian officer, one de la Ronde, kept the main body of the English in play, but, at last, were obliged to retreat into the fort, which was now in excellent order, all its breaches having been repaired.

THE English had suffered so much in their march, and had so ill an opinion of their seamen, who ought to have covered the siege, that they lost all spirit, and for two days remained entirely unactive. So that it was the night between the 10th and 11th of June, when they broke ground before the place. Next day, the governor ordered fourscore of the garrison, who were best acquainted with the country, to march out, and to intercept a convoy of six hundred English, who were bringing in live cattle. This detachment, which consisted of Indians as well as French, placed themselves in ambuscade so conveniently, that they interrupted the march of the English, and forced them back, with some loss, to their camp. We are not, however, to imagine that the English detachment was so numerous, as they are represented to be by the French. Every thing contributed to disappoint the English in this expedition. Some pretended French deserters, who had gone over to them, had given them great hopes of a mutiny in the garrison; but had concealed from them, that the breaches had been repaired. The English, therefore, imagining that the place was in a very bad state of defence, attempted to storm it in the night of the 16th, but were received by so brisk a fire of the French great and small arms, that they were obliged to retire from the assault. Notwithstanding this disappointment, they completely invested the place, and must have taken it, had they not been seized with a panic on seeing the French governor still hold it out, which they thought he would not venture to do, if he had not some dreadful mine to spring when they approached the walls. This apprehension grew so strong, that, having in vain attempted to destroy some French shipping, which was at anchor under the cannon of the fort, they returned to their camp by day-break, and next day re embarked on board their ships. The loss of the English in this ill-concerted expedition was about an hundred men, and it is certain that Port Royal owed its deliverance to sixty Canadians, under the baron

¹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. p. 17.

(M) The neglect of the English writers in mentioning few or none of these expeditions, here mentioned (the author of *The British Empire in America*, particularly) is unaccountable.

a *de St. Castin*, who had thrown themselves into the fort, the day before the enemy appeared in the basin.

THE *English* fleet, on its return to *Boston*, touched at some of their settlements, where they understood the people of *Boston* had been so confident of success, that they had made public rejoicings upon the reduction of *Port Royal*. This determined colonel *March* to remain at *Casco Bay*, till he should clear up his conduct to the governor and assembly of *New England*. He accordingly wrote them an account of the expedition, in which he vindicated his own conduct, laying the whole blame upon the disobedience of the forces under him, in which they were encouraged by their officers, who never could be brought to make a general assault. Notwithstanding this apology, it was thought that if *March* had landed at *Boston*, the populace would have torn him to pieces. The governor and assembly were more just; and, upon enquiry, acquitted the colonel from all charge of misbehaviour, but sent him orders not to suffer the troops to land, and to remain where he was, till he should hear from the assembly. There the governor *Dudley* represented the danger, as well as disgrace, of letting the expedition drop, and offered to go in person, and take the command upon himself; adding, that he rather would die, than that *Acadia* should not be reduced to the subjection of the crown of *England*. The assembly did not think proper to accept of the governor's proposition of heading the expedition in person; but, having confirmed colonel *March* in his command, and cleared him from all imputation of misconduct, they reinforced him with three large ships, and five or six hundred men, with orders not to return before he had made a fresh attempt upon *Port Royal*. At the same time, to give the greater spirit to the expedition, the governor's son, and several of the principal members of the assembly, undertook to assist personally in it. On the 20th of *August*, the *English* squadron appeared once more before *Port Royal*; a sight which struck the garrison with such consternation, that *Subercase* the governor was almost single in his opinion to defend the place. His resolution, at last, was approved of; and, though many of the inhabitants were twenty miles distant from the town, the assurance of conquest which the *English* entertained from their armament gave *Subercase* time for making proper dispositions for a defence. All that the *English* had suffered in their late attempt had not taught them experience. *Subercase*, as before, placed ambuscades of *Indians* in their way, which cut off some of them, while others were taken prisoners; and from the latter he understood, that the *English* were to bring up their artillery under cloud of night before the fort. This intelligence enabled *Subercase* to disconcert his enemies, who undoubtedly acted in a very unsoldierlike manner, and, instead of making one great effort against the town, threw away six or seven days upon little attacks and skirmishes, in which they generally had the worst. On the 30th of the same month, the *English* all reembarked; but next day landed again to attack the place on a different quarter. Their advanced guard, however, as before, fell into an ambuscade of an hundred and fifty *French* and *Indians*, commanded by *St. Castin*, who did so much execution, that *Subercase* was in hopes of forcing the *English* intrenchments. In this he was disappointed; but he succeeded so far as to oblige his enemies with no little precipitation to reembark on board their fleet.

Defeat of the English, and the siege of Port Royal raised.

Upon the whole nothing can be imagined worse conducted than this expedition was, nor indeed is it to be much wondered at, that it is scarcely mentioned in the *English* histories of *America*. The *French*, however, perhaps, are not a little partial to themselves when they magnify, as they do, the valour and good conduct of their governor and countrymen, who they say had only three men killed and fifteen wounded, but killed great numbers of the *English*. The distresses of *France* in her wars in *Europe*, prevented her from making any great advantage from the defeat of the *English* expedition. The colony and garrison who had behaved so nobly, remained neglected by their mother-country so much, that they had not even the necessaries of life; and the complaints which *Subercase* wrote to his court on this head shew to what a poor pass *France* was then reduced; but those were not the only checks the *English* received at this time.

Their mismanagement.

ONE *le Grange*, a *Frenchman*, an excellent sailor, and had served under *Iberville* in *Hudson's Bay*, fitted out two barks at *Quebec*, and manned them with one hundred *Canadians*, with an intention to surprize some *English* ships, which he knew had lately arrived at *Bonavista* in *Newfoundland*. When he came within twelve leagues of that port, to prevent discovery, he left his barks, and shifted himself and his men on board two large floats or lighters, in which he entered the harbour in the night-time, and, according to *Charlevoix*, boarded and made himself master of a frigate, of twenty-four pieces of cannon, laden with fish ^w (N). He then burnt two vessels, each of between two and three hundred tons, ran

Le Grange's expedition to Newfoundland.

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 438.

(N) This is a very surprizing lading for a ship of such force, and furnishes us with fresh evidence of the jesuit's art of amplifying every circumstance in favour

of his countrymen, though, upon the main, there is no reason to doubt that this attempt was made and succeeded.

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a small

a
 à small frigate ashore, and carried off his prize with a great number of prisoners. There was, at that time, six hundred *English* in fort *Bonavista*, who appeared next day, but too late. *Le Grange* had, in the mean while, rejoined his barks, and was under sail for *Quebec*, where he sold his cargo, and freighted his prize for *Old France*. In his voyage thither, he was attacked and taken by the *English*; but after so brave a resistance, that he afterwards was raised to a considerable rank in the *French* marine.

Subercase's
 expedition to
 the same
 island.

A. D. 1705.

THE success of *le Grange* encouraged *Subercase* to resume *Iberville's* and *Brouillan's* scheme for driving the *English* entirely out of *Newfound'and*, and which was approved by his court. *L'Epinay*, commander of the *Wasp*, a *French* ship of war then at *Quebec*, had orders to take on board one hundred *Canadians*, and to carry them to *Placentia*, under the command of M. *de Beaucourt*, who had twelve officers under him; amongst whom was *Montigny*. On the 15th of *January*, 1705, *Subercase* set out from *Placentia*, at the head of four hundred and fifty men, all of them resolute and well armed, and each of them carrying provisions for twenty days. In their march they met with four rivers, which they were obliged to wade through; the ice not being strong enough to bear them, and encountered other terrible difficulties; but at last they fell into the heart of the *English* settlements at *Rebou*, where all the inhabitants submitted without resistance. Here they found plenty of provisions, and, after sufficiently resting and refreshing themselves, they marched to *Little Harbour*, an *English* post within three leagues of *St. John's*. Here they left the prisoners they had made at *Rebou*, under a guard of forty men, on the 31st of the same month, in hopes of being able to surprize the garrison of *St. John's*; but they had used so little precaution in their march, that the *English* there were alarmed and ready to receive them. Being arrived before *St. John's*, they attacked the largest of the two forts they found there; but, meeting with a brave resistance, and their powder, part of which had been wetted in their march, failing them, they were obliged to give over their attempt, and to be content with destroying all the *English* habitations in the neighbourhood of *Little Harbour*. It was the fifth of *March* before they began to move by the coast-side towards *Forillon*, another *English* settlement, which they destroyed, and made all the inhabitants prisoners. This struck such a terror into the defenceless *English*, that they suffered *Montigny*, who commanded the savages in this expedition, to ravage all their coasts as far as *Bonavista*; so that the *English* trade of *Newfoundland* was for that year almost ruined.

Bishop of
 Quebec taken
 by the Eng-
 lish, and the
 Canadians
 lose a million
 of livres.

THE *English*, however, received some indemnification for those loss-s, by their taking the *Seine*, a large *French* ship, which was commanded by the chevalier *de Maupeou*, bound to *Quebec*, and having on board the bishop of that city, a great number of ecclesiastics and laymen of large fortunes; so that the whole of the cargo amounted to about a million of livres. This prize which was made by the convoy of the *Virginia* fleet, gave a dreadful blow to the affairs of the *Canadians*, but in the end contributed to their advantage; for the loss they had sustained obliged them to apply themselves to the linnen manufacture, and to raise hemp and flax, which answered wonderfully well on their soil. As to the bishop, he remained eight years a prisoner in *England*; her *Britannic* majesty insisting upon the provost of *Liege* whom the *French* had made a prisoner, being exchanged for him. All this while *Vaudreuil*, and *Dudley* the governor of *New England*, were treating about the exchange of prisoners. *Dudley*, for that purpose, sent a gentleman, one *Levingston*, to *Quebec*, and *Vaudreuil* sent *Courtemanche* to *Boston* with his terms, the chief of which was, that no *English* prisoner should be released until all the *French* prisoners, and those of their *Indians*, were set at liberty in *New England*, and till security was given for the release of those who had been sent to *Europe*, and the *American* islands. A negotiation ensued upon this, and young *Dudley*, the governor's son, was dispatched in a vessel to *Quebec*, to finish the cartel; but according to *Charlevoix*, in reality, to take the soundings of the river about *Quebec*, and to observe the state of the fortifications; for which that jesuit highly blames *Vaudreuil's* inattention.

Difficulties of
 Vaudreuil,

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Tsonnonthouans* had recovered their prisoners from the *Outaouais*, yet they insisted upon further reparation for their dead, to which they were, it seems, strongly instigated by *Schuyler*, the governor of *New Orange*. This was a very perplexing situation for *Vaudreuil*, as the young *Outaouais* were clamorous for war, and the nation in general refused to treat any more with the *Iroquois*. He therefore dispatched *Louigny* to *Michillimakinac*, who, with great difficulty, persuaded the *Outaouais* there to put into his hands some *Iroquois* prisoners, whom he conducted to *Montreal*, and was in expectation of being followed by deputies from the *Outaouais*. This induced the governor to propose an interview between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois* at *Montreal*; to which the latter consented; and waited till the beginning of *August*. No *Outaouais* then appearing, the *Iroquois* were then returning to their own country, when the *Outaouais* arrived at *Montreal*. They behaved before the governor in the most submissive humiliating manner; and their orator, in the name of the rest, applied for pardon both to him and the *Iroquois*, who were so much touched with their expressions, that a reconciliation was soon brought about by the governor.

a nor-general ordering the *Outaouais* to cover the dead, and feasting both parties. Upon this, all the savages left *Montreal* in perfect good humour with one another.

Two dreadful evils, at this time, afflicted the province of *New France*, litigiousness and nakedness. The two *Raudots*, father and son, had succeeded *Beaubernois* as intendant of *Canada*. The son applied himself to the marine, as his father did to the civil department. The latter found the inhabitants were daily running themselves in law suits, inso-much, that their lands lay uncultivated; upon which he very laudably abridged the forms, and retrenched the expences of the courts, and even applied himself to compromise differences amongst the inhabitants, without putting them to law charges. As to the other evil, that of nakedness, he endeavoured to remedy that likewise, by applying to the *French* court for leave that the inhabitants should manufacture the hemp and flax they raised, into linnen and stuffs; those imported from *France* being so excessively dear, that they were unable to purchase them. The minister, in his answer to this application, refused to grant such a permission, because it tended to injure the manufactures of the mother country. He, however, greatly extolled the inhabitants for the attention they, at last, had paid to the cultivation of their lands; recommended to them ship building, and the improvement of their fisheries, and concluded by giving the poor leave to manufacture their own hemp and flax. This permission was, in fact, the greatest benefit that the *French Canadians* had ever yet received from their mother country; and, in a short time, they set themselves to manufacture their own linnens and stuffs, from which the colony reaped vast advantages.

and distresses
of the Cana-
dians.

c THE *Outaouais*, notwithstanding all their professions of repentance, had never yet performed their promises to the *Iroquois*, and even the missionaries found them so so untractable, that, after burning their own habitations, they came down to *Quebec*. The *Iroquois*, on the other hand, prepared to do themselves justice by force of arms; but *Vaudreuil*, by employing *Foncaire* amongst the latter, and *Montigny* amongst the former, soon reconciled all differences. Scarcely was this affair made up when another quarrel, of a still more interesting nature, broke out amongst the savages. The *Miamis* had killed some *Outaouais*, who, on applying for satisfaction, received a very slighting answer from the elders of the former, and they even killed another *Outaouais*, one of the chief of the nation, for whose death they likewise refused to give any attonement. The *Outaouais*, upon this, applied to *de la Motte*

Attempt of the
Outaouais a-
gainst the
Miamis.

d *Cadillac*, the *French* commandant at *Detroit*, where were three townships of *Miamis*, *Outaouais*, and *Hurons*. Soon after, *Cadillac*, having occasion to go to *Quebec*, told the *Outaouais*, at parting with them, that, as long as his wife continued at *Detroit*, they had nothing to fear, but, if she should leave them, they must take care of themselves. About two months after his departure she left *Detroit*, which struck the *Outaouais* with the notion that their ruin was resolved on, in revenge of the hostilities they had committed against the *Iroquois*; for as those barbarians themselves never sincerely forgive, they imagine all other men, in that respect, like themselves. In the mean while, an officer, one *Bourgmont*, arrived at *Detroit*, to relieve *Tonti*, *Cadillac*'s lieutenant there, and upon the *Outaouais* coming as usual to pay him their compliments, he told them for news, in a rough manner, that *Cadillac* would return in the spring, well attended. This redoubled the suspicion of the sa-

The Outaou-
ais massacre
the Miamis.

e vages, and it was confirmed by some words of discontent at his being recalled, that fell from *Tonti*. In short, they took no pains to conceal their apprehensions. *Bourgmont*, understanding how matters went, assembled them, and proposed that they should march with the *Miamis*, the *Iroquois*, and the *Hurons*, upon an expedition against the *Sieux*. They appeared to consent; but they were, in their own mind, convinced, that the proposal was made with an intention to cut them off in their march, and that the *Iroquois* were parties in the design. Every trifling accident now confirmed them in their belief; and though the wisest amongst them were for applying to the *French* for an explanation, yet the general voice was for putting all the *Miamis* to death by way of prevention, but in the mean time to seem as if they were ready to set out on their march against the *Sieux*; and they actually began it. Having reached a wood, their chiefs, who were in the secret, acquainted the common men with what they intended, and all of them marched back, with a full resolution to massacre all the *Miamis* who fell in their way, but without doing any violence to the *French* or the *Hurons*. Five of the *Miamis*, whom they met on their return, were immediately put to death, others took refuge in the fort, which fired upon the *Outaouais*, who, in their fury, inadvertently killed a recruit, and another *Frenchman*. Upon this, *Bourgmont* ordered the gates of the fort to be shut, and thirty of the *Outaouais* were shot dead by the fire of the fort, or by that made upon them by the *Miamis* and the *Hurons*. While this disorder was at the highest, the *Outaouais* unexpectedly retired to their township, as did the other savages to theirs.

f VAUDREUIL, who was then at *Quebec*, hearing of this disturbance, was at a loss how to behave. His perplexity was encreased by a deputation he received from the *Iroquois*, who required him to abandon the protection of so faithless a nation as the *Outaouais* were, and declared that they were ready to make war upon them. By this time, *Cadillac* had returned

Conduct of
Vaudreuil on
that occasion.

to

to *Detroit* with all his family and a large convoy of men and provisions; so that *Vaudreuil* could not consult with him. All he could do was to talk to the *Iroquois* in so resolute a tone, that he diverted them from their design to the great disappointment of the *English*. At the same time, he resolved not to suffer the *Outaouais* to be ruined or driven to despair, because of their importance to the fur-trade. Soon after, one of the chiefs of that nation came to *Quebec*, and acquainted him that all the *Outaouais* had removed from *Detroit* to *Michillimakinac*, where they were well received by their brethren there, and that they were resolved to stand or fall by one another. Notwithstanding this important advice, *Vaudreuil*, as a mark of his resentment, ordered all the *French* at *Michillimakinac* to withdraw into the colony, in hopes that such an order might divide the savages; and he commanded *Cadillac* to act upon the defensive only, till it could be known what turn affairs would take. Those orders came too late to have effect. While he was upon his march he had heard what had happened at the fort, and he summoned the *Tsennonthouans* and the other *Iroquois* chiefs, as if he intended to have exterminated the *Outaouais*; but the latter growing bold by despair, he dismissed the *Iroquois*, and remained quiet. In the month of *June* 1707, a deputation, headed by *John the White*, who had been very active in the affair of *Detroit*, waited upon *Vaudreuil*, and made a most artful apology for all that had passed. *Vaudreuil's* answer was, that the deputies must repair to *Detroit*, and there make reparation for their fault; that he would signify his pleasure to *Cadillac*, and that they must obey whatever he should injoin them to do. He then dismissed the deputies, but without accepting the belt they offered him, and sent *St. Pierre*, one of his officers, along with them to *Detroit*.

1707.

Impudence of
la Motte Ca-
dillac.

WHEN they arrived there, *Cadillac* told them that they had no mercy to expect unless they put into his hand *Pesant*. This was the name of a savage *Outaouais*, whom *John the White* accused of being, as he really was, the main author of the *Miamis* massacre; for which reason, his countrymen would not suffer him to go along with the deputation. Perceiving in what situation they were, they offered to return to *Michillimakinac*, and either send the criminal to *Detroit*, or take off his head there. They accordingly set out attended by *St. Pierre*, and, in a few days, the *Outaouais* brought *Pesant* to *Detroit*. He was at first put into irons, but the chiefs of his nation interceding for him upon their knees, he was most injudiciously pardoned by *Cadillac*, instead of being given up to the justice of his own nation. This step was the more impolitic, because it gave a handle for the *Miamis* to reproach *Cadillac* for breach of promise, and disappointed them of their revenge; from which they were not to be so easily diverted. Their principal settlement was on the river *St. Joseph*, above one hundred leagues from *Detroit*, from whence *Cadillac* had recalled the missionary *Aveneau*, who had great interest with them; not chusing that a jesuit should have so much influence with so distant a nation. After this recall, all the *Miamis* united in demanding justice upon *Pesant*, and finding that *Cadillac* trifled with them, they killed three *Frenchmen*, and committed some other disorders in the neighbourhood of *Detroit*. *Cadillac* was preparing to chastise them when he discovered, that the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* had joined them in a conspiracy to massacre all the *French* in *Detroit*; and this obliged him to clap up a dishonourable peace with the savages. The *Miamis* observed the terms of this treaty so ill, that the *French* commandant took the field against them at the head of four hundred men, and obliged them to throw themselves at his feet. They were pardoned, but it was judged proper to send back the missionary, who alone was able to moderate their passions, and to keep their sallies within bounds.

Success of Jon-
caire with the
Iroquois.

JONCAIRE, all this while, behaved with so much address, and activity amongst the *Iroquois* cantons, whose language he spoke as if he had been a native, that he disconcerted all the intrigues of the *English*. *Schuyler*, at the same time, was playing the same game amongst the Christian *Iroquois*, who had been colonized in *Canada*. They had for some years sensibly relaxed in their piety, which was attributed to the strong liquors furnished them by the *English*, in defiance of all the orders of their king and governor to the contrary. The plan of an expedition was now formed against *New England* in a great council at *Montreal*, at which the chiefs of the Christian savages assisted. It was to consist of them, the *Abenakis*, one hundred choice *Canadians*, and a considerable body of volunteers, many of whom were officers, the whole amounting to four hundred men; the *French* to be commanded by Mess. *de St. Ours des Chaillons*, and *Hertel de Rouville*, and the savages by M. le *Sieur Boucher de la Perriere*. The two former were to march by the river *St. Francis*, together with the *Algonquins*, the *Abenakis* of *Bekancourt* and the *Hurons* of *Lorette*. The latter were to take the route of lake *Champlain*, and the general place of rendezvous was to be lake *Nikispique*, where they were joined by the neighbouring savages of *Acadia*. They set out on the 26th of *July*, but when *Chaillons* and *Rouville* came to the river *St. Francis* they were informed that the *Hurons* had returned, from a superstitious panic they had conceived upon one of their number being killed. The *Iroquois*, who were marching with
Per-

a *Perriere* by lake *Champlain*, followed their example, under pretence of some of their number being sick, and that the rest of the army were in danger of being infected.

VAUDREUIL, who had advice of those desertions, ordered the commanders, by all means, to proceed, even though they should be abandoned by all the remaining savages, and rather than return without doing any thing, to attack some lone place. When *Chaillons* communicated the governor's letter to the savages they swore they would follow him to death, and after a most fatiguing march of fifty leagues they arrived at lake *Nikisipique*; but there they were disappointed in meeting with any savages. Hearing of an *English* village in the neighbourhood, called *Haverhill*, consisting of twenty-five or thirty well built houses, under the protection of a fort garrisoned by thirty soldiers, who had been sent thither a few days before by the governor of *New England*, on his being informed of the French irruption, the *French* and their savages attacked this fort, took it, and set it on fire with all the houses, and in them a number of *English*, besides about one hundred who were put to the sword. There is, however, great reason, as we have often hinted before, for distrusting the *French* accounts of their expeditions, when they are supported by no other evidence than the report of the officers who carried them on. They tell us that after performing this brave exploit, they perceived by the drums and trumpets * (O) of the neighbouring forts and villages, that they were in danger of being surrounded, that they prepared to retreat, carrying along with them a considerable number of prisoners, and a sufficiency of provisions to subsist them in their return; but that, as for plunder, they never thought of it, till it was consumed in flames. After marching a little way, they were attacked by seventy *English*, who lay in ambush at the entrance of a wood, and soon found themselves surrounded by numbers of horse and foot. Notwithstanding this, they pushed forward, and, after killing or taking prisoners all the seventy *English*, excepting ten or twelve, who ran away, they returned to *Montreal* with the loss of no more than five *French* and three savages killed, and eighteen wounded. We are to observe, however, that of all the boasted number of prisoners that were made, they brought but very few to *Montreal*, the rest having made their escape. Upon the whole, there seems to have been no other truth in the account of this pompous expedition, than that a body of *French* and savage rangers attacked a little out-settlement of the *English* under the guard of a block-house, garrisoned by twenty-five or thirty men; and that they most inhumanly burnt the place, and butchered or carried into captivity the inhabitants. Neither the *French* nor their savages are so regardless of plunder, as to set it on fire when they can secure it to themselves.

Expedition against the English, and Haverhill taken by the French.

THE true secret why the *Iroquois* had abandoned *la Perriere* in this expedition now appeared to be the intrigues which *Schuyler* had carried on with the Christian *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis* and the highlands. But *Schuyler* seems to have depended too much upon the assurances they had given him, that neither they nor any of their nation should serve any more against the *English*. All this intelligence came from an *English* prisoner, who had been taken at *Haverhill*; and *Vaudreuil*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the nature of those savages, knew so well how to pique their pride by an affected neglect and contempt for all they could do, that instead of observing their promises to *Schuyler* they took arms, and joining the *Abenakis*, they filled all *New England* and *New York* with their ravages. *Vaudreuil* complained of *Schuyler's* tampering with the colonized savages of *New France*, and of his instigating the other savages to take arms, while he himself was willing to grant *New York* a neutrality, which was as advantageous to that colony as to *New France*. *Schuyler* honestly avowed that the reason of his corresponding with the savages for a neutrality, was from the Christian motive of preventing their committing those excesses in war which were shocking to humanity itself, and which his own mind could not bear to reflect on without pain and horror. The reply of the *French* to this candid declaration consisted not in denying the facts, but in recriminating upon the *English* for the encouragement and protection they had formerly given to the *Iroquois* against the *French*. We may here remark one particular arising from this altercation, which is, that *Schuyler*, and perhaps, all the *English* in *North America*, were of opinion, from experience, that the heathen savages were far from being so barbarous as the popish. But in the main, however the *French* may recriminate on this head, it is certain that they themselves were the fundamental aggressors, and that they were, at this very time, establishing their colony of *Louisiana* upon lands that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*. It ought, therefore, to be no surprize if the government of *Old England* did endeavour to form a

Intrigues of Schuyler against the French.

His honest declaration.

General view of the French and English government in North America.

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. p. 36.

(O) A slight view of the map must convince any one of the improbability of this relation. *Haverhill*, or as *Charlevoix* calls it, *Hevreuil* lies considerably to the north of lake *Nikisipique* according to his own map, and consequently on the borders of *French Canada*, without any *English* settlement near it.

party amongst the *French American* allies. With regard to the *Iroquois*, of whom the *French* complained so much of their being instigated to their barbarities by the *English*, nothing could be more groundless than that charge. The *English*, it is true, had bargained and honestly paid for great part of their lands, and therefore had a right to claim a property in them, as well as to account those savages, who remained upon them, and had put themselves under the protection of their government, subjects to the crown of *Great Britain*. But they enforced even this claim so gently, that their *Indians* scarcely felt subjection, and they had treated the *Iroquois* as a free and independent people, even when they were paying them for serving in the field. The *French*, on the other hand, on the strength of the fictions of their missionaries, the impudent assertions of their ministers, with a thousand other delusions and fallacies, claimed a direct dominion over all the *Indians* in *North America*, even over those, who, by length of time, had become naturalized subjects of *Great Britain*; because they were of nations who had formerly submitted to the *French* government. Having established this system of power, their next step was to endeavour to persuade not only the savages but the *Europeans* into a notion that all the settlements of the *English* in *North America* were so many usurpations and encroachments upon their property. To support those unwarrantable claims, they invented boundaries. They changed the names of places, and even delineated charts with such fictitious longitudes, latitudes, and situations, as best suited their views.

St. John in Newfoundland taken and demolished by the French.

THE importance of the *Newfoundland* fisheries becoming every day more evident, a *French* officer, one *St. Ovide*, a lieutenant of *Placentia*, and nephew to *Brouillan*, formed a project, which he communicated to another *Frenchman*, one *Costebelle*, then governor of *Placentia*, for destroying all the remaining *English* settlements in the bay of *St. John*; and, that too, at his own expence. The project was approved of, and *St. Ovide* soon mustered about one hundred and twenty-five men, exclusive of twenty-four of the garrison of *Placentia*, lent him by *Costebelle*. On the 14th of *December* they began their march, on the 20th they came to the lower end of *St. Mary's* bay, and, by the assistance of some shipping, sent them by *Costebelle*, they arrived on the last day of the year, within five leagues of *St. John's* without being discovered. As the commandant (who it seems had some secret ill wishes among the adventurers) could hope to succeed only by surprize, he advanced within three hundred feet of the first pallisade he was to attack, and though some shot were fired at him, pushing forward, he entered by the gate which had been left open, and calling out *Vive le Roy*, the *English* were so dispirited, that he and his friends had time to fix their scaling-ladders to the main body of the place, which they mounted, and became masters of, after a very faint resistance on the part of the *English*, who begged for quarter; so that in less than half an hour the *English* governor of fort *William* being wounded they took possession of both forts. This was the more extraordinary as one of them mounted eighteen pieces of cannon and four mortars, besides other artillery, and had a garrison of one hundred men under a good officer. In the other fort were six hundred inhabitants; but according to the *French* accounts, they could not force open the door of a subterraneous passage, which communicated with the first fort time enough to come to the assistance of the garrison there. A third fort, which was likewise well provided with artillery, and a garrison lying on the other side of the harbour, surrendered upon being summoned. *St. Ovide* dispatched an account to *Costebelle* of this success; but in the mean time without his order he sent off one *Despensens* in a small vessel he found in the harbour with a like account to *Europe*. His triumph was of no long continuance; for he received orders from the governor of *Placentia* to dismantle the forts, and to return to *Placentia* by the end of *March* at farthest. *Costebelle*, at the same time, sent a frigate to bring the *English* governor and the garrisons of the forts, with all the ammunition, of which there was a great quantity, to *Placentia*; which, had not *St. John's* not been surprized by *St. Ovide*, was to have been attacked by three hundred *English*, who had their magazines there. *St. Ovide* was obliged to obey those mortifying orders, and it is said that the *French* court afterwards repented their having approved of the advice of *Costebelle* for demolishing *St. John's*.

The conquest of Quebec resumed by the English.

WE have, in the history of *New England*, mentioned a scheme that was formed by the whig ministry for the conquest of *Quebec*, and the reason why it was then laid aside. It is to the reproach of the *English Americans* that they have taken so little care of ascertaining their transactions at this period, that we must, in a great measure, depend upon the *French* for our information. We shall proceed as cautiously as possible where any thing occurs that clashes with the *English* accounts. Before the news of *St. Ovide's* success in *Newfoundland* reached *Quebec*, *Vandreuil* had been alarmed with advices from all hands of the vast preparations that were making in the *English* settlements against *Canada*. Father *Moreville* the *French* missionary at *Onnontagué*, had endeavoured for several months past to put *Vandreuil* upon his guard; but his intelligence was disregarded on account of the great opinion the governor general had of an *Iroquois*, who was the secret agent of the *English* in his canton.

a canton. Notwithstanding this, all the *Iroquois* cantons, except the *Tsonnontbouans*, entered into a treaty at *Onnontagué*, and set up the war-song against the *French*; so that it was with vast difficulty that father *Moreville* escaped to *New Orange*, where, though he was a prisoner, he was treated by *Schuyler* with the utmost indulgence and humanity. In the month of June 1710, *Vaudreuil* having now certain intelligence of the designs of the *English*, put every thing into a posture of defence at *Quebec*, and repaired to *Montreal*, from whence he sent *de Rouville* with a party of two hundred and fifty men, to reconnoitre towards lake *Champlain*, where the *English* were expected; but *Rouville* hearing nothing of them, returned, without doing any thing, to *Montreal*. On the 10th of May colonel *Vetch*, whom we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, and who was joined with governor *Nicholson* in soliciting the expedition against *Canada*, arrived from *England* at *Boston*; from whence he proceeded to *New York* to expedite the levies that were destined against *Montreal*. We shall not here examine the detail given us by *Charlevoix* concerning the views of the whig ministry in fitting out at this time an armament against *Canada*; because they are of very little importance, and all he speaks of them is uncertain. There is no doubt that they would have been extremely glad to have carried it into execution; and there is as little, that when they saw it fall into the hands of their enemies they took but small concern in its success. Two thousand *English*, and an equal number of savages, were to attack the government of *Montreal*, and their rendezvous was fixed to the river of *Chicot*, two leagues from lake *Champlain*; from whence they were to fall down, in canoes and boats, to *Chambly*. *Vaudreuil*, upon this intelligence, resolved in a grand council of war to march a considerable body of troops towards *New York*, there to dissipate the gathering storm. *Ramezay* offered his service to command in this expedition; but, several differences subsisting between him and *Vaudreuil*, it was not accepted of till some time after. He then, understanding that the *English* were actually upon their march, gave *Ramezay* the command of 1500 men; of whom one hundred were regulars, and the rest militia and savages. The governor then went down to *Quebec*, where he laid an embargo upon all the shipping in that harbour. It was the 28th of July before *Ramezay* began his march with his army, which was commanded by the best and most experienced officers in *Canada*; but each envied the other, and there was neither subordination nor authority amongst the commanders. It is true they marched d forty leagues in three days; but when they were upon the point of entering upon action, a thousand false reports were spread, and difficulties occurred, which determined the savages not to advance farther. *Ramezay*, who thought himself secure of his blow, would have proceeded, notwithstanding the report that 5000 *English* were well entrenched only a few miles distant; but the backwardness of the savages, and the dread of not being obeyed by his own officers, determined him to a retreat. While he was upon his march in the middle of September, he received advice by an *Iroquois* from the *English* camp, that 2500 men had been detached to build a fort at the extremity of lake *St. Sacrament*, and that six hundred *English* and their allies had been sent to take post upon lake *Champlain* at a place from which they were no more than two days journey from *Chambly*. To this place *Vaudreuil* immediately repaired with a considerable body of regulars and militia: but after remaining e there for some time, he heard nothing of the enemy, and this brings us to the history of the *English* in this their unfortunate expedition.

1710.

Miscarriage of Ramezay against the English;

f THE four *Iroquois* cantons, who had pretended to declare for the *English*, were so far from being sincere in their professions, that they intended nothing more than to follow their old policy, and to render themselves so necessary to both parties, that they could always cast the balance between them. This maxim was so forcibly explained by the orator of the *Onnontague*, or one of their elders, that a resolution was taken to remain inactive till they could see what turn affairs would take, and then to follow that course that could most effectually contribute to their interest and independency. In consequence of this plan they indeed joined the *English* army; but finding that it was strong enough to take *Montreal*, thought of nothing but how they could most effectually destroy it. According to *Charlevoix*, (who had his information from father *Moreville*,) the *Iroquois*, to compass this end, threw the skins of all the creatures they killed in hunting into the river, on which the *English* lay, a little above the place of their own encampment; and this infected the water so much that above 1000 *English* died of drinking it. But without having recourse to so extraordinary a fact, we may without any breach of probability suppose, that the *Iroquois* began to cool in their zeal for the *English* so visibly, that the latter were disheartened from proceeding; that diseases making havock in their camp, that the numbers of the *French* coming to attack them being exaggerated, and that misunderstandings prevailing amongst themselves, g determined them to retreat to *New York*, which they did. But the most probable reason of all seems to have been the failure of their appointment with their fleet and the people of *Boston*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *Canada* was then delivered from a most dreadful blow. When the *English* returned to *New York*, they understood that their fleet, which

and of the English against Montreal.

which was destined for the siege of *Quebec*, was not yet arrived at *Boston*, and was employed in *Portugal*, where that king, without their assistance, must have otherwise be reduced to make a separate peace with *Spain*. a

The Onnontague and Agniers received into favour by Vaudreuil.

In the following winter the *Onnontague* applied by their deputies to *Vaudreuil*, begging him to receive them again into favour, and even apologized for the conduct of *Schuyler*, and the people of *New York*, who had obliged them to break the peace. It is probable that *Vaudreuil* was fully sensible of the treachery of the *Iroquois* towards the *English*; for he gratified the barbarians in all they required, and particularly in an exchange of prisoners; but he told them at the same time, that the rest of the allies had long demanded his permission for making war upon them, and, if they would avoid that destruction, they must live in peace, otherwise, he would most certainly let loose all his children upon them. The *Onnontague* were scarcely gone, when a deputation came from the *Agniers* with the like professions, and protesting that they never would, from that time forward, take up the hatchet against the *French*. Though *Vaudreuil* was sensible that their connexions with the province of *New York* were so strong they could not fulfil their promises, yet he was extremely civil to the deputies, and sent them away in very good humour. b

Affairs of Newfoundland

THE news which arrived from *Hudson's Bay* somewhat damped the joy of the *Canadians* upon the disappointment of Mr. *Vetches's* expedition against *Montreal*. *Mantet* had undertaken, with a party from *Canada* to render himself master of fort *St. Anne* in that bay, but failed, and was killed in the attempt, through the cowardice of the party he commanded, and his own imprudence in not having sufficiently reconnoitred the place. Things were more happily managed on the part of the *French* in *Newfoundland*. The only post of consequence which the *English* now held there was the isle of *Carboniere*, which *Costebelle* laid down a scheme for reducing, in which he was promised to be supported by the *French* court, if he could entirely drive the *English* from the coast. But as the reinforcements from *Old France* were long upon their voyage, *Costebelle* resolved to attempt their reduction with the force he had with him; of which he made two detachments, the one to march by land, the other to be carried in two small sloops by sea, and the whole to be under the command of one *Bertrand*, a *Placentian*, a man of courage and experience. The two detachments were fitted out, and proceeded with so much secrecy, that they arrived at *Trinity bay*, which is in the neighbourhood of *Carboniere*, without being discovered. Here they found an *English* frigate carrying thirty cannon, and one hundred and thirty men. The *French* sloops, who had on board but five and twenty men a piece, immediately boarded and took the frigate; but with the loss of their leader *Bertrand*, whose place was supplied by a resolute young man, named *Dacarette*. Soon after, two *English* pirates came in sight. One mounted twenty-two guns, and the other eighteen, and making up, began to fire upon the prize. *Dacarette* would willingly have engaged them both: but his crew being discouraged by the death of their leader refused to stand by him; so that all he could do was to cut his cables, and to run out of the bay; by which he cleared himself of the two pirate ships. The other detachment all this time were waiting on shore, and seeing no probability of their being joined by those on board, they fell upon the defenceless inhabitants, whose houses they demolished and plundered, and then retired to *Placentia*, where the two sloops arrived soon after. Such were the unmanly expeditions of the *French* against the *English*, and indeed both courts were at this time highly blameable with regard to their *American* settlements. The possession of the fisheries of *Newfoundland* were acknowledged by *French* writers to be of infinitely more value than all *Canada*, and yet the efforts they made to keep possession of them were despicable beyond expression. The *English*, on the other hand, were as sensible, as the *French* were, of the value of those fisheries; but suffered their ships to lie rotting in their harbours, and their sea-commanders to prey upon their *American* subjects rather than make any national efforts to secure so invaluable a treasure. Upon comparison, therefore, the *English* appear most to blame, being far superior to the *French* in wealth and numbers upon the continent of *America*, not to mention the superiority of their marine both there and in *Europe*. c d e f

Misconduct of the French and English.

Port Royal conquered by the English.

In the year 1710 six men of war, with a bomb ketch, and some troops, arrived at *Boston* upon a new expedition against *Acadia*; which, if successful, was to have been the prelude to the conquest of all *New France*. *Subercase*, on the other hand, invited to *Acadia* all the freebooters, pirates, and men of desperate fortune on the continent of *America* and its islands, with a view of making a strong settlement at *la Hève*; but his project was disappointed by the inability which *Old France* was under to support them. He had better success in spiriting up the *Abenakis* and the savages of *Canada* against the *English*, whom they murdered wherever they had an opportunity. According to the best accounts, the court of *England* was much better informed than that of *France* was with regard to the importance of *Acadia*; which queen *Anne's* ministry continued in their resolution to conquer, cost what it would. g

- a *Subercase* was not ignorant of this, and had sent repeated advices of the danger of that province to *Vaudreuil*, the governor of *New France*, and to the court of *Old France*, but with very little effect; so that *Subercase*, though undoubtedly a very able officer, became indifferent as to the fate of the province. The *English*, ignorant of his dispositions, continued to make preparations at a vast expence for the reduction of *Acadia*; and in July 1710 general *Nicholson* arrived at *Boston* from *England* with some *British* officers, and colonel *Reading's* marines. He brought with him instructions for all the governments in *New England* to assist him in his expedition; and adjutant-general *Vetch* was joined with him in the command. In August an *English* man of war of sixty guns, with a brigantine, and a sloop, blocked up *Port Royal* in such a manner that it could receive no supplies by sea,
- b which obliged the garrison, who every moment expected a general attack, to perform very severe duty. On the 18th of September the grand armament sailed from *Boston*². It consisted of the *Dragon*, *Falmouth*, *Leestaff*, and *Feversham* men of war, the *Star* bomb, and the *Massachusetts's* province galley, with transports, in all thirty-six sail; the land forces aboard were, one regiment of marines from *England*, two regiments of *Massachusetts's Bay*, one regiment of *Connecticut*, and one regiment of *New Hampshire* and *Rhode Island*, commissioned by the queen, and armed by her gift. On the 5th of October the whole armament, amounting, according to the *French* accounts, to fifty one ships arrived in the basin of *Port Royal* and threw anchor before the fort. *Subercase*, who very justly thought he had been neglected by his court, made no dispositions for defence, and suffered the *English* to land
- c next day without opposition. He had under his command no more than three hundred effective men, but of them as well as the inhabitants of the place disaffected to a service, in which they considered themselves as being sacrificed. The besiegers, on the other hand, are said to have amounted to 3400 men, exclusive of officers and sailors; so that *Subercase* only thought of making such a defence as might enable him to come off with honour. As soon as the *English* came up to the fort he made a general discharge of his artillery, which obliged them to retire. A brisk cannonade on both sides then followed, and some bombs were thrown into the place from the *English* bomb ketches. One of their fireships blew up, in attempting to enter the harbour, with all its crew, consisting of forty men. On the 10th, the bombardment again began; but with very little effect. The inhabitants, however, knowing that the place was not defensible, above fifty of them left it: and they who staid behind presented a petition to the governor, requesting him to take their situation into his consideration, and expressing their apprehensions, that they would be put to the sword, in case the place was taken by storm. *Subercase*, upon this, summoned a council of war, where it was concluded to make the best terms they could with the *English* general. At first, they demanded liberty for all the women to leave the fort, which being refused, *Subercase* desired an interview with *Nicholson*, and the latter sent into the fort a subaltern, Terms of the capitulation.
- d who regulated the articles of capitulation; the circumstances of which are differently related by the *French* and the *English*. According to the *English*² they were, that all the *French*, being four hundred and eighty-one persons within the *Banlieu*, or three miles of the fort, shall be put under the protection of *Great Britain*, upon their taking the proper oaths of
- e allegiance; the other *French* settlers left to discretion; that, in case the *French* make incursions upon the frontiers of *New England*, the *British* shall make reprisals upon the *French* in *Nova Scotia*, by making some of their chief inhabitants slaves to their *Indians*. The garrison was allowed to march out with six cannon and two mortars; but the inhabitants having driven away all the cattle, *Subercase* could only retain one mortar, and was obliged to sell the rest to *Nicholson* for about 350 l. sterling. According to the *English* accounts, the garrison consisted of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers, with their officers and other inhabitants, in all four hundred and eighty-one persons, male and female. The *French* historian says, that the garrison consisted only of one hundred and fifty-six men, and that *Nicholson* repented
- f of having granted a capitulation to a place, which, upon taking possession of it, he found must have surrendered in twenty-four hours for want of provisions. The garrison were sent to *Rockelle* in *France*, but were replaced by two hundred *English* marines, and two hundred and fifty *New England* volunteers, while the name of *Port Royal*, in compliment to queen *Anne*, was converted into that of *Annapolis Royal*. The charge of this expedition cost the people of *New England* 23,000 l. sterling, which was afterwards repaid by parliament.
- g SOME disputes between *Nicholson* and *Subercase* happened with regard to the capitulation. *Nicholson* sent major *Livingston*, and *Subercase* the baron *St. Castin*, to *Vaudreuil*, then governor-general of *New France*, with a copy of the capitulation. *Livingston* insisted that all the country, except that part which was within reach of the *Port Royal* artillery, was excluded from any advantage of the capitulation; and that the rest of the province with its inhabi-

² DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. I. Page 308.

² Ibid. p. 309.

tants was at the discretion of the *English*. *Livingston* added great complaints upon the cruelties of the *French* savages, and threatened, that, if they should continue to exercise their barbarities on the subjects of *Great Britain*, reprisals would be made on the *French* inhabitants of *Acadia*, and then he proposed an exchange of prisoners. It must be owned, that, if Mr. *Livingston* made those demands upon the *French* governor, in consequence of *Nicholson's* instructions, the latter was not a little unacquainted with the rules of war, unless he could have proved that the cruelties committed by the *French Indians* were either perpetrated by the orders of the *French*, or could have been prevented by them. *Vaudreuil* took care to inform *Livingston* of this, and appealed to the good treatment which the *English* prisoners had always met with from the *French*, and imputed all the miseries that had happened, in the course of the war, to the *English* having formerly rejected a proposal for a neutrality between the subjects of the two nations in *America*. *Livingston* had threatened that a number of *French* prisoners equal to those of the *English* should be put into the hands of the *English Indians*. *Vaudreuil* threatened to do the same by putting his *English* prisoners into the hands of the *French* savages.

Policy of the
French.

VAUDREUIL, on this occasion, wrote both to *Nicholson*, and *Dudley*, governor of *New England*; and sent his letters by the two best partizan-officers he had, that they might have an opportunity of seeing the country. In the mean while, he nominated the baron *de St. Castin*, then commandant at *Pentagoet*, to be governor of all that remained to the *French* in *Acadia*. Mr. *Vetch* was the *English* governor of *Annapolis*, and the *French* inhabitants of *Acadia* made lamentable complaints of his severity. It must be acknowledged, that the *French* governors and officers on this occasion, acted with more policy and wisdom than the *English*. The latter had little or no intelligence of the weak state of their enemies, and were at an immense expence, which they might have spared, in guarding against them. The *French* knew the real strength of the *English*, whom they took care to keep in ignorance of their condition. *Vaudreuil*, however, perceived that all his art could not conceal from his savage allies the weak condition of his government; and was obliged to have recourse to his missionaries for fixing them in his interest, in which he succeeded beyond expectation, notwithstanding the great power of the *English*, and the vast presents they lavished amongst the savages.

Defeat of the
English.

ON the 4th of *August*, 1711, *Vaudreuil* received a letter from one of the *French* missionaries, informing him that forty savages, having defeated a numerous party of *English*, had joined with some *French*, and that they had invested the fort of *Port Royal*, where above half the garrison had died during the winter. Upon this intelligence, *Vaudreuil* detached the marquis *D'Alogniers*, at the head of twelve of his best officers and two hundred men, to press the siege; but while they were upon their march, advice came of the *English* preparations against *Quebec*, and they were countermanded. Nothing is more certain, than that, had the *English*, at this time, acted with common sense in *North America*, the *French* might have been entirely driven out of it. *Pontchartrain*, in all his dispatches addressed to the *French* officers there, manifested the utmost uneasiness at *Port Royal* being in the hands of the *English*, and pressed *Vaudreuil* to raise all the force of *Canada* to retake it, which the latter offered to do, provided he was assisted only by two ships from *Old France*; but so desperate were the affairs of his most Christian majesty at that time, that that request, despicable as it was, could not be complied with. *Pontchartrain*, however, from time to time, received from the *French Acadians* the strongest assurances of their affection to the crown of *France*, and that necessity alone obliged them to submit to the *English*. Upon this, he negotiated with the merchants of *Rochelle*, *Rochfort*, *St. Malo*, *Nantes*, *Bayonne*, and other places for erecting a company strong enough to people *La Heve* and *Chedabouctou*, and to recover *Acadia* from the *English*. But, though his most Christian majesty offered all the encouragement that was in his power to give to the adventurers in such an undertaking, the credit of his crown was then so low, that the project came to nothing. In the mean while, so artfully had the *French* missionaries spirited up their savages, that they acted with the most determined inveteracy against the *English*. The latter, in consequence of the surrender of *Port Royal*, considered themselves as masters of *Acadia*; and the *English* governor there sent out sixty of his soldiers, under the command of captain *Pigcon* with proper officers, in canoes to burn the habitations of the *French*, who refused to submit to the *English* government. The savages, hearing of this, watched their opportunity, and formed an ambuscade, which cut off all the *English* party, but one man. This success encouraged the *French* and their savages so greatly, that in the month of *June*, five hundred of them invested the fort of *Port Royal*, and one of their missionaries offered to be responsible for taking the place, if *Costebelle*, the *French* governor of *Placentia*, would send him a proper officer to command the siege. This could not be obtained; upon which the *French* and savages broke up the siege; though the garrison was reduced by sickness from five hundred, to one hundred and

a and fifty, men. Notwithstanding this, the *French* inhabitants continued to harraß the *English*, whenever they had an opportunity. Acadia yielded by the treaty of Utrecht.

At last, the government of *England* began to open their eyes with regard to the necessity of conquering *Canada*. The acquisition of *Port Royal* had struck the savages with terror, and many, even of the *French* Christian converts, began to look coldly on the interests of *New France*, which occasioned *Vaudreuil*'s encreasing the number of missionaries and agents, amongst them, to rekindle their zeal. He ordered all the well-affected to his government, that lived amongst the northern and western savages, to rendezvous at *Montreal*, to which he himself repaired on the ice. This was the more necessary, as he had intelligence, that the governor of *New York* was endeavouring to engage the *Iroquois* in an offensive league against the *French*, and none could answer for the consequences. The baron *de Longeuil*, lieutenant for the king at *Montreal*, attended by *Joncaire* and *la Chauvignerie*, undertook to treat with the *Iroquois* to preserve their neutrality. But, though the cantons of *Tsonnonthouan* and *Onnontague* sent deputies to *Montreal*, they gave them no great satisfaction as to the other five cantons, who, they said, were intimidated by the success, and debauched by the presents, of the *English*. Preparations for war went on at a great rate in *New York*, which, *Vaudreuil* being no stranger to, he issued the most vigorous orders for putting *Quebec* in a state of defence, and he effected a reconciliation between the two *Iroquois* deputies, and the upper savages, who had come down to *Montreal* to the number of about five hundred. It was not long before *Vaudreuil* had accounts from *Costebelle* of general *Nicholson* arriving from *England* at *Boston*, with two seventy gun ships, which were to be followed by the grand armament destined for the conquest of *Quebec*; the particulars of which have been already related. The news of this force arriving before *Boston* was carried by a *Martinico* privateer to *Placentia*, and soon after *Vaudreuil* had intelligence of its having left *Boston*, and that two hundred battoes were ready at *New York*; besides a hundred more daily expected for embarking two thousand *English*, who were to proceed against *Montreal*, while the fleet and the land forces from *Europe* were acting against *Quebec*.

VAUDREUIL, on this occasion, omitted no duty of a brave and prudent officer. He confirmed the two *Iroquois* cantons in their neutrality; and, notwithstanding the great advantages, which the upper savages had in trading with the *English*, they joined the colonized *Indians* in the war-song against the *English*; and the governor-general even obtained hostages from the *Algonquins* for their fidelity, as he did from the *Abenakis*. All which pieces of good fortune for the *French* government, *Charlevoix*, (perhaps, not without reason) ascribes to the labours of the missionaries. When *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, he not only found the fortifications in excellent order through the skill and application of *Beaucourt*, who served as engineer, but the place provided with every thing for holding out a long siege, and the garrison with the inhabitants, even to the women, resolved to defend themselves to the last. All the proper dispositions being made by the governor-general, who placed his own son in the most dangerous part, on the 25th of *September*, advice came of the *English* fleet being seen to the number of ninety-six sail; but, some days after, intelligence came of their having returned. The particulars may be seen in the preceding sheets. At last, it was reported, that the fleet had been shipwrecked near the *Seven Islands* in the river *St. Laurence*; upon which *Vaudreuil* sent thither some vessels, who found the hulks of seven or eight large ships, but with all their guns and furniture taken out, and printed copies of the manifesto, that general *Hill* was to have distributed amongst the *Canadians* and the inhabitants of *New France*. Expedition of the English against Quebec.

THIS is a curious piece, but far from being well drawn up. It roundly asserted, in general terms, that all *North America* originally belonged to the crown of *Great Britain*, which, from time to time, had portioned part of it to that of *France*, in the nature of fiefs; that the *French*, having broken the terms of those concessions, had forfeited all their right to the country, which the queen of *England*, as paramount of the same, had now sent to take possession of; and, that she looked upon all the *French Canadians* to be as much her subjects, as if they were born in the dominions immediately depending on herself. There is nothing very particular in the remaining part of this manifesto, which is of an uncommon length, but heavy charges brought against the *French* and their *Indians* for their unheard of cruelties upon the *English* subjects. Nothing could be more injudicious, or more shocking to the descendants of the original natives, than the terms of this manifesto; for whatever encroachments the *French* might have been guilty of with regard to the *English*, it was highly imprudent in the latter to pretend that they had a direct dominion over the lands of the original proprietors, and contrary to the tenor of all the settlements they had made amongst the natives. In short, the mischief which this ill judged manifesto did to the *British* interest in *America* is inconceivable. *Charlevoix* blames the distrust and obstinacy of the *English* admiral for the loss of his ships; but he undoubtedly exaggerates, when he says It miscarries.

says

says that 3000 *English* were found dead upon the shores; the loss not amounting to above eight hundred men. The *English* were equally unfortunate in their expedition by land; for, though no fewer than six hundred *Iroquois* had joined the *English* under general *Nicholson*, yet they all left him, even before they heard that the *English* fleet had miscarried.

As does their
design upon
Newfound-
land.

THE chief object of the *English* armament was *Quebec*; its secondary one was *Placentia*; the conquest of which by the people of *England* was deemed, of the two, to be by far the most practicable and profitable for them. When the *English* fleet was under sail for *Quebec*, it intercepted a packet from *Castelle* to *Pontchartrain*, complaining of the dismal state of *Placentia*, and of the *French* in general in *Newfoundland*, where, he said, he could not muster a hundred men in all the island. It is certain, that when the *English* returned to *Spanish Bay*, they had on board above seven hundred and fifty men; and granting their provisions could not have lasted for above ten weeks, the conquest of *Placentia* could not have cost them above three days. But, when a council of war was summoned, as if the members of it had been more than infatuated, they not only voted against any attempt being made upon *Placentia*, but that *Nicholson* should be ordered to desist in his expedition by land against *Montreal*, which accordingly came to nothing. All the advantage the *English* derived from this expensive expedition was the preservation of their new conquest of *Port Royal* in *Acadia*, the recovery of which became now to be a very serious consideration with the *French* ministry. *Pontchartrain* again pressed *Vaudreuil* to undertake it with the force he could raise in *New France*; *Vaudreuil*, to shew his zeal, had nominated the marquis d'Algniers to the command of some troops, who were to assist the savages and *French* of *Acadia* in a kind of blockade, they had formed of *Port Royal*; but upon the news of the *English* invasion he was recalled.

1712.
Quebec new
fortified.

IN the beginning of the year, 1712, the merchants of *Quebec* raised the sum of 50,000 crowns for completing the fortifications of that city. The late miscarriage of the *English* had now rendered the *French* more respectable than ever in the eyes of the savages. The deputies of the *Iroquois* made, in the name of their cantons, the most sincere professions of their attachment to the *French*, and *Vaudreuil* answered them with a tone of authority; but, before he dismissed them, gave them considerable presents. It was about this time, that the *Outagamis*, (vulgarly called the *Foxes*,) who for twenty-five years had scarcely been heard of, began to make a great figure in *North America*. They were accounted to be more fierce, resolute, and vindictive, than even the most savage of the *Iroquois*, and, by mingling with them, they had come over to the interest of the *English*, to whom they promised to surprize fort *Detroit*, and to put it into their hands. With this view, they lay very near the place, and omitted no opportunity of insulting the garrison, which was commanded by one *Du Buisson*. Two other savage nations, the *Kicapous* and the *Mascontins* were confederated with them in the same design, which was discovered to *Du Buisson*, by one *Joseph*, a christian *Outagamis*, who informed him that they were farther exasperated by their receiving intelligence that a hundred and fifty *Mascontins* had been cut off, as they were coming to join them, by the *Outaouais*. *Buisson*, who had but twenty *Frenchmen* in the fort, sent out to inform the *French Indians* of his danger; but they were gone a hunting. At last, having taken all precautions against a surprize, he understood that they were on their march to relieve him. They consisted of the *Outaouais*, headed by a chief, one *Saguima*, who had cut off the *Mascontins*; the *Hurons*, the *Pouteouatamis*, the *Sakis*, the *Maibomines*, the *Illinois*, the *Osages*, and the *Missourites*; each of whom had a particular standard. "See'st thou that smoke, *Saguima*, said the *Hurons* to him, (to animate him the more to vengeance,) it rises from the flames that are now consuming thy wife." When the confederates approached the fort, *Du Buisson* ordered them to be admitted, and, after addressing them in a most affectionate pathetic manner, they were furnished with refreshments of all kinds, besides powder and ball.

THE *Outagamis* had reared a fort within musket-shot of that of *Detroit*, where they waited for their enemies with the most astonishing intrepidity, till they were invested on all hands and attacked with a very brisk fire. The brave defence they made obliged the assailants, at last, to raise two stages, each twenty-five feet high, from whence they battered the *Outagamis*, who now suffered every extreme of hunger and thirst. So great, however, was the affection of those poor wretches for the *English*, that they hoisted red coverlets by way of colours upon their palisadoes, calling out with all their might, that they had no other father but the *Englishman*, who would not fail to come to their relief, or revenge their death; at the same time, they advised the confederates to follow their example. It appears, as if those exclamations had made no inconsiderable impression upon the rest of the savages; and, of this *Du Buisson* was so apprehensive, that he ordered all conversation between the assailants and the besieged to be broken off. This could not be done before the latter had sheltered themselves in an adjoined house, against which *Du Buisson* ordered cannon to be brought. After this, the *Outagamis* demanded a parley, which he would not grant without consent

a consent of the chiefs of his allies, whose opinion, upon consultation, was for it, that they might draw from their hands three of their women, whom the besieged held prisoners. Next morning *Pemoussa*, the chief of the *Outagamis*, was admitted into the assembly of the confederates, where he presented *Du Buiffon* with two captives and a belt, and the chiefs with the same, and begged for a delay of two days, that they might consult their elders upon the means of appealing their father's wrath. The manner in which he spoke touched the savages so much, that they were dumb, till *Du Buiffon* told *Pemoussa*, that he could enter into no farther treaty with his people, till they sent him the three women, one of whom actually was the wife of *Saguima*. *Pemoussa's* answer was, that he could say nothing on that head, till he had consulted the elders; and, having obtained a farther respite, he returned
b with a white flag in his hand, attended by two *Mascontin* chiefs, and the three women whom he presented to the governor, who referred him to the chiefs of his allies, for what was farther to be done, upon the *Outagamis* demanding liberty to be gone. Upon this, the chief of the *Illinois* gave *Pemoussa* to understand that his people were to expect no mercy unless they surrendered at discretion; but he gave them liberty to re-enter the fort, and to make the best defence they could. They accordingly did so, and the fire on both sides being renewed, the besieged made so vigorous a resistance, that, by discharging arrows with lighted matches, they set on fire several houses in the *French* settlement, which obliged the besiegers to cover the remaining with skins. This resolute defence so greatly dispirited the *French* and the sa-
vages, that the latter were on the point of re-imbarking for *Michillimakinac*. *Du Buiffon*
c found means to detain them by presenting them with every thing he was master of, and then the war-song was renewed, which gave the besieged to understand that they had now no safety to expect, unless they accepted of the terms proposed. They begged for some farther time, and they were permitted to send a fresh deputation to the camp of the besiegers; who, notwithstanding all their earnest instances, still insisted upon their surrendering at discretion; and it was with great difficulty that *Du Buiffon* hindered his savages from putting the deputies to death. They were suffered to return to their fort, from whence all of them escaped under the favour of a tempestuous night, after enduring for nineteen days, under all the pressures of nature, a most vigorous siege by very superior numbers.

Desperate defence of the Outagamis,

In the morning, the *French* and their savages pursued them, and found them entrenched
d on a little tongue of land near the island of *St. Clare*. Here they were again besieged; but their defence for four days was so brave, that the *French* commandant was obliged to bring up the heavy artillery to force their entrenchments, upon which they surrendered at discretion. All who were found in arms were immediately put to death; the others were divided as slaves amongst the confederate *Indians*, who cut their throats likewise; so that few or none escaped the massacre; and it was computed, that upon the whole about 2000 of those brave savages were cut in pieces. It is impossible to read even the account in *Charlevoix* of this little campaign, without horror. The *Outagamis* appeared to have done nothing farther than to have declared themselves friends to the *English*, which was crime enough for their savage enemies, less barbarous than their *French* commander, under whose orders they
e acted, to put them to a general massacre, after performing actions that must have entitled them not only to pardon, but to esteem, from any but *Frenchmen*, or a *French Canadian*. Perhaps the reader will scarcely believe, what is true, that this horrible massacre has, with the *French* historian, raised *Du Buiffon* to the character of a good officer, and a man of honour.

who are subdued.

NEW FRANCE being now delivered from all its dangers, *Vaudreuil* applied himself to the re-establishment of the post of *Michillimakinac*, which had suffered greatly during the late commotions; and to which he sent proper officers and agents, to re-unite the savages in one common interest; in which they succeeded in appearance, but failed in reality. The natives there could not be persuaded to forbear their traffick with the *English*, in which they found
f so great advantage, and in which they were followed, even by the colonized savages; while the state of the *French* affairs in *Europe* was so low, that they could receive from thence no relief. The goods sent from *France* to *Canada* were so trifling in their value, that the merchants there had no returns to make equal to the furs imported by the savages, who, for that reason, were obliged to throw into the hands of the *English* by far the greatest part of the fur trade. Before the treaty of *Utrecht*, in the year 1713, was concluded, the governors of *New France* and *New England* received positive orders from their respective sovereigns to desist from all hostilities. It cannot be dissembled, that the conclusion of that treaty was highly for the interests of the *English* in *America*, where they had been miserably mismanaged. The *Abenakis*, who remained firm to the *French*, were
g then carrying their ravages into the heart of *New England*; and, though by that treaty *Lewis XIV.* ceded his pretended superiority over the *Iroquois*, yet, by that time, the *French* had obtained such an ascendancy over them, that they declared they would maintain their own independance upon the *English*. All that the latter could do was to build a fort at the

State of New France at the time of the treaty of Utrecht.

Disputes between the English and the savages.

mouth of the river *Choguen*, where it discharges itself into the lake *Ontario*, in the country of the *Onnontagueſe*, while the *French* obtained from the *Tſonmonthouans* a permission to build another at the mouth of the river *Niagara*. As to the *Abenakis*, whose land fell within the cession of territory made to the *English* by the twelfth article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, as being comprehended within the limits of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, great difficulties occurred in the execution of that article. They were, of all the savages, the most irreconcilable to the *English* government, and the most wedded to popish absurdities. Nothing was omitted on the part of the *English* to win them over. They erected a free-school at the mouth of the river *Kennebec*, and appointed a minister, who was to board and teach their young at the public expence. But all was in vain, so strong was the delusions of their missionaries. The governors of *New England* and *New York* very wisely bore this with patience; so that the savages, by degrees, even encouraged the erecting of store-houses upon their lands, till they saw them multiply so fast, that they expressed their jealousy of them. The *English* then could not help signifying to them, that their whole country had, by treaty, become the property of the crown of *England*. The savages, tho' amazed at this, very sensibly complained to *Vaudreuil*, who made use of an evasion, unworthy a man of honour, and yet well adapted to encourage and confirm their dislike of the *English*; for he told them that no mention was made either of them, or their lands, in the treaty of *Utrecht*. When the governor of *New England*, in a conference he had with them, had convinced them of the truth, one of their chiefs replied with great spirit, That his majesty of *France* might dispose of what was his own as he pleased, but that the *Abenakis* held their land from nature, and that they would maintain their independency to the last child of their nation, who should be left alive. After this, upon some differences in matters of property, which were fomented by the popish missionaries, their deputies were arrested at *Boston*; and this, about the year 1721, produced some warm remonstrances on the part of the *Abenakis*. The case was perplexing. There could be no doubt with regard to the spirit and meaning of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but, from the moment that peace was concluded, the government of *New France*, from considering the *Abenakis* as slaves, affected to treat them as independent, and maintained amongst them an interest separate from the crown of *England*, which was extremely pleasing to the natural vanity of those savages. The *English*, on the other hand, could appeal only to the *French*, who denied their having had any authority over the savages, and maintained that they therefore could transfer none. They carried this insolent evasion so far, that when colonel *Shute*, then governor of *New England*, proposed a friendly conference for accommodating all differences, two jesuits and baron *St. Castin* proposed to be present on the part of the savages; and therefore the governor very properly refused to attend the conference in person. This *St. Castin* had great credit with those savages. His mother being an *Abenakis*, and he himself bred up all his life amongst them, they had appointed him to be the commander in chief of their nation, and he affected on all occasions to appear as an *Abenakis*; but he wore a *French* uniform, as having a commission from his most Christian majesty, whom he acknowledged to be his sovereign. As his local allegiance undoubtedly was due to the crown of *England*, the governor of *New England* ordered him to be arrested, and he was carried in a ship of war to *Boston*; but so cautious were the *English* of offending the *Abenakis*, that, though he talked in a very independent tone, he was released.

Intrigues of a jesuit.

THE *English* found a still greater obstacle to the conformity of those savages, in the person of one *Rasle*, an active zealous jesuit, who had long resided amongst them as a missionary, and had got so entire a possession of their affections, that they implicitly followed his dictates in every thing. Being an enthusiast for his country, as well as religion, he omitted nothing that could keep up the aversion of the *Abenakis* towards the *English*. It was in vain the latter, (who every day felt his influence with the savages,) insisted upon his being dismissed out of their nation, and sent to *Quebec*; and, at last, they were obliged not only to set a reward on his head, but to make an attempt to possess themselves of his person, in which they failed. This attack upon their favourite jesuit exasperated the savages more than that which had been made upon their independency. They sent deputies thro' all their brethren and allies to meet them at *Narrantſouak*, their chief village, which they accordingly did; and nothing now but the war-song was to be heard, from the *Hurons* of *Loretto* to the savages of *New England*. They began by demolishing the *English* settlements on the banks of the rivers, where they destroyed all the lands and houses, but without offering any farther violence to the persons of the inhabitants than by confining five of them as hostages for their deputies, who were prisoners at *Boston*. It was impossible, and indeed would have been dangerous, for the *English* to have been longer passive. They broke into *Narrantſouak*, where they shot the pestilent missionary dead, burnt the cabins, plundered the church, and killed some of the inhabitants, who opposed them, while others fled; and this severity, for some time, restored tranquillity to *New England*, but was far from

^a reconciling the *Abenakis* to the *British* government. The *English* pretended they were in danger of losing all the acquisitions they had made in *Acadia*, and *Newfoundland*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, through the inhabitants, *French* as well as savages, making use of the liberty which that treaty gave them, to retire to *Cape Breton*, and therefore they gave them such indulgences, that they did not seem to remember their having changed their sovereign.

WHEN Mr. *Richards*, in 1720, took possession of the government of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, he was astonished to find part of his government living independent, not only of him, but of the crown of *England*. They openly traded with *Cape Breton*, then in the *French* possession. They acknowledged neither laws nor language, but what were *French*, and their priests publicly performed their sacerdotal functions, as if popery had been the established religion of the country. *Richards* very sensibly endeavoured to abridge those impolitic indulgences, both in *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*; but he was not supported in this wise measure, which, if executed, might have prevented a vast effusion of blood and treasure, by the government at home. The truth is, king *George I.* at that time, had great connections with the regent of *France*: but it was an unpardonable oversight to dispense with the *French Canadians* and *Acadians*, as well as the savages, who had become subjects of *Great Britain*, taking an oath of fidelity to that crown (P). As we intend to give, under a separate head, the history of the settlement on *Cape Breton*, which the *French* now projected, and carried into execution, as the most proper means for indemnifying themselves for the loss of what they had given up by the treaty of *Utrecht*, we shall only say, that that settlement, as well as that of the island of *St. John*, was left entirely to the care of *Castelblanc* and *St. Ovide*; the latter of whom proved a very active agent for *France* in all her differences with *Great Britain*.

1720.

IT is equally astonishing, that the province of *Canada*, planted by a great and numerous people, should remain so long thinly inhabited, so poor, and so uncomfortable, as that it should, after so long a war as that which was terminated by the peace of *Utrecht*, be able to make head against the *English*, who were able, at that time, upon the same continent, to bring 60,000 fighting men into the field. As to the state of *Canada*, in the year 1714, we can have no better authority than the words of *Vaudreuil*, the governor-general, in his letter to *Pontchartrain*, the *French* minister^b. "Canada, says he, contains actually no more than 4484 inhabitants, able to bear arms from the age of 14 to 60, and the 28 companies of marines, paid by the king, amount to no more in number, than 628 soldiers." In the same letter, he lays down a scheme, the particulars of which are immaterial here, for the better peopling of his government, by transporting thither convicts and galley-slaves; and his advice appears to have been followed with success. His government, however, after the peace of *Utrecht*, was far from being tranquil. The *Outagamis*, notwithstanding the blow they had received in the affair of *Detroit*, were more exasperated than ever against the *French*. They infested all the communications between the colony and its most distant posts, robbing and murdering passengers, and in this they succeeded so well, that they brought over the *Sieux* to join them openly, while many of the *Iroquois* favoured them underhand. In short, there was some danger of a general confederacy amongst all the savages against the *French*. This made *Vaudreuil* resolve, if possible, to exterminate the *Outagamis* out of *Canada*, and invited all his savage allies to join him. *Louvigny*, the king's lieutenant at *Quebec*, was named to command the expedition; and he was soon at the head of eight hundred men, so determined against the *Outagamis*, that the extirpation of the race was no longer doubted of. They were themselves of the same opinion, and they lay intrenched, to the number of 500 warriors, and 3000 women, in a kind of palisadoed fort, before which *Louvigny* formally opened trenches, having with him two field-pieces, and a mortar for throwing grenades. The besieged, at first, defended themselves with great vigour; but, when *Louvigny* was preparing to spring a mine, they desired to capitulate, and their terms were rejected. They afterwards proposed others; viz. First, that the *Outagamis* and their confederates should make peace with the *French* and their allies. Secondly, that they should previously release all their prisoners. Thirdly, that they should replace the dead by slaves, whom they were to make prisoners from the distant nations they were at war with; and, fourthly, that they should pay the charge of the war. *Louvigny* had private instructions from his principals not to push matters to extremity. In this,

The force of Canada.

War with the Outagamis, who are unexpectedly saved.

^b CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. Page 150.

(P) The argument, we have mentioned, about the danger of *Acadia* becoming uncultivated, in case the *French* had been forced out of it, has in it no manner of weight. Their settlements were all cultivated lands, conveniently situated, and well improved; and never could have been without occupiers, both from *Great Britain*, and the continent of *America*.

they

they undoubtedly acted wisely, and by making presents to the chief leaders of his allies, he brought them to consent to the terms proposed. This, however, was an insidious negotiation. He obliged the *Outagamis* to give six sons of six of their chief leaders, as hostages for their sending deputies to ratify the peace at *Montreal* with the governor-general; and the treaty, being ingrossed, contained an express cession of their country to the *French*; of which, it is probable, the savages knew nothing. Unfortunately the small-pox, which raged next winter, carried off three of the hostages, together with the famous *Outagamis* chief, *Pemoussa*, before the treaty was ratified. This alarmed *Vaudreuil* so much, that he went upon the ice to *Montreal*, from whence he dispatched *Louigny* to *Michillimakinac*, with an order to execute the terms of the treaty, and to bring the chiefs of the *Outagamis* to *Montreal*, together with all the rangers in those parts, to whom his most Christian majesty had granted a free pardon for what had passed. *Louigny* set out at the end of May, 1717, and very prudently carried along with him one of the surviving hostages, who had lost an eye by the small-pox, that he might bear testimony to his nation, with what tenderness he and his companions had been treated. As soon as he arrived at *Michillimakinac*, he dispatched the hostage, attended by two *French* interpreters, with presents for covering the dead hostages, to the *Outagamis*. This was so agreeable to those savages, that they immediately raised the song of peace, or the calumet. They then declared to the interpreters their gratitude to *Onontio*, but added, that, for some particular reasons, they could not wait upon him till next year: that they never would forget that they owed their lives entirely to his clemency. The hostage and the interpreters then set out to rejoin *Louigny* at *Michillimakinac*; but, after travelling about twenty leagues, he left them, it being proper, as he said, to return home that he might keep his countrymen to their promise.

• d dislodge
the Illinois.

THE event shewed how little *Vaudreuil* and his assistants, notwithstanding all their experience, understood the nature of those savages. The hostage was never heard of after, neither did they send any deputies to the governor-general; so that all the fruit, which *Louigny* and *Vaudreuil* reaped from this laborious journey, was the bringing back the *French* rangers, and engaging some of the savages to bring their furs in greater quantities to the colony, than they had done for some years before. The reason the *Outagamis* gave for this breach of faith, when they afterwards met with the *French* in their excursions, was, that they had no idea an enemy, who had been provoked beyond a certain measure, could ever be a reconciled friend. They were afterwards beat in several encounters, and yet they forced the *Illinois* to abandon their settlements upon their river; where they formed a plantation, which rendered all communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana* extremely dangerous, notwithstanding all the losses they had sustained. The reader is, however, to observe, that they had, by this time, formed an alliance with the *Sieux*, the most numerous nation belonging to *Canada*; and with the *Chichacas* or *Chickesaws*, the bravest nation in all *Louisiana*. In the year 1725, *New France* enjoyed a tranquillity, that it had seldom known, and which greatly advanced both its populousness and prosperity; but the loss of the *Camel*, a *French* ship of war, which was wrecked near *Louisbourg*, with every soul on board, gave it a great blow. Besides its rich cargo, the intendant of *Canada*, *Louigny*, who had been appointed to the government of *Trois Rivières*, a son of *Ramezay*, who the year before had died governor of *Montreal*, together with a great number of the officers of the colony, and ecclesiastics of all denominations, perished in the wreck. To crown this misfortune, the marquis *de Vaudreuil* himself died in the *October* following, greatly lamented by the whole colony. He, as well as his predecessors, gave signal proofs of that secondary genius, which prefers the smiles of a court to all other considerations. Under vast disadvantages, arising from the weakness or inattention of the *French* ministry, he most surprizingly upheld the credit and interest of his government; and, notwithstanding the incredible disproportion of force between *New France*, even taking it in its utmost extent, and the *English* settlements on the continent of *America*, he had the address to conceal the weakness of his government; so that he left it, if not envied, yet respected, by its neighbours.

Death of
Vaudreuil,

who is suc-
ceeded by
Beauharnois.

He was succeeded in his government by the chevalier *de Beauharnois*, who had none of his predecessor's difficulties to struggle with; and nothing occurs remarkable in the history of *Canada*, but that, by the tranquillity it enjoyed, in the year 1751, its *French* inhabitants amounted to above 70,000. It does not belong to this part of our history to retrace the various situations of the courts of *France* and *England*, during this long interval; but it is certain that the government of *England* was lulled into a most fatal security, whilst that of *France* was making wide strides towards a total acquisition of *North America*. In the year 1746, the encroachments they made upon the undoubted property of the *English* in *America* awakened our government to a sense of its danger. A *British* secretary of state, by order of his majesty, required all the *British* governors in *North America*, to raise as many inde-
pendent

- a pendent companies as they could, of a hundred men each. Those of *New York*, *New Jerseys*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, were to be formed into one corps, under the command of brigadier *Gooch*, lieutenant-governor of *Virginia*. The colonies were to furnish levy-money and victualling; but his majesty was to be at the charge of arming, paying, and cloathing those troops. It was no secret, that those vast preparations in *America*, which were to be seconded by a suitable armament from *Europe*, were destined for the reduction of *Canada*; and that the whole was to be under the command of general *Sinclair*. The *English* colonies, therefore, proceeded with infinite spirit in their levies. *Virginia* sent two companies, *Maryland* three, *Pensylvania* four, the *Jerseys* five, and *New York* fifteen; all to be under the command of *Gooch*, and first to reduce *Crown Point*, and then *Montreal*.
- b The yellow fever then prevailing at *Albany*, the place of rendezvous for the troops was appointed at *Saratago*, twenty miles higher up *Hudson's* river. For this service, *Massachusetts's* Bay raised twenty companies, *Connecticut* ten, *Rhode Island* three, *New Hampshire* two, in all thirty-five companies, who were to attack *Quebec*, under general *Sinclair*, while *Gooch* was proceeding against *Montreal*. It was the misfortune of the *British* government at that time, that few qualifications, besides the date of a commission, were required in a commander. *Sinclair* had age and rank to recommend him; but he had neither activity, spirit, nor capacity, for so arduous an expedition, the miscarriage of which has never to this day been accounted for. The true state of the matter seems to have been, that the general, not being very fond of the service, did not expedite the preparations early enough in the year, and very possibly the ministry, even at that time, had their reasons for not provoking *France* beyond certain bounds. *Lestock*, the same officer who was so well known by his differences with admiral *Matthews*, was to command the fleet; but the public need not be informed, that the whole of the mighty preparations in *England* ended in a most scandalous pusillanimous attempt, under the same *Sinclair* and *Lestock*, upon *Port L'Orient* in *Old France*.

- THE *French* were not ignorant of the storm that was hovering over their *American* colonies. They sent all the force they could spare from *Canada* to *Minas* and *Chibouctou*, and omitted no opportunity of harassing and destroying the *English* settlements. In the summer of 1746, the *Canadians* receiving intelligence of the vast preparations making against them in *England*, *Ramezay* arrived at *Minas*, at the head of 1600 men, consisting of marine regulars, *Canadian* militia, wood-rangers, and *French Indians*. This body was to act in concert with a strong squadron, then fitting out at *Brest*, under the duke *D'Anville*. That armament consisted of eleven line of battle ships, some frigates, two fire-ships, transports, &c. having 31,500 land forces aboard. It was the 22d of *June*, before this squadron sailed from *Rochelle*, and the public of *England* were amazed that it was suffered to proceed unmolested, though Mr. *Martin* was then lying with a strong squadron of observation in the channel. The plan of *D'Anville's* instructions seems to have been formed upon those of *Frontenac* and *Pontchartrain*. He was ordered to retake and dismantle *Louisbourg*, which was then in the hands of the *English*. He was then to proceed against *Port Royal*, now called *Annapolis Royal* in *Acadia*, which he was to take and garrison. He was next to destroy *Boston*, then to range along the coasts of *North America*; and, at last, to pay a visit to the *British* sugar islands. *D'Anville*, setting sail, detached three of his capital ships and a frigate, under the command of M. *Conflans*, to convoy the *French* trade to *Cape François* from *Hispaniola*. The orders of *Conflans* were to return, and join the grand squadron under *D'Anville*; but, after cruising upon *Cape Sable* shore, between *Cape Negro* and *Cape Sambre*, without receiving any intelligence of *D'Anville*, they bore away directly for *France*; where, to the reproach of the *British* marine, they arrived in safety.

Expedition of
the duke
D'Anville

- As to the main fleet under *D'Anville*, it was unfortunate almost beyond example. After undergoing a most tedious passage, and suffering in a storm near *Cape Sable*, it arrived on September the 10th at *Chibouctou* in *Nova Scotia*, where *D'Anville* himself died, as did half of his people of scorbutic putrid fevers and dysenteries. Their faithful *Abenakis*, now called the *Nova Scotia Indians*, paid them so many visits, that they at last caught the infection of their diseases, and were reduced almost one third. It would appear as if the *British* marine had been afraid of the infection likewise; for though an *English* squadron was then lying at *Cape Breton* under admiral *Townshend*, the *French* remained unmolested at *Chibouctou* amidst all their distress. In the mean while the *Canadians*, under *Ramezay*, were highly caressed by the *French* of *Nova Scotia*, who, as we have already observed, were, in fact, subjects to the crown of *Great Britain*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*; but having spent the summer at *las Minas*, without receiving any intelligence of *D'Anville* or his squadron, they set out on their return for *Canada*. While they were upon their march *D'Anville* arrived at *Chibouctou*, and immediately dispatched an express, requiring them to return, which about four hundred of them did under *Ramezay*. About the end of *September*, *Ramezay* encamped

ed near *Annapolis* with a shew of besieging it; but the *Chester* man of war of fifty guns, a frigate and a sloop being in the harbour, and the *French* fleet departing, shattered and inglorious to *France*, he decamped on the 22d of *October*, and returned to *Minas*. There and at *Chiconeito* he wintered, that he might be in readiness to join the *French* fleet and land troops that were expected in the spring from *France*, to reduce *Annapolis*, which, by this time, was reinforced by three companies of volunteers from *Boston*. *M. Sorene* was then the *English* governor of *Annapolis*, and laid a scheme for preventing the bad consequences of *French* influence in that neighbourhood, by procuring 1000 men as a reinforcement from *New England*. The assembly of the *Massachusetts Bay* accordingly voted five hundred, *Rhode Island* three hundred, and *New Hampshire* two hundred. Of those the *Rhode Islanders* were shipped near *Martba's Vineyard*. The *New Hampshire* men never arrived at the place of their destination; but the *Massachusetts Bay* men, amounting in the whole to four hundred and seventeen, besides officers, arrived under captain *Morris*, at *Minas*, on the 12th of *December*, after a fatiguing march of thirty leagues by land; which they performed in eight days, though each man had fourteen days provision upon his back.

The French
defeat the
English,

It must be acknowledged that those troops had more courage than discipline. They were commanded by one colonel *Noble*; but a detachment of them set out for *Annapolis* on the 29th of *January*, while the others were quartered at *Grand Pre* in a loose, scattered, and unsoldier-like manner. The *French* were sufficiently informed of this irregular cantonment, and on the 8th of *January*, they set out from *Chiconeito*, and arrived at *Minas* the 31st of the same month. About three in the morning having distributed their force, which consisted of about six hundred, into small parties of fifty or sixty each, they attacked the *English*, and murdered many of them in an inhuman manner. Colonel *Noble*, and the lieutenants *Lechemere*, *Jones*, *Pickering*, ensign *Noble*, with about seventy serjeants, corporals, and private men, were killed, and about as many taken prisoners. Despair, however, at last brought the *English* into a body, and they surrendered upon the following capitulation, first, to march off with arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, through a lane of the enemy with rested firelocks. Secondly, to be allowed six days provision, one pound of powder with ball; and thirdly, not to carry arms within the bays of *Minas* and *Chiconeito* for six months. After this, the *French* retired to *Chiconeito*, where they lay most part of the summer in expectation of *Jonquiere's* squadron, which was to bring a large reinforcement that was to enable *Canada* to give laws to all *North America*.

1747.
But are de-
feated at sea.

ACCORDINGLY in the spring of 1747, the junction of the *Brest* and *Rockfort* squadrons was effected at *Rockelle*. Their destination was to the *East Indies* and to *Canada*. The fleet consisted in the whole of thirty-eight sail, of which seven were ships of war from seventy-four to forty-four guns, and the *Invincible* of seventy-four guns, with a frigate of forty-four were appointed to convoy six *East India* ships, whilst the rest, with the transports and merchantmen full of soldiers, stores, and goods, were destined for *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*. The equipment of this squadron was no secret in *England*; and as it was big with destruction to our *Asian*, as well as *American* settlements, the admirals *Anson* and *Warren* sailed from *Plymouth* to *Cape Finisterre* on the coast of *Galicia*, and the third of *May*, they fell in with the *French* squadron. The latter immediately formed a line of battle, consisting of their chief ships of war, while the others, under the protection of their frigates, made all the sail they could to the place of their destination. The *English* ships, in like manner, were drawn up in line of battle; but *Warren* who, to all the virtues that any man could possess, added as much ability to the seaman as any one ever exerted, observed, that the real design of the *French* was rather to fly than to fight; and therefore he persuaded *Anson*, who was his superior in command, to haul in the signal for the line, and to hoist out one for the chase. This proved a most masterly manœuvre. The *French* fought bravely, but were at last obliged to strike their colours. Six of their men of war were taken with all their *East India* ships, and between 4 and 5000 *French* were made prisoners; amongst whom was *la Jonquiere* the admiral. About seven hundred of the *French* were killed and wounded, as were about five hundred of the *English*. *Ramezay*, who continued still at *Minas* and *Chiconeito*, received advice of this dreadful defeat by some straggling storeships, which escaped. An end was now put to all his towering hopes of reducing *Nova Scotia*, and he was obliged to return to *Canada*, while the treasure taken by the admirals *Anson* and *Warren* was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of *England*.

They endeavour
to re-
establish Ca-
nada.

It appears from the efforts made by the *French* towards the close of the war, which was terminated by the peace of *Aix-la Chapelle*, that they at last became sensible as to the importance of *Canada*, and they even strained their mother-country to support it. During the short interval between that peace, and the eruption of the late war, they constructed a number of forts, which bade fair for engrossing the whole of the *American* inland trade. One of their capital aims was to get possession of *Nova Scotia*, and to annex that extensive province

- a vince to *Cape Breton* (Q). They founded this scheme chiefly upon the affections of the *French*, who remained in *Nova Scotia* after the treaty of *Utrecht*, and who acted so much as *French* subjects, that they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the government of *Great Britain*. They endeavoured to join the two colonies of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, the former in *North* and the latter in *South America* by communications, which effectually cut the *English* from all the back settlements, and confined them to a very small portion of territory on the sea-coast; which in time they must likewise have been masters of. For this purpose they seized upon the river *Ohio*, by which they bounded the *English* possessions in the South, as they had done before by *Crown Point* and *Niagara* in the North. In the year 1749, immediately after the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they began to make good their unjust and scandalous claim upon that river, by sending five hundred men under M. *Celeron* to take possession of both sides of it. The *English* had a preferable right; but the natives thought that none had a title to their country but themselves, and therefore drove the *French* from their intended settlement. Upon this the *French* sent numbers of their disbanded soldiers to lake *Erie*, and formed settlements about *Detroit*, the river *Miamis*, and *Sandoski*. The uncertain condition in which the limits of *Nova Scotia* was left by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the shameful prevarications of the *French* commissaries concerning those limits, with all the various elusions they made use of, were the means they used for carrying their ambitious and treacherous designs into execution, in which they were so greatly aided by their mother-country, that at the time of that peace, the *Canadian* militia amounted to 12,000 men, besides 1000 regular troops, and the marine companies. In short, to bridle the *British* settlements, the following forts were erected; first, *Crown Point*, or *Fort Frederick*, which is an intrusion upon the jurisdiction of *New York*; secondly, *Fort Chamblais*, built upon a pass from the *English* settlements to the upper *French* settlements in *Canada*. Third, *Fort Sorel*, where the river *Chamblais* enters that of *St. Lawrence*. Fourth, *Fort Frontenac*, commonly called *Catarocouy*, which we have already so often mentioned. Fifth, *Fort Denonville*, near the great cataract of *Niagara* between the lake *Ontario* and the *Erie*. Sixth, *la Trouette* at *les Detrouites*, between the lake *Erie* and the *Hurons*. All or most of these forts have been occasionally mentioned in the course of this work; but the uses of them were never fully improved till the time of peace.
- d BESIDES the forts we have already mentioned occasional stockades were established from *Canada* to *New Orleans*, and the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which generally were garrisoned by a serjeant's command, and, at last, an annual patrol was settled, reaching all the amazing distance between *Quebec* and *New Orleans*, containing a journey of about six hundred leagues, comprehending the *Detours*. The government of *England* every week received fresh informations concerning the danger of their colonies from their *American* governors; but the imprudent, and indeed fatal stipulation of referring our territorial disputes to commissaries, who were to meet at *Paris*, prevented any vigorous measures from being taken. The commissaries, on the part of *France*, were *Galiffoniere*, who had been lately governor of *New France* and *la Houettes*. Those on the part of *Great Britain* were Mr. *Shirley* and Mr. *Mildmay*; but the proceedings on both parts were contemptible beyond expression. The *French* most impudently insisted upon the limits of *Nova Scotia* being confined to the peninsula of that name, while the *English* rightly claimed all the ancient *Acadia*, as ceded by the 12th article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, the limits of which are the southern bank of the river *St. Lawrence* to the north, and *Pentagoet* to the West. The particulars of this dispute are now immaterial; so that it is sufficient to say here that the *French* were guilty during those ridiculous conferences, not only of prevarication but of forgery, to support their claims, for they invented terms, limits, and charts, that never had any existence but in their own pretensions. But they did not confine their arguments to mere literary distinctions, for they supported them with arms. *Jonquiere*, then governor-general of *Canada*, actually sent letters to the *British* commandant at *Nova Scotia*, and the governor of *Massachusetts Bay*, by which he claimed great part of *Acadia*; and *la Corne*, a *French Canadian* officer, was detached with three companies of marines, about four hundred *Indians* of *Canada*, *St. John's*, *Cape Sable*, and *Penobscot*, some *Canada* militia and *Coueurs des Bois*, and *French* neutrals. The true design of this detachment, which was cantoned on the north side of *Chicouet Bay* and river, was to cover the building of forts, particularly those of *Beausejour*, and others near bay *Verte* and *St. John's* upon that narrow neck of land, so as to confine the *British* subjects entirely within the peninsula. All that the *British* subjects could do was to summon *la Corne* to retire. But without disowning his quarters of cantonment to be within the *British* dominions, he pretended he resided there only to protect and support the *French Indians*. It soon appeared that the *French* had a more extensive scheme in view. The governor-general of *Canada* formally intimated to the

Their forts

and disputes with the English commissaries.

(Q) See a very sensible work on this subject, intitled, "The Contest in America between Great Britain and France, with its consequences and importance, &c." Printed for Millar.

governors of *New York* and *Pensylvania*, that the *English* inland traders having presumed to trade with the *Indians*, who were under the protection of his sovereign, he would arrest them wherever they could be found. This menace, though an infamous proceeding, was carried into execution by the seizure of three *British* traders, whose effects were confiscated, while their persons were sent to *Quebec*, and from thence prisoners to *Rochelle*. There, with difficulty, an application from them found access to the earl of *Albemarle* the *British* ambassador at *Paris*; and they were set at liberty upon his lordship's remonstrating against the illegality of the proceeding. It must be acknowledged that the resentment of the *British* court at this time fell short of the provocations it received. Mr. *Pelham*, who was considered as the first minister at the court of *London*, had himself upright intentions, and was perhaps a little too backward in believing that the *French* were so ill intentioned as their proceedings but too palpably proved them to be. The assurances of friendship and amity daily thrown out by the ministry of *Versailles*, contributed to this delusion; but instead of being followed by suitable effects, their encroachments every day became more bare-faced and intolerable. It unfortunately happened, that they received but too much encouragement from the conduct of the *English* themselves, which makes a retrospective narrative here necessary.

Account of the
Ohio company.

SPOTSWOOD, the governor of *Virginia*, about the year 1716, was a man of sense and spirit, and finding the *Outaouais*, now called the *Twightees*, extremely well affectioned towards the *English*, he proposed to purchase some of their lands upon the river *Ohio*, and to erect a company for opening a trade to the southward, westward, and northward of that river with the savages. This was at once a rational and a practicable scheme, but the execution of it depended entirely upon the favourable dispositions of the natives for the *English*, which might have been secured by the punctual payment of the purchase-money or effects. This noble project clashed with the views of the *French*, who had, by this time, formed their great schemes upon the *Mississippi*, and the ministry of king *George* the 1st. as we have already hinted, having reasons for keeping well with that court, the project was not only dropt, but the *French* were encouraged to build the fort of *Crown Point* upon the territory of *New York*. Upon the conclusion of the peace of *Aix la-Chapelle*, *Spotswood's* scheme was revived: but the most prudent part of it was omitted; for no care was taken to conciliate the affection of the natives to the undertaking. Instead of that, certain merchants of *London* trading to *Maryland* and *Virginia*, being encouraged by the government upon their petition to undertake to settle the banks of the *Ohio*, provided they could exercise an exclusive trade with the *Indians*, employed a surveyor to take plans of the country, as far as the falls of that river. The natives, though pacific, were alarmed at this, and their natural jealousy was inflamed by the *French*, who represented the conduct of the *English* in the blackest colours. Even the separate traders of *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*, perceiving the gainful commerce carried on with the savages on the brink of ruin by a monopoly, co-operated with the *French*; so that in fact the undertakers lost all interest in that extensive country, the most beautiful and fertile perhaps of any in *America*. The *French* were not insensible of this, and continued to strengthen themselves at *Niagara* and the lake *Erie*, upon lands that originally belonged to the *British* subjects. Mr. *Hamilton*, who was then governor of *Pensylvania*, represented these proceedings to the assembly of that province, and proposed erecting truck houses in the nature of small forts upon the *Ohio* for the protection of the *British* traders there. But though the assembly agreed to this proposal, diversity of opinions and interests ruined the execution of it, while the *French* were every day becoming more and more formidable to the *English* settlements. Mr. *Dinwiddie*, the governor of *Virginia*, did not fail by many spirited speeches, messages, and dispatches to alarm the *British* government upon those interesting heads; and at last he sent one major *Washington* with a letter to the *French* commandant of a fort built on the river *au Beuf*, which falls into the *Ohio*, not far from lake *Erie*, and which was unquestionably situated upon *British* territory, complaining of the encroachment, and requiring him to evacuate the place. The only answer which Mr. *Dinwiddie* received to his message from the commandant, was, that he would transmit his letter to *Du Quesne*, the governor-general of *Canada*; but that it not being his business to examine into the property of the lands upon the *Ohio*, it could not be expected that he would leave his post. Mr. *Dinwiddie* upon this projected a fort near the forks of the river; but no care being taken by the *Virginians* for conciliating the affections of the natives, this served to exasperate them, though the province undertook to defray the expence, and the materials were actually provided.

Their practices on that
river.

In the mean while, a noble design was formed at home for securing the *British* settlements in *Nova Scotia*, by building the town of *Hallifax* there. It is divided into thirty-five squares, each containing sixteen lots, of forty by sixty feet, one established church, and one meeting house, and a small number of houses out of the regular streets, which are fifty-five feet broad. The town is surrounded with picketings, and guarded by forts on the

a the outside. Along the river, to the southward of the town, are buildings and fish flakes, for at least two miles; and to the northward, on the river, about one mile; and behind these several lots of fifteen acres distributed; also a small *Dutch* town, and a large space of land behind the town besides for a common. The river *Chebueto* is at the town three miles broad, and over-against the town is another small town, called *Dartmouth*, up a cove; this is very thinly inhabited, the *Indians* having often visited it, and done considerable damage. This plan, however, has since received vast improvements, and the whole project was formed by the earl of *Hallifax*, then first commissioner of the *British* Trade and Plantations. The original design of it was to give tracts of land to such officers and soldiers as were willing to go over and settle there. This scheme the government adopted, and began to execute in 1749; and the lords commissioners of Trade and Plantations issued a proclamation, by which fifty acres of land were offered to every soldier and sailor, who would settle in that part of *America*, without paying any rent or service during ten years, and no more than one shilling *per annum* for the fifty acres afterwards; to every soldier or sailor, who had a wife and children, ten acres more were offered for every individual in his family, and for every increase that should afterwards happen on the same condition. To each subaltern officer eighty acres, and fifteen more for each of his family; two hundred acres to each ensign, three hundred to each lieutenant, four hundred to each captain, six hundred to each officer in rank above a captain, and thirty acres more for every person in his household. The government also engaged to transport and maintain the new settlers one year at its own expense, and to furnish them with such arms, provisions, utensils, implements, and tools, as should be necessary to put them in a condition to clear and cultivate their lands, to build them habitations, and commence a fishery. The same conditions that were offered to soldiers and sailors, were also offered to all carpenters, and other handicraftsmen; and surgeons were offered the same conditions as an ensign. Though this proclamation was published so late as *March*, yet in the beginning of *May* following, no fewer than 3750 persons embarked and established themselves on the borders of the bay of *Chebueto*; where, under colonel *Cornwallis*, who was appointed governor of the settlement, they built a city called *Hallifax*, in honour of the projector, and before the end of *October*, the same year, three hundred and fifty comfortable wooden houses were built, as were many more during the winter. Nothing can more effectually shew the difference between the *English* and the *French* genius for colonizing, than the prodigious encouragement given by the *British* parliament to this infant settlement, which, in five years, amounted to a greater sum than all that the *French* had expended for a hundred and fifty years upon their extensive colony of *Canada*. The same year in which the first settlers were embarked, the parliament granted them 40,000 l. sterling, for the charge of that embarkation and other expenses. In the year 1750, they granted 57,582 l. 17 s. 3 d. 1 q. for the same purpose, in 1751, 53,927 l. 14 s. 4 d. in 1752, 61,492 l. 19 s. 4 d. 1 q. in 1753, 94,615 l. 12 s. 4 d. in 1754, 58,447 l. 2 s. and in 1755, 49,418 l. 7 s. 8 d. We have been the more particular with regard to this new settlement, because it formerly lay within the province of *Canada*, and because it was intended as a bulwark against the encroachments of the *French Canadians* in those quarters. It cannot be said that the success of the settlement answered the sanguine expectations of its patrons; and perhaps after-experience may prove that nothing is more hurtful to projects of that kind, than too great encouragement given by the government, as it tends to render the spirit of industry and agriculture less necessary to the subsistence of the inhabitants.

Settlement of
Hallifax,

No sooner was *Hallifax* peopled than the *French* clandestinely spirited up their *Indians* against the *British* inhabitants; some of whom were murdered, while others were carried prisoners to *Louisbourg*, where they were sold to the *French* for arms and ammunition. When the government of *England* complained of this to the *French* court, they pretended that their subjects carried on that traffic to preserve the *English* from the cruelty of their *Indian* captors; but the futility of this pretence was fully demonstrated, by the excessive ransom which they obliged the *British* captives to pay. As it was notorious, that even the *Indian* parties were headed by the *French*, the *British* settlers made repeated complaints on that head to the governor of *Louisbourg*; but all the satisfaction they received in answer was, that those *French* officers were the inhabitants of *Annapolis*, who remained there after that country was ceded to the crown of *England*; and that consequently they were the subjects of *Great Britain*. But at last those very *French* of *Annapolis* avowed their attachment to the government of *Canada* by rising in rebellion against that of *Great Britain*.

which is in-
fested by the
French.

In the spring of the year 1750, the government of *Hallifax* detached major *Lawrence* with a small party to reduce those rebels; but upon his approach they burnt their habitations, and fled for protection to *la Corne*, whom we have already mentioned, and who thereby found himself at the head of 1500 men well provided with arms and ammunition. The match therefore between him and *Lawrence* became thereby so unequal, that the latter

was obliged to have recourse to remonstrances only, upon the perfidious part the *French* were acting. *La Corne*, as usual, pretended that he could enter into no discussion of the rights of the two crowns : but he declared that he was resolved to obey his orders, and to maintain his post. Upon this *Lawrence* found himself under a necessity to return to *Halifax*, while the *French* neutrals, as they were called, renewed their depredations and murders upon the *English* subjects. Major *Lawrence* was then sent with 1000 men by sea to *Chignecto*; and though the rebels were advantageously posted, he killed a considerable number of them, and beating them out of their entrenchments obliged them again to take refuge under *la Corne*, by crossing a river, on the opposite bank of which he stood with his troops drawn up, and received them as friends and fellow subjects.

It cannot be dissembled that the state of parties in *England* at this time was unfavourable to any vigorous measures against the *French*. The *English* Americans were indeed warranted as to their hostilities against the *Indians*, and the *French* neutrals, who, in reality, were rebels; but they had not yet ventured to attack the *French* themselves, and this forbearance laid them under inexpressible disadvantages. All they could do was to act upon the defensive, and they built a fort called *St. Lawrence*, opposite to the *French* fort of *Beaufejour* on the neck of the peninsula. Notwithstanding this the *Indians* surprised the little town of *Dartmouth* on the other side of *Hallifax* bay, where they killed and scalped some inhabitants, and carried off others prisoners. Their manner of making war rendered it extremely difficult for the *English* to suppress them. Their natural swiftness and activity were favoured by the *French* lending their arms, ammunition, and canoes, which they did with all imaginable secrecy; and they were sheltered by two additional forts on the neck of the peninsula, one called *Bay Verte*, and the other at the mouth of *St. John's* river to the north of the bay of *Fundy*. The earl of *Albemarle* repeated his memorials at the court of *France* upon those invasions. He insisted upon *de la Jonquiere*, the *French* commander in chief in *Canada*, receiving orders to desist from all hostilities; that fort *Niagara* should be immediately demolished; that all the *British* prisoners in *America* should be set at liberty, and their captors severely punished. The *French*, in pursuance of their schemes, sought to gain time. They sent *Jonquiere* orders in the terms required by the *British* ambassador; but gave him (as appeared by his art and their conduct) private instructions, not to mind them, and all the satisfaction *Great Britain* obtained was the deliverance of six *English* prisoners out of their dungeons.

The French surprise Loggstown.

EVERY day brought fresh instances of the *French* encroachments and invasions in *America*. They surprised *Loggstown*, which the people of *Virginia*, for the convenience of trade, had built upon the *Ohio*, on pretence that it was within the government of *Canada*, and plundered its warehouses of skins and goods to the amount of 20,000*l*. Not contented with this booty, they murdered all the *British* traders but two, who escaped. In like manner, one *Coutrecaur*, a *French* officer came from *Venango*, another of their usurped forts on the *Ohio*, with 1000 men and eighteen pieces of cannon, in no fewer than three hundred canoes, and surprized a *Virginian* fort on the banks of the *Monongahela*. The certainty of of those, and many other hostilities arriving in *England*, the government there sent orders for their *American* governors to endeavour to drive the *French* from the *Ohio*, and to oppose force to force; but experience taught the *British* ministry the great superiority their enemies had arising from the constitutions of the two governments in that country. That of *Canada* or *New France* was moved by one direction, which gave it a force that rendered it more irresistible than that of the *English*, who had separate governments, and separate, nay sometimes contradictory, interests in view. This had been an evil long complained of, and it had visibly rendered our superiority of strength on that continent ineffectual, even for our own preservation. Two measures were necessary to be pursued to remedy this inconvenience. The first was a political confederacy amongst all the *British* governments; by which their power should be united in one; and the second was to detach the *Indians* from their connexions with the *French*.

Treaty between the English and the Iroquois ineffectual.

THE *British* colonists were sensible of the wisdom of those orders, but for the reason we have hinted at it was not easy to carry them into execution. The governor of *New York*, however, attended by deputies from the other governments, gave a meeting to the *Iroquois*, or, as they are now commonly called, the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* at *Albany*, where only a few of them attended, and it was evident that all of them were cooled in their affections towards the *English*. This was owing to the powerful, but secret practices of the *French* government, who, of late, had applied themselves in good earnest to the advancement of *Canada*, and had sent thither immense stores of money, arms, and ammunition. The *English*, to counterwork them in the same way, had voted considerable presents (the province of *Virginia* in particular raised five hundred pounds) to the savages of *Albany*; which they accepted of; but could be brought into no other measures for an alliance with the *English*, excepting that they were willing to renew their old treaties, and to join in driving the *French* from

a from the posts they had usurped upon their lands. Major *Washington* had been dispatched by governor *Dinwiddie* to the *French* commandant upon the *Ohio*, requiring to know by whose authority and instructions he lately marched from *Canada* with an armed force, and invaded the king of *Great Britain's* territories. An officer, called *St. Pierre* was the commandant, and he returned Mr. *Dinwiddie* an answer dated from the fort upon the river *au Beuf*, full of evasions, but promising to transmit the governor's letter to the marquis *du Quesne* the governor-general of *Canada*. *Washington* having returned to *Williamsburg*, the *British* governors of *Virginia* and *New York*, came to a resolution to send him with some men to maintain their posts upon the *Ohio*. He accordingly encamped on the *Great Meadows*, and at first obtained some advantages, which were but confusedly related in the *English* Gazettes, b and the accounts published by their officers. *Washington* had with him about four hundred men, and had thrown up a hasty entrenchment for his own defence, upon what the *French* called their ground. A *French* officer, one *Villier*, then commanded at *Monongahela*, who, according to the *English* accounts, was at the head of nine hundred men; and *Washington* was expecting reinforcements from *New York*, which never arrived. *De Villier* sent one *Jamouville*, with a small party, formally to require *Washington* to abandon his entrenchments, or as he called it, fort. But the whole detachment was destroyed or taken prisoners, if we may believe the *French*, in a most unsoldierlike manner. *De Villier*, upon this, advanced at the head of his main body, and began an attack, after killing all the *English* horses and cattle in the meadows. *Washington*, for some time, defended himself with great intrepidity, and, c notwithstanding the inequality of the numbers, the *French* commandant offered him and his detachment a very honourable capitulation, by which both parties were to retire; the *English* towards *Wills's Creek* and the *French* back to *Monongahela*. *Washington* accepted of the terms, and sent two officers as hostages for the re-delivery of some prisoners, who had been made of *Jamouville's* detachment. The capitulation was scarcely settled, when a body of *French* Indians appeared, and though they were prevented from breaking it, which they were violently inclined to do, yet the *French* commandant very tamely saw them harra's the *English* in their retreat, and plunder their baggage.

Defence of
Washington.

THE *French* ministry, by this time, having sent the full complements of reinforcements and supplies to *Quebec*, were at less than usual pains to apologize for this flagrant and d warrantable hostility, when complained of by the earl of *Albermarle*. The *English* colonies in *America*, instead of uniting against their common danger, seemed to be more divided than ever. The *Virginians* laid the blame of *Washington's* misfortune upon the people of *New York* not having fulfilled their engagements. At the same time, they differed upon some very immaterial points with their governor. The like disputes happened between the government and the people of *Pennsylvania*. The inhabitants of *New York* were exasperated to the last degree, upon their discovering certain instructions, which they knew their new governor, *Si. Danvers Osborn*, had brought from *England*; and the other *British* colonies on that continent were in a very little better situation; but they all concurred in sometimes blaming the backwardness, and sometimes imploring the assistance, of their mother country. e Orders were at last given by the court of *England* for raising two *American* regiments, the command of which was given to *Shirley*, governor of *New England*, and to *Sir William Pepperel*, a gentleman of that country, who both had served in the same rank in the preceding war. Several stores were likewise dispatched from *England*, for the defence of our *American* plantations, particularly of *Castle William* in *Virginia*; and notice, on the 7th of *October*, was given in the *Gazette* of the names of the officers, who were taken from the regular troops, that they might repair to their several stations.

f THE duke de *Mirepoix* was then the *French* ambassador at the court of *London*, and was a nobleman of more than *Gallic* integrity. The *English* ambassador at *Paris* being now dead, and *Mirepoix* being witness of the great preparations making in *England* for *America*; his court, who did not think that that of *England* would proceed with so much vigour, employed him to renew their assurances, that no hostilities were intended. They knew *Mirepoix's* character too well, to believe that he would give insincere assurances, and therefore carefully concealed from him their true intention, which made the ambassador enter very earnest protestations of his court's good faith; and offered to be answerable for it with his private honour. The *British* ministry had better intelligence than he imagined, and he was con- founded when they answered all his protestations of cordiality, by producing copies of the orders sent to the governor-general and their officers in *Canada*, which flatly contradicted him. The proofs were too flagrant to be denied, and all he could do was to upbraid the *French* ministry in person, but they referred him to the king, who sent him back with orders from himself to assure the court of *England* of his pacific intentions. Before he could well reach *London*, undoubted intelligence arrived of a powerful *French* armament being ready to sail from *Brest* and *Rocheft*. Upon this, admiral *Boscawen*, towards the end of *April*, 1755, sailed with twelve men of war for *Plymouth*, where they were to take soldiers on board,

Negotiations
between
France and
England at
London.

and from thence to proceed to watch the progress of the *French* fleet. The latter appeared to be stronger than was at first apprehended; for it consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, and had on board 4000 regular troops, commanded by baron *Dieskau*, bound for *Canada* with vast quantities of warlike stores. Upon this intelligence, the *British* naval preparations were redoubled, and admiral *Holbourne* was sent with six ships of the line and a frigate to reinforce *Boscawen*.

French fleet
sails for Ca-
nada.

MACNAMARA was appointed to command the *French* fleet, and, in the beginning of *May*, he sailed with it from *Brest*, his course being directed for *Canada*; but, after seeing it out of the chops of the *English* channel, he returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest continued their course under the command of *M. Bois de la Motte*. *Mirepoix* no longer depending upon the faithless *French* ministry for his instructions, still continued his negotiations; but being made acquainted that *Boscawen*'s instructions were to act offensively, he declared that his master would consider the first gun fired in a hostile manner, as a declaration of war, which would set all *Europe* and *America* in flames. It is foreign to our subject, to trace the many operations that were designed at this time, farther than they relate to *Canada*, and the war between the *French* and the *English* on that continent. *Boscawen* arrived on the banks of *Newfoundland*, and took his station off *Cape Race*. In a few days after, *M. Bois de la Motte* arrived with his squadron upon the same coast: but the thick fogs prevented either squadron from discovering the other, by which, part of the *French* escaped up the river *St. Lawrence*, and part went round to the same river by the straits of *Bellefleur*. Two of their ships, however, the *Alcide*, of sixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys* pierced for sixty-five guns, but mounted only twenty-two, with four companies of land-forces on board, were separated by the fog from the rest of the fleet, and fell in with the *Dunkirk*, commanded by captain *Hotte*, and the *Defiance*, commanded by captain *Andrews*, both of them sixty-four gun ships; and, after a brisk engagement, they were both taken, with about 8000 l. on board. Various were the accounts which party began the attack; but, though the dispute is immaterial, it is probable the *French* fired the first gun, though the *English*, it is said, gave the first provocation.

The *Lys* and
Alcide taken.

Colonel
Monckton
reduces the
French forts in
Nova Scotia.

THE principal effect which this blow had (though it fell short of the public expectation) was to alarm the *French*, as much as it animated the *English*. The two *French* ministers, *Mirepoix* at *London*, and *Buffy* at *Hanover*, (where his *Britannic* majesty then was) were recalled, and the people of *Great Britain* being now convinced that the government was in earnest in their war with *France*, their preparations, both by sea and land, were continued with a spirit and expedition beyond example. The assembly of *Massachusetts-Bay* prohibited all commerce with the *French* at *Louisbourg*; and, early in the year, they raised a body of troops, which they sent to the assistance of *Mr. Lawrence*, governor of *Nova Scotia*, who had formed a plan, the execution of which was committed to colonel *Monckton*, for driving the *French* from fort *Beaufejour*, and the other posts they held upon the isthmus. The *French* had foreseen this attempt, and had made preparations, but ineffectually, to resist it. While colonel *Monckton* was employed by land upon this service, captain *Rous* was dispatched up the bay of *Fundy*, with three frigates and a sloop. The first resistance the *English* met with was at a block-house upon the river *Massaguesset*, where about four hundred and fifty rebel *Acadians* and *Indians* were posted with cannon behind a strong breast-work of timber. From this post they were driven, in an hour's time, by the *English* provincials, and the passage of the river was left free. The colonel then, on the 12th of *June*, invested fort *Beaufejour*, which mounted twenty-six pieces of cannon, with store of ammunition; and, after a bombardment of four days, before he had mounted a single cannon upon his batteries, he obliged it to surrender, though his force was so small, that he could not invest it. About a hundred and fifty regulars and three hundred inhabitants were found alive in the fort; the name of which the colonel changed into that of *Cumberland*. The capitulation granted to the garrison was, that it should not bear arms in *America* for six months; that they should be sent, at the king of *Great Britain*'s expence, to *Louisbourg*; that the *Acadians*, in consideration of their having been compelled by the *French* to rebel, should be pardoned.

NEXT day, the colonel reduced the other *French* fort upon the river *Gaspereau*, running into *Bay Verte*, which was chiefly considerable by the large magazines of provisions it contained for the supply of the *Indians*. He then disarmed the *Acadians*, to the number, as is said, of 25,000. Captain *Rous* then sailed with three twenty-gun ships and a sloop, to look into *St. John's* river, where they found no ships; but the *French* in the fort there, upon their appearance, burst their cannon, blew up their magazine, and marched off. The native *Indians* upon the place, next morning, invited captain *Rous* on shore, and gave him the strongest assurances, that they intended to live in peace and friendship with the *English*;

a and that they had refused to assist the *French*, though greatly pressed by them to do it. We are now to attend another *English* expedition in *America*, which was as unfortunate, as that we have been describing was successful.

THE war with *France* being now declared, the *English* ministry, after almost ruining the *French* commerce by sea, came to a resolution of pushing them with the utmost vigour by land. For this purpose, other expeditions were marked out; one under general *Braddock*, who was to be sent from *England* against fort *du Quesne* upon the *Ohio*. Colonel *Johnson*, a *British American*, and an excellent officer, was to march against *Crown Point*, while general *Shirley* was to attack their fort at *Niagara*. *Braddock* had little to recommend him, but great courage and some experience in war; though of a very different sort from that required to succeed in *America*. In other respects he was very ill qualified to act in concert with the *British Americans*. It was agreed, that the general should sail from *Cork* in *Ireland*, with colonel *Dunbar's* and Sir *Peter Halket's* regiments of foot for *Virginia*, where he arrived before the end of *February*. This first part of his destination is thought to have been injudicious, and to have been owing to certain partialities at home for the *Virginians*. *Braddock* himself, as well as the publick, knew that the success of his attempt depended chiefly upon his being able to take the field early; but, when he arrived at *Virginia*, where the contractors with the government had engaged to provide him with provisions, and carriages for his army, he found none in readiness, which seems to have rendered him desperate, and he was at very little pains to conceal his resentment against the provincials. Encamping at *Will's Creek* he had a hundred and thirty miles to march from thence to fort *du Quesne*, but the disappointment of his provisions and carriages, both which are very scarce in *Virginia*, retarded his army for some weeks. At last, the back-settlers of *Pensylvania* were applied to, and they furnished some provisions, but those so bad, that they could scarcely be made use of, together with fifteen waggons, and a hundred draught horses, instead of a hundred and fifty waggons, and three hundred horses, which the *Virginians* had contracted for. All that the general, and the officers of the expedition, could do, in this case, was to apply to some private gentlemen of *Pensylvania*, whose zeal for the service supplied him with what he wanted; though the principles of the *Pensylvanians*, in general are known not to be very favourable to offensive operations in war. *Braddock*, being now plentifully supplied with provisions and carriages, on the 12th of *June*, set out upon his march, and passed the *Alleghany* mountains at the head of 2200 men, till he came within five days march of fort *du Quesne*. Here he laboured under two great disadvantages, which he could not remedy; besides many that he could. In the first place, he could receive no certain accounts of the state of the enemy's garrison at *du Quesne*, or of their forts in the neighbourhood. In the next place, the advanced season of the year had brought out the leaves of the trees, and the other verdure, which concealed the ambushes of the enemy^d. With regard to the other disadvantages he was under, they were owing chiefly to himself. Though he had been furnished by the duke of *Cumberland*, then commander in chief of the *British* forces, with a set of instructions so wise and seasonable, that it seemed as if his royal highness had foreseen his conduct, and every step that brought on his fatal catastrophe; yet he treated the *Indians* with the utmost contempt, without employing them in guarding against what his royal highness principally cautioned him, ambushes and surprizes. He even not only neglected and disobliged the *Virginians*, but behaved with insupportable haughtiness to his own officers; and the rather, as they urged the necessity of a circumspect march. When he came to the *Little Meadows*, where *Washington* had been defeated the year before, about twenty miles beyond fort *Cumberland*, at *Will's Creek* he received advice, that the *French* at fort *du Quesne* expected a reinforcement of five hundred men. Upon this, he left the greatest part of his waggons, with about eight hundred men, under the command of colonel *Dunbar*, with orders to follow him as expeditiously as he conveniently could; and with the main body of the army, and twelve pieces of cannon, he encamped the eighth day of *July*, within ten miles of fort *du Quesne*. Sir *Peter Halket*, a brave but prudent officer, took that opportunity of putting the general in mind, that it was not even then too late to employ the few friendly *Indians*, that remained with them in the camp, in reconnoitring the woods and passages, and marching upon the flanks of the line. *Braddock* rejected this advice, not without some contemptuous insinuations, as to *Halket's* caution; and, on the ninth, he continued his march, and fell into an ambuscade of *French* and *Indians* in the woods, planted in a manner peculiar to the *Canadians* and their savages, so as that they could do execution, without being themselves exposed to danger. About noon, a general fire upon the front, and upon the left flank of the *English*, was the first intimation which the general had of the attack. By this time, he was in the very middle of the defile, where the ambush had been so artfully placed, that not a man of the

Vigorous preparations of the English against Canada;

are disappointed,

and Braddock defeated and killed.

^d See the state of the Disputes in *Pensylvania* between the governor and assembly.

enemy was to be seen; but where they could take unerring aim from behind trees and in thickets. The van of the *English* fell back upon their center; and the panic of the whole was proportioned to the suddenness of their danger, so that a general route ensued, and *Braddock* was left with only his officers, and a few brave men about him, who, in vain, attempted to engage an enemy they could not discern. The officers, who behaved on this trying occasion admirably well, endeavoured to stop or to rally the men; but the general gave no orders for a regular retreat, or for bringing up his cannon to scour the woods and bushes with great shot, which might have dislodged the enemy. Instead of that, he remained on the spot, and ordered the officers and soldiers about him to form in regular platoons against the invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution, especially on the brave officers, who were known by their dresses. The general himself, after having five horses killed under him, was shot through the arm and lungs, and he died on the fourth day after; having been carried off the field, with great affection and courage, by lieutenant colonel *Gage*, and another of his officers. Sir *Peter Halket* was killed on the spot, as were two captains and ten or twelve subalterns; and many other brave officers were wounded. In short, the loss of the *English* was about seven hundred.

Bravery of the
Virginians.

It is remarkable, that the *Virginians* and other provincial troops who were in this action, and whom *Braddock*, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, far from being affected with the panic which disordered the regulars, offered to advance against the enemy, till the others could form and bring up the artillery; but the regulars could not be brought again to the charge, where, as they said, they were butchered without seeing their enemy. Notwithstanding this, the provincials actually formed, and behaved so well, that they brought off the remaining regulars; and the retreat of the whole was so unintermitting, that the fugitives never stopt, till they met the rear division, which was advancing under colonel *Dunbar*. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and papers, of the division under the general, fell into the hands of the enemy, even to his own cabinet, with his letters and instructions. Colonel *Dunbar*, upon whom the chief command of that army then devolved, rendered unserviceable all the artillery that remained with his division; and the *French Indians*, after sharing the booty, which fell into their hands, returned to *Canada*. This fatal defeat made no impression upon the friendly *English Indians*, who, when they heard of it, said, that they expected nothing else from the conduct of general *Braddock*, who was unacquainted with their manner of fighting.

It was naturally expected that the colonel would have passed the remainder of the summer at *Cumberland* fort, where he might have fortified his little army, and prevented the excesses of the *French Indians*, on the western borders of *Virginia* and *Pennsylvania*. But it is said he found himself under two disadvantages: the first was, that the panic continued so strong upon the regulars, that they refused to remain in that inhospitable country, which had already proved so fatal to their brethren; and the next was, that they were in danger of perishing for want of provisions, which could be obtained only from *Pennsylvania*, with great trouble, expence, and danger. He therefore left the sick and wounded at that fort, together with two independent companies of the provincial militia, by way of garrison, and returned with the remainder of the army to *Philadelphia*, where the general assembly of *Pennsylvania* had voted 50,000 l. and 3000 men for defending the colony; but both were rendered ineffectual by the disputes that were renewed between the governor and the assembly. Soon after, Mr. *Shirley*, upon whom by the death of *Braddock*, the command of the *British* troops in *America* devolved, ordered the troops under *Dunbar* to remove to *Albany* in *New York*; and thus *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pennsylvania* were, for the remainder of the year, left entirely exposed to the barbarities of their enemies, who were not wanting in harassing them.

Discord amongst the
English in
America.

It appeared evidently, from the conduct of the *Pennsylvanian* assembly, that their members considered no evil so great as that of submitting to their governor, who pretended that, by his instructions, he was disabled from passing the bill for raising the 50,000 l. if the estates of the proprietaries were to be affected by it. Thus each party risked the safety of its country to a foreign enemy, rather than comply in a few immaterial points with the other. The rest of the *American* colonies observed a conduct somewhat more rational. Upon the defeat of *Braddock*, they saw the necessity of exerting themselves. The people of *New York* voted the sum of 40,000 l. for the public service; passed an act against all intercourse or trade between the *French* and them in *America*; and the rendezvous of the troops destined for the reduction of *Crown Point* and *Niagara*, was appointed to be at *Albany*, where most of them arrived before the beginning of July. The *French* all this while, by their scalping parties, filled all the out-settlements of the *English* in *North America* with the most horrid murders, but after the rendezvous of the troops at *Albany*, it was perceived that the artillery and provisions, with the battocs that were to carry them and the men, could not be ready before the eighth of August. As a great deal depended on the success

a success of this expedition, the *American* governments began to open their eyes to the necessity of postponing all the little differences amongst themselves, that they might pursue the wise plan of union recommended to them from *Great Britain*. The governments of *Boston*, *Connecticut*, *New Hampshire*, *Rhode-Island*, and *New York*, accordingly applied themselves with great spirit; and Sir *William Johnson* found at lake *George*, to which he set out from *Albany*, between 5 and 6000 men, besides *Indians*, that had been raised by those governments. Every thing then being ready for the grand expedition, *Johnson*, after advancing about fourteen miles, chose a strong camp, defended on its flanks by swamps, in its rear by lake *George*, and in its front by a breast-work of trees. In this camp, he was to wait for his battoes, that he might proceed to *Ticonderoga*, the strong pass, that, when taken, was to open his way to *Crown Point*, from which it was about fifteen miles distant. He soon received intelligence, that a body of the enemy were on their march to attack fort *Edward*, at the carrying-place, in which was a garrison of between four and five hundred *New Hampshire* and *New York* men. *Johnson*, having advertised *Blanchard*, the *English* commandant of that fort, of his danger, resolved next morning to send out, under colonel *Williams*, a detachment of 1000 men, and about 200 *Indians*, which force he thought was sufficient to cope with that of the *French* at fort *Edward*. They had scarcely left the camp when *Johnson* and his men heard a regular firing; the meaning of which was soon explained by the detachment under *Williams* returning in the utmost confusion, pursued by a regular body of the enemy, under general *Dieskau*, who seemed to point their march to the very center of the *English* camp. Had those *French* immediately attacked the wooden intrenchment, during the consternation of the *English*, and before they had been able to draw up the heavy cannon for its defence, they probably would have succeeded in their attack, to the entire destruction of the *English* army. But, halting about a hundred and fifty yards from the breast work, and beginning to fire at too great a distance to do execution, the *English* plied their great guns and musketry so warmly, that the central body of the *French* regulars, who were all of them picked men, began to flag in their fire, while the *Canadian* and *Indians*, who formed the flanks of their army, fled into the woods, from whence they could not be drawn to support *Dieskau's* attack.

THAT general varied his dispositions. Finding he could make no impression upon the center of the *English*, he made two different attacks on the right and left of the camp, and with vast obstinacy he continued those attacks from twelve at noon to four in the afternoon, till his fire became so feeble, that the *English* and their *Indians* completed the rout of their enemies, by jumping over the breast work, and, after slaughtering numbers, they took prisoner *Dieskau* himself, whom they found leaning on a tree, and wounded in his leg and through both his hips. Of the *French* were killed in this action about eight hundred, but those the flower of their troops. The greatest loss of the *English*, which in the whole did not amount to above a hundred and eighty men, fell upon the detachment under colonel *Williams*, who was himself killed, with his major, *Ashley*, six captains and subalterns. Among the slain on the side of the *Indians* was old *Hendrick*, the great *Mohawk* sachem, who, with his men, fought like a lion, and whose death was afterwards severely revenged on the *French*. Of the *English* within the breast-work, few were killed, but among them was colonel *Titcombe*; and the general and major *Nichols* were wounded.

THIS action, however important in its consequences, did no great honour to the military abilities of the *French* general. *Dieskau*, like *Braddock*, bred a regular soldier, like him owed his defeat to a ridiculous attachment to camp and field discipline, against an enemy, and in a country, where both were not only useless but prejudicial. When he left *Quebec*, he had with him about 3000 regulars, great part of whom he had placed in *Crown Point*, and at other important passes. Had he executed his original plan of seizing fort *Edward*, the *English* army must have been greatly distressed, as they could not have advanced farther, and had they retreated great part of them must have been cut off. His leaving his design against fort *Edward* unexecuted, was owing to his receiving intelligence, that *Johnson's* camp was destitute of heavy artillery, which indeed was true, the *English* cannon having arrived but a very short time before the attack was made, and were only mounted that very morning. Obstinacy, misinformation, and a contempt for the *English* provincials, occasioned his continuing his ineffectual attacks, without heavy artillery, after he saw his enemy so well prepared to receive him. With regard to *Johnson*, he seems to have been too late in sending out the detachment under *Williams*, for the relief of fort *Edward*, and it is amazing that he should hazard such a body, without being informed of his enemy's numbers. But the greatest blame he incurred was his not pursuing the victory he had obtained, which it was generally thought he might have done (R). Next

The French
defeated by
Sir William
Johnson.

Consequences
of that de-
feat.

(R) The apology the general makes for this, in his letter to the governors of the *English* colonies, is, "Our men, by so much fatigue, are almost worn out; and, as the enemy have considerable reinforcements at hand, we are in daily apprehensions of a more formidable attack, and that they will then come with artillery."

day;

day, a body of the defeated enemy fell upon a detachment of a hundred and twenty of the *New Hampshire* men, who had been ordered by the general to reinforce his camp, and who were under the command of captain *Magennis*. That brave officer, perceiving he was to be attacked by numbers far superior to his, made so noble a disposition, and was so well seconded by a lieutenant under him, one *Van Schaack*, that he defeated and dispersed the enemy with the loss only of two men, eleven wounded, and five missing; but he himself was mortally wounded, and carried, but just alive, to the camp at lake *George*.

He is rewarded by the king and parliament of Great Britain.

It was with difficulty, that Sir *William Johnson*, who had more influence over the *English Indians*, than any *British* colonist ever was known to have prevented them from putting to death *Diskau*, and the other *French* prisoners, in revenge of their sachem *Hendrick's* death; nor was it the least important consequence of his victory, that it regained to the *English* the esteem and confidence of their *Indians*. This, indeed, with the defeat and disappointment of the *French*, was all that the *English* colonies acquired by this expensive expedition. The battle being fought on the ninth of *September*, the proceeding to the attack of *Crown Point* was thought impracticable; especially as no care had been taken to secure a communication between the army and *Albany*. *Johnson*, therefore, leaving a small detachment to garrison a stockaded fort, at the hither end of lake *George*, carried back his troops to their respective homes. But, whatever mistakes he might have been guilty of during this campaign, it is certain that his services were much considered in *England*, where the sound of victory had not for a long time been heard, that he was created a baronet, and received from the parliament a gratuity of 5000 l. But we are now to attend general *Shirley's* operations against *Niagara* (S).

Shirley's march towards *Oswego*.

So important a command being conferred on a man said to have been bred a lawyer, who had never exhibited any striking instances of abilities, either in the field or the cabinet, and who had no visible qualification to recommend him, but some knowledge of the country, in which he might be equalled, if not excelled, by every common ranger, created much speculation, and damped the spirit of the service at its outset; and the public apprehensions were but too well confirmed by the event. Like all other expeditions in *North America*, the success of that against *Niagara* depended chiefly on the troops taking the field early. We have already mentioned the great importance of *Oswego*, which had been projected by Mr. *Burnet*, governor of *New York*, but no care had been taken to fortify it suitably. *Shirley's* march to *Niagara* lay by *Oswego*. In the preceding year, some measures had been suggested for strengthening that post by augmenting its garrison, and by building vessels on lake *Ontario*, so as to intercept all communication between *Niagara* and the other *French* forts on the south of that lake, and fort *Frontenac* or *Catarocouy*, on the north. A number of these vessels, carrying six pounders and swivels, were accordingly constructed, and greatly distressed the *French* trade on the lake. About the same time, captain *Bradstreet* carried two companies of a hundred men each to *Oswego*, to reinforce that garrison, which had lately been augmented from the pitiful number of twenty-five to a hundred men. The long and dangerous march between *Albany* and *Oswego* increased the necessity of the troops setting early out for *New York*; which they did not till the best time for action was over. It was the beginning of *June*, before colonel *Schuyler's* *New Jersey* regiment took the field, and while *Shirley's* and *Pepperel's* regiments, with the *Indians*, the whole amounting to about 2500 men, were ready to follow them, the dismal news of *Braddock's* defeat arriving at *Albany*, dispirited the troops so greatly, that they deserted in great numbers; so that when *Shirley* arrived at *Oswego*, he scarcely had the face of an army fit to go on so important an expedition, and, at the same time to secure the *British* settlements in those parts. Many of the battoe-men, in particular, refusing to proceed, conveniences could not be had, even for carrying the necessary provisions for the troops; and the *Indians*, on whom the general had laid great stress, were so far from joining him, that they absolutely declared against his expedition, as tending to disturb their peace and commerce. It was the 17th or 18th of *August*, before *Shirley* himself arrived at *Oswego*, and the last day of the same month before his troops and artillery came up.

(S) It may be necessary here to remind our readers of the situation and uses of the three great *French* forts in *North America*, which we shall do from a Journal of that War, published in 1755. "*Niagara*, *Du Quesne*, and *Crown Point*, are three forts built by the *French*, in consequence of their scheme to possess all the passes of the back countries, and secure them by strong garrisons, to restrain us from penetrating farther into the continent, than the part we possess, and, at length, to exclude us from all commerce with the *Indians*, and engross the fur trade to themselves. *Crown Point* was built about the year 1730, by the *Canadians*, though it is in the province of *New York*, and little more than a hundred

miles from *Albany*. From this advanced garrison, they can easily annoy all the upper parts of *New York* and *New England*, and prevent the settlement of any lands, north of *Hudson's* and *Connecticut* rivers. Fort *du Quesne* was built about three years ago, and is an encroachment upon *Pennsylvania*; which enables the *French* to harass that, as well as the neighbouring provinces of *Maryland* and *Virginia*. *Niagara* is at the strait between the lakes *Erie* and *Ontario*, and secures the great communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*. It is in the country of the *Senegas*, the most powerful of the *Five Nations*, and was built since the year 1721.

- a It was easily foreseen, that nothing for that year could be done against *Niagara*, notwithstanding the excellent conveniencies of the vessels that had been built upon the lake. The season was not only too far advanced; but though the general waited till the 26th of *September*, when he received a supply of provisions, it was so small that it was scarcely sufficient to subsist the six hundred men he intended to carry with him against *Niagara*, and to support the troops he was to leave at *Oswego* for twelve days; so that, if even the rainy season had not set in as it did, the expedition must have been impracticable. A council of war being called, it was unanimously resolved to defer the expedition against *Niagara* to the succeeding year; to leave colonel *Mercer* at *Oswego*, with a garrison of six hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the safety of that place, and the entrance of the harbour; and that the general himself should return with the rest of the army to *Albany*, for which he accordingly set out on the 24th of *October*. Thus an expedition, of which it is hard to say, whether it was planned or executed with less judgment. Nothing had happened during the course of it that might not have reasonably been foreseen, and the general returned to *Albany* at the very time his presence was most wanted at *Oswego*. The defeat of *Braddock*, and the taking his papers had informed the *French* of all the intended operations, on the part of the *English*, during the campaign, and *Shirley* had undoubted intelligence, that they had 1000 regulars at fort *Frontenac*, who were designed for the attack of *Oswego*, where the two forts had only been marked out, when he abandoned it. In the mean while the dreadful cruelties and plunderings of the *French* and their *Indians* upon the *English* back-
- b settlements were so numerous, that though they fell upon particular persons, they became a general concern. Upon the whole, it was evident, from the little effect, which so great a force as that employed by the *English* in *America* had this year against an enemy, which, compared to them were despicable, that certain private discontents lurked in the minds of the chief provincials. Whatever they might pretend, they knew well that *Braddock* had a commission to act as commander in chief of all the *British* troops on that continent, and that they were only to be subordinate to him. *Shirley* was both disliked and despised in his military capacity; and *Johnson's* army, which, after the defeat of the *French*, amounted to 6000 men, was obliged to be disbanded for the winter, for want of provisions and for other domestic reasons.
- c THE *British* ministry were fully sensible that mistakes and mismanagements had been committed in the service, but they were tender and cautious of enquiring into them, and far more of punishing them; as not only the rigour of the military law was new in *America*, but it would have been highly impolitic, to have exasperated those colonists by any unnecessary acts of severity. A resolution was therefore formed to throw the weight of the *American* war upon the mother-country chiefly; and that a regiment of foot should be raised in *North America*, consisting of four battalions of 1000 men each, besides six regiments of foot, who were to sail from *Ireland* to serve in *North America* and the *East-Indies*. Mr. *Fox*, who was then minister, at the same time presented to the house a message from his majesty, desiring it to take into consideration the faithful services of the *New Englandmen*, and his subjects in some other parts of *North America*. The 4000 men of the *American* regiment were composed mostly of *Germans* and *Swiss*, who had been settled on the borders of the *British* colonies; and an act of parliament passed, enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign protestants, who served abroad as officers, or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers, in *America* only. In the month of *January*, *De Rouille*, the *French* minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs, addressed a letter to Mr. *Fox*, bitterly complaining of the hostilities that had been committed by *Braddock* and *Boscawen*, and the captures that had been made of the *French* ships before any declaration of war, with many other matters. But a very proper, because a very spirited, answer, justifying all that had been done, was returned to those complaints; and hostilities continued to be multiplied between the two nations. General *Shirley* was dismissed from his military command, in which he was succeeded by general *Abercrombie*, who, in *March* this year, carried over with him two regiments to *North America*, while the command in chief over all the *American* forces was conferred on the earl of *Loudon*. Besides this command, his lordship was made governor of *Virginia*, and colonel of the royal *American* regiment, consisting of the 4000 men, that were to be disciplined by foreign, and other, officers of experience, besides being vested with other extraordinary powers; and his lordship embarked the latter end of *May*, for his important command.
- d THE *British* ministry were fully sensible that mistakes and mismanagements had been committed in the service, but they were tender and cautious of enquiring into them, and far more of punishing them; as not only the rigour of the military law was new in *America*, but it would have been highly impolitic, to have exasperated those colonists by any unnecessary acts of severity. A resolution was therefore formed to throw the weight of the *American* war upon the mother-country chiefly; and that a regiment of foot should be raised in *North America*, consisting of four battalions of 1000 men each, besides six regiments of foot, who were to sail from *Ireland* to serve in *North America* and the *East-Indies*. Mr. *Fox*, who was then minister, at the same time presented to the house a message from his majesty, desiring it to take into consideration the faithful services of the *New Englandmen*, and his subjects in some other parts of *North America*. The 4000 men of the *American* regiment were composed mostly of *Germans* and *Swiss*, who had been settled on the borders of the *British* colonies; and an act of parliament passed, enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign protestants, who served abroad as officers, or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers, in *America* only. In the month of *January*, *De Rouille*, the *French* minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs, addressed a letter to Mr. *Fox*, bitterly complaining of the hostilities that had been committed by *Braddock* and *Boscawen*, and the captures that had been made of the *French* ships before any declaration of war, with many other matters. But a very proper, because a very spirited, answer, justifying all that had been done, was returned to those complaints; and hostilities continued to be multiplied between the two nations. General *Shirley* was dismissed from his military command, in which he was succeeded by general *Abercrombie*, who, in *March* this year, carried over with him two regiments to *North America*, while the command in chief over all the *American* forces was conferred on the earl of *Loudon*. Besides this command, his lordship was made governor of *Virginia*, and colonel of the royal *American* regiment, consisting of the 4000 men, that were to be disciplined by foreign, and other, officers of experience, besides being vested with other extraordinary powers; and his lordship embarked the latter end of *May*, for his important command.
- e By this time, the *English* subjects all over *North America*, seeing their mother country was determined to support them in earnest, but sensible that they must lend their own vigorous assistance, made extraordinary efforts to bring a formidable force to the field. When general *Abercrombie* on the fifth of *June*, arrived at *Albany*, he took upon him the command of the troops there, consisting of the two regiments, which had served under *Braddock*, two battalions raised in *America*, the two regiments he brought along with him, four *New*

From whence he returns ineffectually.

Conduct of the British ministry.

1756.

Who send general Abercrombie and lord Loudon to America,

York independent companies, the *New Jersey* regiment, four *North Carolina* companies, and a body of *New England* provincials. As to the settlements towards the southward, containing *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, they had suffered, and were daily suffering, so much from the *French* plunderings and massacres, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves. The plan for the campaign was to reduce fort *Niagara*, as being the most effectual means for disabling the *French* from maintaining their forts upon the *Ohio*, or keeping up their communication between *Louisiana* and *Canada*. *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point* were likewise to be reduced for the security of *New York*. All the convenient passes upon lake *Champlain* were to be seized by the *English*; fort *du Quesne* was to have been besieged, and *Quebec* itself to have been alarmed by a body of troops detached up the river *Kennebeck*. This plan of operations was promising, and not at all impracticable even by the *British* troops, who were in readiness; but it seemed as if the commander in chief had no instructions to enter upon any decisive measures, till the arrival of lord *Loudon*, which proved too late in the year for their being executed; for he did not embark with the troops under his command from *England*, till the time abovementioned, occasioned, as was said, by the unsettled state of the *British* ministry. Add to this, that the provincial officers were so much divided in their opinions, that his authority was necessary for bringing the troops into the field; and thus another year was lost, under the most enormous expence that the public of *Great Britain* had ever been put to in that or almost any other part of the world.

Oswego taken by the French.

THE *French* and their *Indians* took care to improve this procrastination to their own barbarous purposes. They cut off, to a man, twenty-five *English*, who garrisoned a post amidst their own *Indians*. They watched the return of a convoy, which had carried provisions and stores to *Oswego*, and was commanded by colonel *Bradstreet*. This gentleman, more than suspecting their intention, made a proper disposition of his battoes, on his return by the river *Onondago*; and after receiving the enemy's fire from the north shore, he ordered his men to land on the south, and he there took possession of a small island. Here he was attacked by a body of the enemy, which he repelled; and, after that, by two separate bodies, who had passed the river higher up, whom he likewise defeated; and, receiving afterwards a reinforcement under captain *Patten*, who was on his march to *Oswego*, and another of two hundred men from that garrison, he probably would have destroyed the whole *French* detachment, consisting of seven hundred men, had not the swelling of the rivers hindered him from pursuing them. *Patten* then proceeded to *Oswego*, as *Bradstreet* did to *Albany*, where he informed general *Abercrombie*, that the *French* had assembled a considerable force on the east side of lake *Ontario*, with a numerous artillery to besiege *Oswego*; the garrison of which, by this time, had been reinforced to the number of about 1400 men, besides workmen and sailors. Upon *Bradstreet*'s information, major-general *Webb* was ordered to march with a regiment to the relief of *Oswego*; but, before it could be put in motion the earl of *Loudon* arrived at *Albany*, on the 29th of *July*. His presence did not at all contribute to the unanimity of the provincials; for, notwithstanding the imminent danger of *Oswego*, the province of *New York*, and the northern governments, insisted upon the reduction of *Crown Point*, as being most dangerous for their country, and that some regiments of regulars should join general *Winslow*, who was marching with 7000 provincials, in attempting that conquest, while the remainder of the army were to remain at *Albany* to cover *New York*.

In the mean while, the marquis *de Vaudreuil* had been appointed to the government of *New France*, and the marquis *de Montcalm*, who succeeded *Dieskau* in the command of the troops, acted under *Vaudreuil* as major-general. *Montcalm*, who had the truest military genius of any officer the *French* had ever employed in *North America*, arrived the 29th of *July* at *Frontenac*, where, under the pretence of providing for the safety of that fort, and that of *Niagara*, *Vaudreuil* had assembled 3000 men, amongst whom were the battalions of *Sarre*, *Guyenne*, and *Bearn*, amounting to 1300 regulars, besides a body who had been sent by *Vaudreuil* to the bay of *Niaoure*, where their general rendezvous was appointed. *Montcalm*, having made admirable dispositions against any surprize, and for securing his retreat, if he had been defeated, embarked on the fourth of *August* on lake *Ontario* for the bay of *Niaoure*, where being joined by all his armament, he advanced partly by land, and partly by water, till he came within half a league of *Oswego*, or rather one of the new erected forts there, called by the *French*, *Fort Chouguen*, but by the *English*, *Oswego New Fort*, the other new erected one being called *Fort Ontario*. It was the 13th of *August*, before the ground was opened before the latter; but the garrison, finding it untenable, about six in the evening, having fired away all their shells and ammunition, and spiked up their cannon, evacuated the fort, and crossed the river to *Little Oswego Fort*. In the mean while, two armed barks, one of twelve and the other of sixteen guns, blocked up *Oswego* on this side of the lake, by *Montcalm*'s orders, and a chain of posts had been formed

a formed on the road to *Albany* to prevent the garrison from sending to, or receiving any intelligence from thence ; and his vessels were secured by a battery on the land.

The loss of fort *Ontario* proved irreparable to the *English*. Colonel *Mercer* did all that possibly could be done to render the seven little vessels, which lay at the mouth of the *Otseguen*, serviceable to his garrison ; but the dispositions made by *Montcalm* frustrated all his endeavours. It is, however, highly probable, that, had he not been killed, he would have baffled the besiegers, notwithstanding all the disadvantages he was under, either by a bold sally, or by burning the enemy's ships ; but, on the 13th, they having entirely invested the fort, he was killed by a cannon-ball ; and then the garrison, being left without a commander of equal authority and abilities, surrendered prisoners of war, on condition

Colonel Mercer killed.

b of their being exempted from plunder, carried to *Montreal*, and treated with humanity. It is to the eternal stain of *Montcalm's*, and the *French*, name, that those articles, though agreed to by himself, were violated. Under the shameful pretence, that he could not restrain the impetuosity of his *Indians*, they were suffered not only to rob, but to murder, several of the *British* officers and soldiers, after they had given up their arms, and most inhumanly scalped all the sick and wounded, who were in the *British* hospital. *Montcalm* himself, on this occasion, equalled, if not exceeded, the barbarity of his own savages ; for he put into their hands twenty *English* prisoners, who, probably were put to the most excruciating deaths, a custom amongst the savages that he could be no stranger to, in revenge of twenty of the barbarians, who had been killed during the siege. In the forts, c which were demolished, were found an hundred and seven pieces of cannon, and fourteen mortars, the rest of the artillery consisting of pateraroes and cohorns ; as also 1800 muskets, 25,000 lb of gunpowder, and a great quantity of provisions. The prisoners were carried to *Montreal*, according to the capitulation.

The reduction of *Oswego* very undeservedly raised the reputation of *Montcalm* and the *French* arms. The several forts of which it consisted were miserably situated, built of the very worst wooden materials, and open above ; nor did any of the officers of the garrison, after colonel *Mercer's* death, appear to have had much experience in military affairs. General *Webb*, by this time, had arrived with the regiment he commanded, for the relief of *Oswego*, at the carrying-place between the *Mohawk's* river and *Wood's Creek*, when he

Consequences of that action.

d heard of the fate of that place. Being apprehensive of an attack from the conquering army, he felled trees, and took other precautions for rendering the creek impassable ; and thus he secured his retreat. But the loss of *Oswego* was soon felt in the most sensible manner, by a renewal of the most shocking barbarities, which the *French* and their *Indians* now committed, almost unopposed, upon the *English* settlers. As to the earl of *Loudon*, the advanced season tied up his hands from acting, and all he could do was to promote the scheme of union among the *British* colonies, by endeavouring to conciliate all their differences, both public and private, and to pursue the proper measures for securing their frontiers from farther insults. For this purpose, to ease the inhabitants as much as possible, convenient barracks were built at *Albany*, and strong garrisons were thrown into the e forts *Edward* and *William Henry*. Notwithstanding this, fort *Granville*, on the confines of *Pensylvania*, was surprized, plundered, and burnt, by the enemy, who drove into captivity the small garrison, with the women and children it contained. To obviate, as much as possible, the like misfortunes for the future, the governor of *Pensylvania* concluded a treaty of peace with the *Delaware Indians*, who inhabit the banks of the river *Susquehanna* ; as the governor of *Virginia* did another with the *Cherokees* and the *Catawbias*, two powerful *Indian* tribes in their neighbourhood, who could bring 3000 men into the field. So much were the people of *England* intent upon the *American* affairs at this time, that the house of commons resolved, that the contract entered into, on the 26th day of *March*, in the year 1756, by the commissioners of the treasury, with *William Baker*, *Christopher Kilby*, and f *Richard Baker*, of *London*, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the earl of *Loudon*, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in *America*.

Lord Loudon's disappointments.

It might have reasonably been supposed, that the effects would have been in some measure proportioned to preparations so generously made, and so well supported ; but, in this, the public of *England* was disappointed. Lord *Loudon*, who was now in *America*, could not effect that necessary unanimity amongst the *British* governors and provinces that was requisite for proceeding against the common enemy with decisive success. The *French*, after their taking *Oswego* became masters of the lakes of *North America*, by which the *Iroquois*, or as they are called the *Five Nations*, who were now extremely well disposed g towards the *English*, was cut off from all communication with them. Four hundred *Cherokee Indians*, indeed, joined the *English* at fort *Cumberland*, and a fort was built at *Winchester*, called fort *Loudon* ; but all the *British* settlements along the *Mohawk's* river and the *German Flats* were exposed to the *French* and their *Indians*, who destroyed them with unrelenting fury.

In the mean while, admiral *Holbourn* arrived at *Hallifax*, with a strong reinforcement of men and ships; by which lord *Loudon* was put at the head of 12000 men, the greatest *European* army that had ever appeared in *America*. But *M. de Bois de la Mothe*, about the same time, arrived at the harbour of *Louisbourg*, with a squadron superior to that of the *English*, which rendered it imprudent to attack that place, though it was now the object of all the *British* operations in *America*, preferably to *Crown Point* itself. But we are to confine ourselves to the history of *Canada*.

Operations in
America,

MONTCALM, the *French* general there, failed in three attacks he made upon fort *William Henry*. Colonel *Parker*, in attempting, with about four hundred men who went by water, to dislodge a *French* advanced-guard at *Ticonderoga*, was outwitted by the *French* and *Indians*, at that place, and the whole of his detachment, two officers and seventy private men excepted, was cut off. *Montcalm* then flushed with his new success, prepared a-fresh for the siege of fort *William Henry*, which is situated on the southern coast of lake *George*, so as to command that lake, and to protect the *English* colonies. The fort was garrisoned by near 3000 men, and general *Webb* lay near it with an army of above 4000. The general of *Canada*, having received great reinforcements from *Old France*, assembled from *Crown Point*, *Ticonderoga*, and other *French* posts, about 10,000 men, and invested the fort, which he summoned to surrender, as he pretended, out of humanity, it being, as he said, yet in his power to restrain the cruelties of his *Indians*. The garrison of the fort, depending on being relieved by *Webb*, made a gallant defence; but, being disappointed were obliged on the 6th of *August*, the sixth day of the siege, to capitulate*. The terms were, that the garrison of fort *William Henry* and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessities of war; escorted by a detachment of *French* troops, or interpreters attached to the savages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the *British* forces. that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and, in general, every thing, except the effects of the soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the *French* troops; for which purpose, it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, the troops of the retrenchment, and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most Christian majesty, or his allies: that, with the capitulation, there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleryists, commissaries, and all employed: that four officers and soldiers, *Canadians*, women and savages, made prisoners by land, since the commencement of the war in *North America*, be delivered in the space of three months at *Carillon*; in return for which, an equal number of the garrison of fort *William* should be capacitated to serve, agreeable to the return given by the *English* officer, and the receipt of the *French* commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escorte sent with the troops of his *Britannic* majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to fort *Edward* should remain under the protection of the marquis *de Montcalm*, who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the *British* troops: that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel *Munro*, and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis *de Montcalm* should return one cannon, a six pounder.

and disgraceful
campaign
there.

It is a poor apology on the part of the *French*, for them to pretend, that it was not in the power of *Montcalm* to enforce the observance of this capitulation, on account of the unruliness of his *Indians*. Every one who has read the preceding pages, must be sensible that a *French* general, especially at the head of an army, is, if possible, more than master of his *America* *Indians*. Those under *Montcalm* were permitted, if not commissioned, to break every article of the capitulation, and to commit cruelties, that a barbarian, nay a *Frenchman*, ought to blush at hearing repeated. They robbed the *British* troops, as they marched out, they tomohawked and scalped the *British* *Indians*, they ripped up the bellies of women, and committed inhumanities, which one who has a human feeling can scarcely credit. The fort was demolished, every thing within it was seized, together with the effects, provision and artillery, and, what is of more importance than all, the vessels that had been constructed upon the lake. It had been observed, that, during this disgraceful campaign, we had no fewer than 20,000 troops on foot upon the continent of *America*; with twenty ships of the line in those seas: a force doubly superior to what had been ever known in that part of the world.

ADMIRAL *Holbourn* having discharged his transports, set sail for *Louisbourg*, after the earl of *Loudon* had departed from *Hallifax*. The meaning of this movement will perhaps ever

a remain a secret. That he did not intend to attempt to take the place is certain, and it seems to be equally certain that his design was not to fight the *French* admiral in that harbour; for, upon the latter making dispositions to engage him, he returned to *Hallifax*. Being reinforced about the middle of *September* with four ships of the line, he again set sail for *Louisbourg* with the unmeaning intention, to all appearance, of blocking up that harbour; a measure that seldom or never has been found effectual, though often attempted. A storm, which it was not unreasonable to foresee, dispersed his squadron. The *Tilbury* was lost; eleven of his ships were dismasted, many of them threw over their guns, and all of them returned to *England* in a shattered condition: and thus ended by sea and land a campaign so weak and ridiculous that it ought to be blotted out of the *British* annals.

b In the year 1758, some dissatisfaction with regard to the conduct of the war in *America*, arising in *England*, lord *Loudon* returned home, and the command there, then devolved upon general *Abercrombie*. The *British* force in *North America* about this time amounted to the incredible number of about 50,000 men; of whom 22,000 were regular troops. Twelve thousand were appointed to the siege of *Louisbourg*, 16,000 under the general himself, were to attack *Crown Point*, and general *Forbes*, an officer, who had been bred up under general *Campbell*, who lost his life at *Fontenoy*, was appointed to reduce fort *du Quesne* on the *Ohio*. The reduction of *Louisbourg*, the particulars of which fall under another head of this work, was happily effected, and the island of *St. John*, in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, a post of the utmost importance to the *French* and their treacherous neutrals, was reduced. Nothing now remained but to lay open the *French* empire in *America* to the *British* arms, and this was the intention of general *Abercrombie's* expedition against *Crown Point*, and the *French* forts on the lakes *George* and *Champlain*. In *July* this year that general, with near 7000 regulars, and 10,000 provincials, a force more than sufficient to have conquered both the *French* and the *Spanish America*, embarked on lake *George* on board of nine hundred battoes, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with cannon mounted on rafts, and all the provisions and accommodations that could render an enterprize of so much expectation successful. The general's first operation was against *Ticonderoga*, a fort situated on an isthmus between lake *George*, and a gut communicating d with lake *Champlain*, and serving as the key to *Crown Point*, having on its front a morass, and the other three sides being surrounded by water. Nothing could be more happy than the embarkation and debarkation of the troops, which were formed into three columns, and drove a battalion of the enemy from an advanced post. The march of the *British* army then lay through a thick wood, where lord *Howe*, whose memory will ever be dear to the *British* soldiery, lost his life. The tracts of the wood were unknown; the general ordered the troops back to the landing-place, that they might refresh themselves. In the skirmish where lord *Howe* fell, about one hundred and forty-eight of the *French* were taken, and a considerable number were killed, and lieutenant colonel *Bradstreet*, by the general's order, took possession of a saw-mill, which was to facilitate the operations against *Ticonderoga* with e a regiment of regulars, six companies of the royal *Americans*, the battoe-men, and a body of rangers. *Abercrombie* then advanced once more towards *Ticonderoga*, which was defended by eight battalions of regulars, besides a body of *Canadians* and *Indians*, amounting in the whole to about 6000 men. They depended for their defence upon an entrenchment before the fort, and hourly expected to be joined by 3000 men under M. *de Levi*, a *French* general officer of some reputation. *Abercrombie* had intelligence of this, and not improperly, resolved to attack the enemy before this powerful reinforcement came up. Those parts of the morass, which were the most accessible, were defended by a strong line above eight feet high, on which cannon were mounted; and before that line, for about one hundred yards, trees were felled with their branches outward, which rendered f the approaches still more difficult. The general's engineer, however, after reconnoitring the enemy's entrenchments, gave his opinion that they were assailable, the works being yet unfinished, and to the amazement of all *Europe* (when the account came to be published by authority) a resolution was taken to attempt this formidable entrenchment without cannon, and with musquetry alone. None but *British* troops would have obeyed so unaccountable an order. They did it with useless, but unusual intrepidity, which was fatal only to themselves. Near 2000 of them, with a large proportion of officers were butchered, and the Highland regiment, commanded by lord *John Murray*, had half of its men, and twenty-five of its officers, either killed or desperately wounded. This attack, where no prospect of success could possibly present itself, was followed by a retreat as pusillanimous as the other was presumptuous. The general reembarked the troops, and though not an incident had happened that might not have been easily foreseen, or rationally expected, on the 9th of *June* he returned to his former camp at lake *George*.

1758.
Lord Loudon
returns to
England.

Unsuccessful
attack upon
Ticonderoga.

Fort Frontenac reduced.

THE reader without any suggestion of ours will be apt enough of himself to make reflexions upon this attempt so deservedly unsuccessful; but the war was not equally unfortunate in every quarter of *North America*. General *Amherst* having reduced *Louisbourg*, where he left a garrison, marched towards *Albany* about the middle of *September*, with six regiments, that he might support and reinforce general *Abercrombie*, who had detached about 3000 men under colonel *Bradstreet* (most of them provincials) to the important service of reducing fort *Cataracouy* or fort *Frontenac*. Incredible were the difficulties which *Bradstreet* surmounted in this expedition, before he arrived at lake *Ontario*, where he embarked his men in sloops and battoes. The reputation of the *British* troops was then so low amongst the *French*, that in that important fort they had only a garrison of one hundred and ten men, with some *Indians*, and it surrendered at discretion, the first happy omen of a reversal of success in favour of the *British* arms! In the fort, which of itself was but poorly constructed, were found sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, but a vast quantity of provisions and merchandizes, it being the magazine for all their western garrisons and *Indian* allies, nine vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns, and had been, in imitation of the *English*, constructed on the lake *Ontario*, fell likewise into *Bradstreet*'s hands, and he destroyed the fort, with all the artillery, stores, provisions, and ammunition, which he could not carry off; after which he went to *Oswego*. The reader in the preceding part of this history must be sensible of the vast importance of fort *Frontenac* to the province of *Canada*, both as a storehouse for trading with the *Indians*, and a place of strength for keeping them in awe. It is not perhaps easy to find a reason, now that the conquest of *Quebec* was to be attempted, why the same fort might not have been equally useful and advantageous to the *British* interest. It undoubtedly must have made us masters of lake *Ontario*; and the keeping possession of it must have distressed the *French* and their allies towards the west and north beyond all possibility of relief.

As is fort du Quesne.

IN the beginning of *July*, brigadier *Forbes* set out on his expedition from *Philadelphia* for fort *du Quesne*. He was to march through countries that never had been impressed by human vestige, and he had difficulties to surmount, greater perhaps than those of *Alexander* in his expedition to *India*, by establishing magazines, forming and securing camps, procuring carriages, and encountering a thousand unforeseen obstacles in penetrating through regions that presented nothing but scalping parties of *French* and savages, mountains, woods, and morasses. The enemy and their *Indians* were industrious in pestering his march with their detached parties; but he penetrated to *Ray's* town, which lies within ninety miles (accounted a small distance in those immense regions) of fort *du Quesne*. Here he detached about 2000 men under the command of colonel *Bouquet* to a place called *Lyal Henning*, fifty miles farther on; and from thence the colonel sent major *Grant* with eight hundred men to reconnoitre the fort and its neighbourhood. The major, perhaps, pushed his detachment farther than prudence would have dictated. He was surrounded by the enemy; but notwithstanding the vast superiority of their numbers, he made a brave defence, till losing three hundred of his party, he himself, and nineteen other officers, were taken prisoners, and carried to the fort. Unadvised as the major's forwardness seems to have been, it had a good effect by giving the enemy such a specimen of *British* courage, that general *Forbes* took possession of the fort, which he dismantled, without resistance, and they fled to their other settlements upon the *Ohio*. The general here found the natives amicably disposed towards *Great Britain*. He concluded treaties with them. He left a garrison of provincials in the fort. He built a block-house near *Lyal Henning*; but his constitution being delicate, and himself worn out with fatigue, he died before his return to *Pennsylvania*.

Sir William Johnson makes a treaty with the Indians.

HITHERTO the progress which the *British* arms had made in *North America*, was rather solid than splendid; for they had dismantled *Canada* of its out guards, and laid it open to an attempt so bold, that a few years before it would have been thought romantic, even to mention it, we mean the conquest of *Quebec*. Previous to this, in *October* 1758, when the *British* arms began to recover their lustre, the governors of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, assisted by Sir *William Johnson*, who was the soul of all our transactions with the savages, held an assembly at *Easton*, about ninety miles from *Philadelphia*, where a formal treaty was entered into between *Great Britain* and the *Indians* of that vast tract of country lying between the *Apalachian* mountains and the lakes. The contractors on the side of *Great Britain* in this treaty, besides Sir *William Johnson*, who officiated in the character of agent for *Indian* affairs, and the two governors, were four members of the council of *Pennsylvania*, six of the assembly, two agents for new *Jersey*, with a number of quaker inhabitants of *Philadelphia*. The subject of the conferences was, what we have often seen in the course of this history, complaints of encroachments by the *English*, and differences amongst the savages themselves about their limits. The names of the *Indians*, who assisted at the treaty, were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidocs*, *Onondagoes*, *Cayuges*, *Senecas*, *Tuscarcras*, *Nanticoques*, and *Conoys*, the

the *Tuteloos*, *Chugnuts*, *Delawares*, and *Unamies*, the *Minisinks*, *Mohicans*, and *Wappingers*; so that the number of the deputies who attended, including their women and children, amounted to above five hundred. The chief on the part of the savages was *Teedyuscung*; for tho' every nation has its deputies, yet all of them commonly manifest a particular deference to one or two leaders. The several transactions of this meeting are not material. The precision with which those savages treated was wonderful; for they required satisfaction, and made mention of every life their countrymen lost, and the smallest damage they sustained; and the *British* plenipotentiaries had prudence enough to accommodate themselves to the redress of all their grievances; so that they departed seemingly with a hearty detestation of the *French*. It was remarked, however, that the *Miamis*, or, as they are called, the *Ewightees*, did not send their deputies to this assembly; but measures were taken for keeping them in peace.

This treaty with the savages put the finishing hand to all the preliminary measures for the campaign. The sagacity of the *English* ministry naturally suggested to them, that tho' *Canada* or *New France* was but thinly inhabited, yet all its force, if collected into one point, might baffle the most vigorous effort that *Great Britain* could make, as it was impossible for her to find ships, magazines, and conveyances for the whole of her troops, so as to employ them in one direction, in such a country as *North America*. It was, therefore, resolved to divide the operations of the campaign into three different directions. One under general *Wolfe*, who, with 8000 men, was to undertake the siege of *Quebec*. The second under general *Amherst*, who was then the *British* commander in chief in *North America*, and who with 12,000 men, after reducing *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, was to cross lake *Champlain*, and, by the way of *Richelieu* river, to proceed towards the banks of that of *St. Lawrence*, and to assist *Wolfe* in the siege of *Quebec*. The third direction was under brigadier *Prideaux*, who, assisted by the great interest and abilities of Sir *William Johnson*, was to reduce the important fort near the cataract of *Niagara*, which gave law to the internal parts of *North America*. The same troops, after the reduction of *Niagara*, were to operate occasionally by embarking on lake *Ontario*, and reducing *Montreal*, or joining general *Amherst's* army. Besides those three grand directions, colonel *Stanwix* was at the head of a scouring detachment for seizing all the forts and posts upon the lake *Ontario*. Let us now turn our eyes towards the dispositions of the *French* force.

VAUDREUIL, then governor-general of *Canada*, with a body of about 5000 men lay at *Montreal*, and in its neighbourhood. *Montcalm*, whose reputation was very high in the military world, commanded a body of 10,000 regulars, and disciplined militia, who were better than regulars, besides a number of *Indians* between *Montreal* and *Quebec*. *De Levi* was at the head of a flying detachment, much better acquainted, than the *British* troops possibly could be, with that dubious country. The garrison of *Niagara* consisted of six hundred men; the city of *Quebec* had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it; scarcely any *British* sailor could pretend to be acquainted with the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence*, which the *French* had industriously kept a secret, pretending it to be extremely difficult and dangerous. The strong fort of *Chambly*, near the fall of the river *Richelieu*, was in the possession of the enemy, as consequently was the pass of the river *St. Lawrence*, which the *British* troops were likewise to surmount; not to mention *Crown Point* and *Ticonderoga*, lately so fatal to the *British* arms.

The forces under general *Amherst* were first in motion, notwithstanding all the impediments that were thrown in his way, by the innate haughtiness of the provincials, and their aversion to regular troops. The season was far advanced before he passed lake *George* and approached *Ticonderoga*, which, in the night of the 7th of *July* 1759, the *French* abandoned, thereby proving that their strength chiefly consisted in our fears and misconduct. *Amherst* strongly garrisoned and fortified this important place, by which he secured his retreat, and covered the frontiers of *New York*. Here fell the brave colonel *Townshend*, whose elder brother was third in command under general *Wolfe*, as he was reconnoitring. Every day gave fresh proof of our former misconduct. *Amherst's* manner of proceeding was firm and cautious, but determined, and he took care to leave as little as possible to fortune. This conduct deprived the enemy of all hopes of defending themselves; so that it now seemed as if they were resolved to risk their *American* empire upon the stand they were to make at *Quebec*. On the 1st of *August*, the *British* general had intelligence, by one of his scouting parties, of the *French* having abandoned *Crown Point* in the same manner as they had done *Ticonderoga*. He did not fail to improve this incident; for, three days after, his troops were encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, and he laid the foundations of a new and a stronger one for bridling the cruelties of the natives.

Operations of
general Am-
herst.

The *French*, after evacuating those two forts, retired to the isle *Aux Noix*, at the other end of lake *Champlain*, to the number of 3500 men, under the command of M. de *Burlemaque*, and provided with a strong train of artillery. Four of their vessels mounted with

cannon,

cannon, and manned with the piquets of their regiments, were in possession of the lake ^a under the command of M. *le Bras*, and M. *de Rigal*, two sea officers, which rendered it necessary for Mr. *Amberst*, if possible, to have the command of the lake. He had directed captain *Loring* to build a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon, together with a brigantine. But it was the 11th of *October* before they were finished, and then *Loring* sailed with them down the lake, where he drove three *French* ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the crew of the third ran it aground; but it was taken and repaired by *Loring*. In the mean while the general embarked the troops in battoes; but by stress of weather was obliged to shelter them in a bay on the western shore. He reembarked them again; but from the same cause he was forced to desist from proceeding, and through the ^b lateness of the season to finish the operations of his campaign. Few commanders ever were in the situation in which he now found himself. Though successful beyond all expectation, he did not know, but he and his troops might fall victims through the ill success of the other divisions, of whom he had little or no intelligence, excepting a few discouraging hints of *Wolfe's* having landed in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*. It was the 21st of *October*, before he returned from his tempestuous expedition to *Crown Point*, where he applied himself to improve his superiority on the lake, and the fortifications of the place; so that at last he was enabled to open a communication between *Ticonderoga* and *Massachusetts*.

Sir William
Johnson de-
feats the
French.

PRIDEAUX and Sir *William Johnson* were all this while proceeding against fort *Niagara*; ^c but on the 20th of *July*, *Prideaux*, to the inexpressible grief of the army, was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a cohorn. The command then fell upon Sir *William Johnson*, who was superseded by brigadier-general *Gage*, by the appointment of *Amberst*, who always had kept up a correspondence with that division. Before *Gage* could arrive at *Niagara*, *Johnson* performed wonders. He had carried his approaches within one hundred yards of the covered-way of the fort; and the *French* were so apprehensive of losing that palladium of their interest in *North America*, that they exerted their utmost to maintain it, by collecting 1700 men from all the neighbouring posts, particularly from *Detroit*, *Venango*, and *Presque Isle*, under the command of Mons. *D'Aubry*. Had this reinforcement reached the fort it must have been impregnable; but *Johnson* made dispositions towards his left, on ^d the road leading from *Niagara* falls to the fortress, for intercepting them. His light infantry and piquets over-night were placed there, and in the morning reinforced with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Masse*, while lieutenant-colonel *Farquar*, with another regiment, was posted so as to support the guard of the trenches. About eight o'clock on the 24th of *July* the enemy appeared, and the *English Indians* attempted, in vain, to have some talk with their countrymen, who served under the *French*. The battle began with a horrible war-whoop, which was now matter of ridicule, rather than terror to the *English*, uttered by the *French Indians*. The *French*, as usual, charged with vast impetuosity; but being received with equal firmness, and the *English Indians* on the flanks doing considerable execution, all the *French* army ^e were put to the rout, and, for five miles, the pursuit continued, in which seventeen officers, amongst whom were the first and second in command, were made prisoners.

^f NEXT morning Sir *William Johnson* sent a trumpet to the *French* commandant, with a list of the seventeen officers that had been taken, to convince him of the inutility of farther resistance. The commandant found all Sir *William Johnson's* intelligence to be perfectly true, and in a few hours a capitulation was signed, by which six hundred and seven men, of which the garrison consisted, were to march out with the honours of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to *New York*, but protected from the barbarity of the *Indians*. The women and children were carried to *Montreal*, and the conqueror treated the sick and wounded in a manner so humane, as to prove himself worthy of victory. Thus for a second time, this self-taught general obtained an entire triumph over the boasted discipline of the *French* arms. But that was his least praise. Though 1100 *Indians* followed him to the field, he restrained them within regular bounds, and their example shewed demonstrably that the excesses which the other savages had been guilty of against the *English*, had been prompted and directed by the *French*. Those conquests opened the scene of the grand catastrophe, which was the reduction of *Quebec*. The *French* court, sensible of its importance, had for years before been fortifying it even with a profusion of works, men, and shipping; and they boasted that it was in a condition to bid defiance to all the powers of *Europe*. About the middle of *February*, a strong squadron under the command of the admirals *Saunders* and *Holmes*, sailed from *England* for *Cape Breton*; but finding the harbour ^g of *Louisbourg* frozen up, they bore away for *Hallifax* in *Nova Scotia*, from whence rear-admiral *Durcell* was dispatched with a small squadron to the river *St. Lawrence*. All he could do was to take two storeships; fourteen other vessels, with stores, ammunition, and recruits, having

- a having already reached *Quebec*, under the convoy of three ships of war. By this time admiral *Saunders* was able to make *Louisbourg*, and an embarkation of about 8000 men for the reduction of *Quebec* was effected.

MR. *PITT* was then one of the *British* secretaries of state, and considered as having the direction of the war. Perhaps one of the greatest merits of his administration consisted in his breaking through those ridiculous military forms of standing rank and seniority, that had long disgraced the *British* military service, and his preferring merit, courage, and ability, to every other consideration. In the mismanaged expedition against *Rochfort*, under Sir *John Mordaunt*, lieutenant-colonel *James Wolfe*, the son of major-general *Wolfe*, was an officer. When the general's conduct came under examination, he was brought as an evidence by both parties. The candour, the precision, and knowledge with which he delivered it, gained him esteem, and, though a young man, his military talents in conversation appeared with such lustre, as recommended him to the knowledge and patronage of the ministry, and his majesty king *George the II.* who was otherwise no friend to warlike anticipations; so that to the satisfaction of the public, he was pitched upon to command the expedition against *Quebec*. He had already distinguished himself in the reduction of *Louisbourg*, where he had given amazing proofs of his abilities, personal as well as mental; and three general officers, the sons of noble families, almost equal in years as quality, were appointed to serve under him; the brigadiers *Monckton*, *Townshend*, and *Murray*. Some charts which had been taken from the *French*, contributed to render the navigation of the *British* armada up the river *St. Lawrence*, far more safe and easy than had been given out by the *French*. And towards the latter end of *June* the land troops were disembarked upon the *Isle of Orleans*, which we have already mentioned to lie beneath *Quebec*, and which at that time was, in reality, a large continued garden, abounding not only with all the necessaries, but the delights of life. Soon after landing, the general, as is usual in cases of invasion, published a manifesto or placart in the following terms:

"THE king, justly exasperated against *France*, has set on foot a considerable armament by land and sea, to bring down the haughtiness of that crown. His aim is to destroy the most considerable settlements of the *French* in *North America*. It is not against the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he designs making war. He laments the misfortunes to which this quarrel exposes them, and promises them his protection, offers to maintain them in their possessions, and permits them to follow the worship of their religion, provided that they do not take any part in the difference between the two crowns directly or indirectly."

"THE *Canadians* cannot be ignorant of their situation: the *English* are masters of the river, and blocking up the passage to all succours from *Europe*. They have, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general *Amberst*.

"THE resolution the *Canadians* ought to take is by no means doubtful: the utmost exertion of their valour will be entirely useless, and will only serve to deprive them of the advantages that they might enjoy by their neutrality. The cruelties of the *French* against the subjects of *Great Britain* in *America*, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but *Englishmen* are too generous to follow so barbarous examples. They offer to the *Canadians* the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war; it is to their ownelves to determine their fate by their conduct. If their presumption, and a wrong placed, as well as fruitless courage, should make them take the most dangerous part, they will only have their ownelves to blame, when they shall groan under the weight of that misery to which they will expose themselves.

"General *Wolfe* flatters himself that the whole world will do him justice, if the inhabitants of *Canada* force him, by their refusal, to have recourse to violent methods." He concluded, in laying before them the strength and power of *England*, which generously stretched out her hand to them: a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, and even at a time when *France*, by its weakness, was incapable of assisting them, and abandoned them in the most critical moment.

THIS humane manifesto had no effect with the *Canadians*, who had been by their missionaries and officers taught, not only to hate, but to despise the *English*; so ridiculous was their infatuation, and so insufferable their pride. They joined the *Indians* in their scalping parties, and they were guilty of the greatest inhumanities against the *English*, so that *Wolfe*, after admonishing them of the necessary consequences, was obliged to give way to some retaliations. *Montcalm*, notwithstanding his boasted abilities, knew too much of the *English*, to venture a battle on equal terms, and never perhaps was there an army under such dreadful circumstances as that of *Wolfe*. He was disappointed of his junction with *Amberst*, on which he had greatly depended; and though he had found the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence* safe and practicable, yet he had received no information concerning the ground in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, where he found the difficulties of landing on the *Quebec* shore,

shore, to all appearance impracticable. The conduct of *Montcalm*, though not brilliant, ^a did honour to his judgment; for secure of the inaccessibility of that shore, he kept upon the heights of *Abraham*, with an army superior to that of *Wolfe*, which he well knew could not long remain in so indecisive a situation. In the mean while he threw five battalions of regulars into *Quebec*, and the *Canadians* accustomed to the field from their birth, were, to a man, in arms; so that their army occupied all the shore of *Blaufort*, from the river *St. Charles* to the falls of *Montmorenci*, fortified with intrenchments at every place that was accessible to the *English*. Under those circumstances all he could do was to detach brigadier *Monckton* with four battalions; and on the 29th of *June* he passed the river, to drive the enemy from *Point Levi*; which, after some skirmishes, he accordingly did, and took possession of that post, while colonel *Carleton* made himself master of the western- ^b most part of the isle of *Orleans*, lying nearest to *Quebec*. By those two operations, which it is surprising the enemy did not more vigorously oppose, the *British* shipping remained safe in the basin of *Quebec*, which otherwise it could not have done, if the enemy had erected batteries on those points. *Montcalm* seemed, when it was too late, to be sensible of his omission; for he sent 1600 men to destroy the batteries erected by the *English* at *Point Levi*, but without effect; and the batteries from thence entirely destroyed the lower town, and did great damage to the upper. The works for the security of the *British* hospitals and stores being finished on the isle of *Orleans*, the *English* passed the north channel, and encamped on the left of the enemy, from whom they were divided by the river *Montmorenci*. In this situation, many skirmishes passed with various success: but the enemy ^c still remained masters of all the ground between *Montmorenci* river and *Quebec*, and all the strong banks above that capital. While the two armies lay thus, general *Wolfe*, in reconnoitring the river *Montmorenci* discovered a ford that was practicable; but the bank on the opposite side was so strongly intrenched, that it could not be forced, and the *English* lost some men in attempting it. On the 18th of *July*^f, two men of war, two armed sloops, two transports, with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. *Wolfe* took this opportunity to reconnoitre the banks of the river above *Quebec*, which he found rendered inaccessible, equally by art as nature, and so situated that if he had been able even to effect a landing, the first detachment must have been cut off before it could have been supported by another. Not an hour passed, that ^d was not employed by the active *British* general, in exploring some place where he could land his men, but all to no purpose. At last, hearing that many of the enemies had taken refuge at a place called *Point au Tremble*, some miles above the city, colonel *Carleton* was dispatched with a small body to attempt it. But though he drove the *Indians* from it, his success was of very little consequence. After this the general returned to his camp near the falls of *Montmorenci*, where brigadier *Townshend* had destroyed a battery attempted to be raised by the enemy on the bank of the river to cannonade the *British* camp. But this had no great effect, farther than to secure the camp. At this time the reader is to observe that the divisions of the *British* ships under admiral *Holmes* lay above *Quebec*, and that under admiral *Saunders* below it, between the city and the westernmost ^e point of the isle of *Orleans*, while the transports lay at anchor in the south channel, which divided that isle from the encampment of brigadier *Monckton*; but the *British* men of war could not, for want of water, come nigh enough to the land to annoy the enemy's intrenchments.

Difficulties of
Wolfe in the
siege of Que-
bec,

and miscar-
riages.

WOLFE was sensible, that the eyes, not only of his own countrymen, but of all *Europe*, were upon him, and he resolved, under the most discouraging difficulties, to attempt a landing. Admiral *Saunders* prepared two transports, which drew but very little water, and therefore were proper to favour a descent. His view was to make himself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, above a musket shot distance from the enemy's grand entrenchment; by which he was in hopes of either bringing them to a general en- ^f gagement, or of learning how to attack them with efficacy. On the 31st of *July*, in the afternoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of general *Monckton*'s brigade from the point of *Levi*: the two brigades under the brigadiers *Townshend* and *Murray*, were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford: this ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their intrenchments. The two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover the vessel that ran a ground nearest it, and the redoubt was too much commanded by the intrenchments

^f Letter from general *Wolfe* to Mr. *Pitt*, dated head-quarters at *Montmorenci*, in the river *St. Lawrence*, Sept. 2, 1759.

^g Ibid.

a to be kept without great loss. The brigadiers-general, however, were ordered to be ready, brigadier *Monckton* to land, and the brigadiers *Townshend* and *Murray* to pass the ford. In rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, which put the whole operation into such disorder, that the general sent orders to brigadier *Townshend* to stop; but at last thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second royal *American* battalion got ashore to attack the *French* entrenchment. "The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by brigadier *Monckton's* corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves, as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's b intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack." *Monckton* was not then landed, *Townshend* was at a considerable distance, and the event was answerable to the rashness of the grenadiers, and their disregard for discipline. The enemy's first fire obliged them to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the *French* had abandoned; but they still were exposed to a very hot fire from the intrenchments, which made it necessary for the general to call them off, that they might form themselves under brigadier *Monckton's* corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order. It was now near night. A storm came on. The retreat of *Townshend* might have been uncertain, and a thousand c circumstances concurred to render it adviseable for the general to desist from this attack, which can be termed no other than unfortunate. *Wolfe* himself, in his letter to the secretary of state, intimates, as if he had no great opinion of his success. "The place (says he) where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabouts. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in case of a repulse) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river *St. Charles* still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered, but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties."

He is defeated.

THE general then sent brigadier *Murray* with 1200 men up the river, to assist admiral *Holmes*, if possible, to destroy the *French* ships, and to open a communication with general *Amberst*. Great difficulties attended this undertaking; but after being unsuccessful in two attempts he made to land on the north shore, *Murray* succeeded at a place called *de Chambaud*, where he burnt a magazine with some provisions, ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms, and baggage of the enemy's army. This was a service of great e importance: but still almost insurmountable difficulties remained, as nothing, with any feasibility of success, could be undertaken against the body of the place. Every day produced skirmishes, which, though of no great importance, and though generally successful on the part of the *English*, considerably weakened their army. "By the list we have so often quoted (says *Wolfe*) of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of *Canada* to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of *Great Britain*, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men, should be exerted only f where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign, which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of *America*."

SUCH was the situation of this arduous enterprize, when the general quitted his camp at *Montmorenci*, and landed his troops and artillery at *Point Levi*. From the vexation he had conceived from his failure at *Montmorenci*, he had contracted a dysentery and fever: but the sense of the mighty things expected from him, overbore all other considerations; and it was resolved, though with small probability of success, that the enemy should be again g alarmed above the river on the north side. Still no fixt plan of an attack was formed, though *Wolfe*, at all events, seems to have been determined upon one. At last, the most desperate one that can well be conceived was laid down by the three brigadiers, and adopted by the general, which was that of conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing

He removes his camp,

landing below the heights of *Abraham*, within a league of *Cape Diamond*. Though nothing could be more unpromising than this plan of operations, yet the general proceeded with the same precautions, as if the success had been more than probable. The movements of his troops, and those of admiral *Holmes's* squadron, occasioned *Montcalm* to detach M. *Bougainville* with a party of observation, consisting of 500 men to watch the motions of the *English* both by land and water. a

NEVER was there a scheme formed with less probability of success, than the above, and no scheme ever was more liable to disappointments, because an alarm from the musket of a single centinel must have rendered it impracticable, not to mention the prodigious difficulties of its execution, from the nature of the shore and the tide. On the 12th of *September*, the first embarkation, consisting of four regiments, the light infantry, a detachment of highlanders, and the *American* grenadiers, was made in flat bottom boats, under *Monckton* and *Murray*, about three leagues farther up the river, than the intended place of landing. The ships under admiral *Saunder*s, who lay over against *Beauport*, made a feint against the *French* intrenchments there to amuse them, and, in the mean while, by a happy mistake, the boats were carried below the intended place of attack by the rapidity of the current, but followed by the ships, who were prepared at all events to cover their landing, which they accordingly effected. The *French*, at this time, expected the return of *Bougainville*, and various were the successful arts practised by the *English* to make the enemies sentries believe, that the first landed troops were part of that detachment. Being landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation under *Townshend*; but nothing even then presented on all hands, but the impracticability of the ascent, *Wolfe*, who landed in the nature of a volunteer, with the first embarkation, told an officer who was near him, that they must do their endeavour to get up, though he did not see how it was possible. In the mean while, colonel *Howe*, with the light infantry and the highlanders, discovered a narrow path, slanting up the hill, by which, with the assistance of roots and boughs of trees growing on each side, it was just possible to ascend, though the path was intersected by cross ditches, and a *French* intrenchment lay at the top, which, however, seems to have been but slenderly guarded; so secure were the *French* on that quarter. The troops, gaining the summit of this path with incredible difficulty, were formed by the general, as they arrived at the summit, having dislodged the *French* guard at the intrenchment; so that by break of day the whole army appeared in order of battle. b

and gains the
heights of
Abraham.

MONTCALM, when the news was brought him, could not credit the report. The ascent of troops by such a guarded precipice had never occurred to him, either in experience or reading; but the intelligence being confirmed beyond all possibility of doubt, he found all his illusive arts were at an end, and resolved on the only measure that was left him, to fight. The defeat of the *English* army would have rendered the operations of their fleet against the place useless, and a victory would have ranked his name amongst the most illustrious of any in history. He therefore collected together all his strength about *Beauport*, passed the river *St. Charles*, and shewed great judgment in the dispositions he made for a general engagement. Having with him about 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, who were excellent marksmen and bush-fighters, he lodged them in the thickets all around. He placed his regulars in the left, all but two battalions, who were to support the troops of the colony on the right, while the remainder of the *Indians* and *Canadians* were disposed so as to flank the *English* on the land side on their left. c

To prevent any fatal effects from this disposition of the enemy, brigadier-general *Townshend*, on the left, drew up his division, which consisted of six battalions, *en Potence*; that is, in such a manner as to present two fronts to the enemy. Brigadier-general *Murray* commanded in the center, and *Wolfe* himself served on the right wing, where a regiment was placed in reserve, formed into eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The rear and the left were protected by the light infantry under colonel *Howe*. It was now that the difference between *English* and *French* courage was to be tried. The ground was equal; the *French* were superior in numbers; and their army was drawn up to as full advantage as that of the *British*. In short, nothing could have given the latter the victory, but the mere superiority of personal strength and courage. Their bush-fighters began the battle, by a firing that was once irregular and unfair, because their pieces were levelled against the most gallant, and therefore the most exposed, of the *British* officers. The steady fire of our troops silenced those barbarians; and the *English* sailors, with a spirit that none but *Englishmen* could have exerted, had drawn up the amazing precipice, by which the army ascended, a cannon, of which they made excellent use; but the *French*, in this respect, had the advantage, for they had in their front two field pieces. About nine in the morning, the *French* advanced a front, which shewed that they intended to do somewhat that was decisive; and the battle soon became general. The fire of the *French*, though frequent, was destitute of that steadiness, which characterizes national courage; but that of the *British*, which d

Battle of
Quebec.

which e

a which was kept up till their enemy was within forty yards of their line, took place with such effect, that the main body of the *French* was staggered. General *Wolfe* was stationed in the front of brigadier *Monckton's* division on the right, at the head of *Bragg's* regiment, and the *Louisbourg* grenadiers, opposite to the *French* battalions of *Languedoc*, *Bearn*, and *Guienne*; but their left flanked by a body of colonists, bush fighters, who took aim and wounded the brave general in the wrist, as he stood exposed in the front of his battalions. He felt the wound; but far from betraying any symptom of pain or disorder, he wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when he was wounded with another shot, and that mortal. Nature could no longer support him. He leaned on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who kneeled down, b that he might the more conveniently uphold him. While he was in the agonies of death, the lieutenant called out, "They run." "Who run?" replied the general. "The *French*." "Do the cowards run already!" were *Wolfe's* last words. "Then I die happy," and expired (T).

gained by the English.

Death of general Wolfe.

THE right continued regularly to press on with their fixt bayonets; but the most effectual execution was done by the division under *Murray*, many of whom were highlanders, who, drawing their broad swords, drove the *French* before them, some into the town, and others into the works, which they had raised at the bridge of the river *St. Charles*. The *French* still depended on their outflanking the *English*; but their right was so briskly plied by colonel *Howe*, that they obtained little or no benefit from that disposition. In the mean while, brigadier *Monckton*, who was next in command to *Wolfe*, was, by a wound thought to be mortal, which he received at the head of *Lascelles's* regiment, rendered incapable of acting; and thus the command devolved upon brigadier *Townshend*, who advanced platoons against the front, and remained at the head of *Amherst's* regiment to support his disposition, till, hearing that the command was devolved upon him, he was obliged to hasten to the center, where he new formed the troops, that were somewhat disordered by the pursuit. By this time, the battle was completely gained; and it is hard to say to what species of true *British* courage it was chiefly owing. The activity of the highlanders, the discipline of the grenadiers, and the undaunted spirit of all the other troops, rendered the victory not only glorious, but cheap, if we except the death of the brave general. But courage was not that day more conspicuous, than coolness and wisdom amongst the *British* troops. d *Bougainville*, whom we have already mentioned to have been detached with a party of observation now increased to 2000 men, appeared in the rear of the *English*, immediately after they had gained the battle; but, by the prudent dispositions, which Mr. *Townshend* made, he found himself obliged to retire to swamps, and woody fastnesses. It is true, he might, even there, have been forced; but the active commander judged better. His victory was complete, his situation favourable, and the reduction of *Quebec*, the great object of the expedition, more than probable, and yet might have been hazarded by a fresh action, and therefore Mr. *Townshend* most wisely declined to crown glory with ostentation.

WITH regard to the particulars of the battle, never was there such an immense country c conquered at so cheap an expence of men. The *English* lost about fifty men killed, and about five hundred wounded; and the *French* about 1500, but about 1000 of them were made prisoners, of whom a great number were officers. The fugitives reinforced the garrison of *Quebec*. The remainder retired to *Point au Tremble*, thence to another post called *Jaques Quartiers*, and, at last, to *Trois Rivières* and *Montreal*. The fates of the chief commanders were remarkably similar; *Montcalm*, as well as *Wolfe*, was mortally wounded, and carried to *Quebec*, where he expired in discharging the decent, but superfluous, duty of writing a letter, recommending the *French* prisoners, to *British* generosity; a request, that, of all mankind, came from him with the worst grace, but was more than punctually complied with. His second in command, like *Monckton*, was wounded, but, like him, did f not survive; for, being taken prisoner, he expired next day on board an *English* ship. Few generals ever died more lamented, or under more advantageous circumstances, than Mr. *Wolfe* did. Though not above thirty four years of age, he achieved the most permanent, if not important, conquest, that this age can boast of. The character drawn by *Tacitus* of g *Agricola* seems to have been the model of his conduct in military life; for so well was he acquainted with the classics, that he wrote with the elegance, as well as fought with the spirit, of *Cæsar*. To the genius of a hero, he added the accomplishments of a general, without disdaining even the most mechanical. His affability and openness of disposition endeared him to his soldiers, and convinced them that the strictness of discipline he required of them was equally necessary for the safety as their glory. Temperate, vigilant and observing, he reduced the military art to a system, which had those qualities for its basis; for his own heart told him, that courage is no distinguishing property in a soldier, because it is, or

His character.

(T) Some accounts bear that Mr. *Wolfe* received three wounds before he died.

ought to be, in common with all mankind; and is to be found in the ranks, equally as at the head of an army. His humanity was distinguished, and his manner of expressing himself was remarkably precise and intelligible. In his person, he was strait, well limbed and genteel; but he had something in his countenance, that was equally uncommon and unpromising; and, till he spoke, by no means prepossessing in his favour. Rigid disciplinarians may perhaps condemn his exposing his person too much in the day of battle. But this, if a fault, was one of the noblest kind; and, considering his circumstances, and the mighty expectations of his country, perhaps necessary.

Surrender and
capitulation of
Quebec.

THOUGH the battle of *Quebec* was gained, yet that city was not reduced. The works of the upper town were still in excellent order, and its garrison strong, and provided with all the requisites for making a noble defence. On the other hand, the admirals *Saunders*, *Holmes*, and *Durell*, who had all along acted with admirable, and almost unprecedented, unanimity with the land officers, made dispositions with their ships, for attacking the lower town, as general *Townshend* did for besieging the higher. Perhaps a *British* garrison, even though they had been, as that of *Quebec* was, cut off from the field, would not have capitulated; the *French* did: and, before a battery could be finished against the city, a flag of truce was hung out, and the following articles were agreed upon by eight the next morning.

Articles of capitulation demanded by M. de Ramsay, commander for his Most Christian Majesty in the higher and lower town of Québec, knight of the military order of St. Lewis, from his excellency the general commanding his Britannic majesty's forces.

ARTICLE I. *M. de Ramsay* demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.—The garrison of the town, composed of land-forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in *France*.

ARTICLE II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.—Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

ARTICLE III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia.—Granted.

ARTICLE IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers or inhabitants, shall not be touched.—Granted.

ARTICLE V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definitive treaty between their most Christian and *Britannic* majesties.—Granted.

ARTICLE VI. That the exercise of the catholic and *Roman* religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the bishop of *Quebec*, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely, and with that decency, which his character, and the sacred mysteries of the catholic, apostolic, and *Roman* religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of *Quebec*, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of *Canada* shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and *Britannic* majesties.—The free exercise of the *Roman* religion. Safe-guards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely, and with decency the functions of his office, wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of *Canada* shall have been decided between their *Britannic* and most Christian majesties.

ARTICLE VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof.—Granted.

ARTICLE VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel, settled between their most Christian and *Britannic* majesties on the 6th of *February*, 1759.—Granted.

ARTICLE IX. That before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the *English* forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.—Granted.

ARTICLE X. That the commander of the city of *Quebec* shall be permitted to send advice to the marquis *de Vaudreuil*, governor-general, of the reduction of the town; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the *French* ministry, to inform them thereof.—Granted.

ARTICLE

A ARTICLE XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution, under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation.—Granted.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before *Quebec*, the 18th of *September*, 1759.

Charles Saunders, George Townshend,
De Ramsay.

THE conclusion of this capitulation was the more sensible, because the *French* and the *Canadians* were assembling in great numbers in the rear of the *British* army, where, if any impression had been made, it might have been attended with a most dreadful reverse of fortune. We may add to this, that the season was so far advanced, as to render it unsafe for the *British* fleet to continue in the river *St. Lawrence*, or their troops to keep the field. The capitulation, which overthrew all the schemes of the *French*, being finished, the upper as well as the lower town was completely garrisoned by *British* troops. The enemy, in the mean while, were not idle, M. de *Bougainville* was ready at the head of eight hundred men, with a sufficient convoy of provisions, to have thrown himself into the town, upon the 18th, the morning on which it surrendered, the place then being accessible, because not completely invested. Next day, all kind of precautions having been taken for the preservation of order and discipline, the prisoners, who were about 1000 in number, were embarked for *France* on board transports. Thus, this amazing and almost miraculous conquest of *Quebec* was effected, while the enemy, under the command of M. de *Levi*, the governor of *Montreal*, had still an army in the field, while the fortifications of *Quebec* itself were yet undamaged, though its houses were demolished, and while the garrison had still a communication with their army.

BUT though the *French* thus notoriously failed in point of courage, they were so successful in craft, that they instigated the *Cherokees* to butcher the *English* subjects. Mr. *Lyttleton*, governor of *South Carolina*, marching in person at the head of 1100 men, obliged them to agree to a peace, which, no sooner was he returned to his government, than they broke. Mr. *Amherst*, who was still continuing his operations against the *French*, upon the application of the southern *British* colonies, sent colonel *Montgomery*, at the head of 1200 men, to chastize their perfidy; which he did in a most exemplary manner, by destroying all the villages and towns in the lower division, which were remarkably well provided and situated. The rest of the operations against the *Indians* in this campaign, belong to another part of this work. We are now to attend those against the capital of *Canada*.

The Chero-
kees chastised.

BRIGADIER *Monckton*, who, by *Wolfe's* death, became first in command there, being happily recovered of his wound, brigadier *Murray*, who was now the third in command, was appointed to the government of *Quebec*, with a garrison consisting of about 6000 men. General *Amherst* was then wintering in *New York*, from whence he could the most easily recommence his operations against *Canada* in the spring, and lord *Colvil* was stationed, with a strong squadron of ships, at *Hallifax* in *Nova Scotia*, with orders to visit *Quebec*, as soon as the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence* should be free from ice. Brigadier *Murray*, in the mean while, made indefatigable; and indeed incredible, efforts to secure his government from the attempts of his enemies, both within and without, where he knew them to be very strong. Above five hundred houses were repaired in the winter; magazines of all kinds were amassed; the fortifications were improved; the disaffected inhabitants in the neighbourhood were disarmed; and such active movements were made by surprising the advanced posts of the enemy, that not only the inhabitants of *Quebec*, but those of eleven parishes around, from whence provisions and firing could be brought, took the oaths to the *British* government; as did great numbers of the inhabitants on the south side of the river. It is surprizing, that the *French*, a nation seldom deficient in activity, should tamely suffer all those precautions to be carried into execution, with little or no resistance on their part. *Levi* and *Bougainville* must have been destitute either of resolution or courage, or both. They were at the head of troops used to the climate; they had advanced their troops to *Point au Tremble*, *St. Augustin*, and *Le Calvaire*; their main body lay at *Trois Rivières* and *Jaques Quartier*; and they were provided with snow shoes, fascines, scaling-ladders, and all the preparatives for regaining the capital of *Canada* during the winter, besides amassing large quantities of provisions at *Point Levi*. All those dispositions came to nothing, through the active vigilance of the *British* general. He surprized their magazines, cut off their communications, and beat, or carried off, their advanced posts; so that they resolved to delay the siege of *Quebec*, on pretext that they could more effectually undertake it in the spring. This pretext was not without foundation. They had still abundance of shipping left, which lay up the river, and which they refitted, so as to transport every thing proper for besieging *Quebec* in form; and when the frost broke up,

The French
besiege Que-
bec.

General Murray defeated at the battle of Syllery.

up, those ships with troops on board, falling down the river, landed at *St. Augustine*, and forced the *English* out-post to retire to the city, which they however did without loss. a

BUT the *French* preparations were not near so dangerous to the garrison, as its own condition. During the inclemency of the winter, the intense cold, the want of vegetables, and the scarcity of fresh provision, had introduced amongst the soldiers scorbutic disorders, which had cut off 1000 of them, and had rendered above 2000 of them unfit for service. Thus the garrison did not consist of above 3000 effective men. *De Levi's* army, on the other hand, amounted to eight battalions, and forty regimented companies of colony troops; so greatly improved was *Canada* of late in its strength and population. Mr. *Murray*, at first, thought of intrenching his troops on the heights of *Abraham*; but the frost continued still to be so deeply lodged in the ground, that he could not execute his lines. He then secured the landing-places at *Cape Rouge* and *Toulon*, together with his own posts, which the *French* were making dispositions to cut off. When he returned to *Quebec*, a thousand dangers and difficulties presented to him upon the expediency of standing a siege; and trusting to the well-known valour of his troops, he resolved to give the enemy battle, though their army amounted to above 12,000 men, and 500 savages; and perhaps, every thing considered, and all circumstances weighed, this resolution was as prudent as it was brave, especially as he was provided with a fine train of artillery. b

ON the 28th of *April*, in the morning, he set out at the head of his little army, scarcely 3000 men, and formed it in order of battle upon the heights. The right brigade consisted of the regiments of *Amkerst*, *Anstruther*, *Webb*, and the second battalion of the royal *Americans*, under the command of colonel *Burton*. Colonel *Frazer* commanded the left, which was formed by the highlanders, and the regiments of *Kennedy*, *Lascelles*, and *Townshend*; as the body of reserve was of *Otway's* and the third battalion of royal *Americans*. The right flank was covered by major *Dalling's* light infantry; the left by captain *Hazzen's* rangers, with an hundred volunteers under captain *Macdonald*; and two field pieces were assigned to each battalion. At first, the general descending from the heights of *Abraham*, his troops beat the enemy from some woody eminencies they had taken possession of, but their main army advanced with order and rapidity, and formed in columns, though in danger of being disordered by their advanced-post giving way. Their fire upon the *British* battalions, who pursued their van, was hot and regular, and stopt their progress; while their superiority of numbers, after their center was secured, gave them the advantage of outflanking the *English* both on the right and left, and bidding fair to close upon their rear. All this time, a most furious fire and charge was kept up from the center of the *French*, which drove the light infantry first towards the front of their own right, and then towards the rear, where they found they had suffered so much, that they could not again be brought to the charge. Notwithstanding this, the enemy could not break the *British* right wing, which was supported by *Otway's* regiment from the reserve; but the left wing, after gaining vast advantages, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to give way, the *French* fighting with unusual ardour. The disorder of the left wing communicating itself to the right, and the whole in danger of being entirely surrounded, the general thought fit to retreat; which he did with great courage and conduct, after having the third part of his army killed or wounded, and being obliged to leave the greatest part of his artillery, which it was impossible to drag off, through the wreaths of snow which still lay on the ground. In this battle the *French*, who may be said to have fought it for fighting sake, lost above 2000 men, and after it they made not the least effort to improve it. c

Quebec relieved.

IT is true, they opened the trenches before *Quebec* the very night after the battle was fought, and were employed for several days in landing cannon, mortars, and ammunition, out of three ships, which were anchored below their camp; but it was the 11th of *May* before they opened a battery, while general *Murray* made such preparations for the defence of the place, as proved that his spirit had grown upon his defeat; for he planted an hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, most of them dragged along by the soldiery, upon the ramparts. Lord *Colville* had sailed from *Hallifax* on the 22d of *April* with his fleet; but the ice, and other inconveniencies of fogs and winds retarded his progress. Commodore *Swanton* had sailed from *England* with a squadron, but had stopped in the beginning of *May*, at the isle of *Bec*, in the river *St. Lawrence*, till he could be joined by some of his squadron, from whom he had separated. One of his missing ships, the *Lowe's* *offe*, commanded by captain *Deane*, had proceeded to *Quebec*, and entered that harbour the 9th of *May*, with the joyful accounts of the only relief, which the garrison could depend upon, being at hand; and, on the 15th, the commodore himself anchored above *Point Levi*. Next morning, captain *Schomberg*, in the *Diana*, and captain *Deane*, attacked two *French* frigates, and two armed ships with a considerable number of other vessels, and totally took, burnt, or destroyed them. *Levi*, the *French* general, beheld, from the heights of *Abraham* this mortifying catastrophe, this dreadful demolition of all his towering hopes. He concluded that d

a that the ships, which had done the execution, were only the fore-runners of an invincible armada then in the river, and he formed a resolution of abandoning the siege, at the very time, when Mr. *Murray* was preparing to attack him in his entrenchments, to repair the discredit of his late defeat.

MURRAY soon learned that the enemy had abandoned their trenches, and that too, so precipitately, that they had left behind them their provisions, tools, and artillery. He endeavoured to overtake them; but, though he made some prisoners, they retreated with such haste, that he could only take a large quantity of their baggage. The artillery, which fell in his hands, amounted to thirty four pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, six mortars, four petards, with all the other stores and implements in proportion. *Levi*, after remaining some time at *Jaques Quartier*, retired to *Montreal*, where *Vaudreuil* was; and the latter, to support the spirit of the *Canadians*, circulated letters amongst them full of the most ridiculous falsehoods concerning the weakness of the *English*, and the prosperity of the *French* affairs in *Europe*: particularly, that their king was then in *Holland* at the head of 200,000 men. Those arts, childish as they may now seem, might have had their designed effect upon so uninformed a people as the *Canadians*, had it not been for their recent and severe experience of *English* power and courage. But his credit, great as it was, could not take from them their feeling; so that the inaccessibility of the country was all he had to depend upon, till a general peace could be effected in *Europe*.

c *MR. AMHERST*, notwithstanding all the discouragements he had met with, did not relax in his dispositions for completing the conquest of *Canada*. He sent colonel *Haviland* to take possession of the *Isle aux Noix* in lake *Champlain*, and from thence to gain the banks of the river *St. Lawrence*: then he dispatched instructions to general *Murray* to advance up the river to *Montreal*, with all the force he could spare from his garrison. He himself, with the main body of the army, consisting of about 10,000 men, including *Indians*, leaving the province of *New York*, was to proceed by the rivers of the *Mohawks* and *Oneidas* to lake *Ontario*, from whence he was to fall down the river *St. Lawrence*, and to join Mr. *Murray* at *Montreal*. Except the expeditions of *Genghis Khan*, perhaps so arduous a march as this never was projected, and never was there a march, depending on so many distant events, so happily accomplished. It was the latter end of *June*, before the general, after providing all the necessary means of navigating the lake *Ontario*, left *Schenectady*; and, on the 9th of *July*, he reached *Oswego*, the place of his army's rendezvous. Here they were joined by 1000 *Troquois*, under Sir *William Johnson*; and, on the 10th of *August*, notwithstanding the numerous inconveniencies and difficulties, that were to be obviated and conquered, the whole army was embarked on lake *Ontario*; a small detachment having been sent before in vessels, to prepare the way for the embarkation to advance up the river *St. Lawrence*. On the 27th, he entered that river, and took possession of *Swegatchie*, and afterwards invested *L'Isle Royale*, which lies farther down the river, and is one of its most important posts. After having run ashore a *French* sloop, and taken another, batteries being erected, the fort of *L'Isle Royale* was briskly cannonaded, and surrendered on capitulation by its commandant M. *Pouchaut*. The general thought this post of so much consequence, that he repaired it, and left it garrisoned. His greatest difficulty was still to surmount, we mean his navigation from thence to the river *St. Lawrence*; which was rendered extremely dangerous by the rapids he had to encounter. Yet, even this impediment was vanquished with the loss of some artillery and stores, forty-six battoes, seventeen whale-boats, a row-galley, and above eighty men. This discouraging voyage was performed, from the time of the troops leaving *Schenectady*, to that of their landing at *Montreal*, which they did on the 6th of *September*, in two months and seventeen days. The enemy, by this time, more than probably had given over all serious thoughts of making a defence. The *British* *Indians* were exasperated to the highest degree, by the recent marks they had discovered during the voyage, of the cruelties of the *French* savages, and eagerly waited for an opportunity to retaliate them. *Montreal* was reduced to the most dreadful distress, by an universal famine; the *Canadians* never having been remarkably provident, and discovering the gross impostures, that had been practised upon them, they conceived both a hatred and contempt for their commanders. Add to this, that, though the town of *Montreal* itself might have made a good resistance against provincials and *Indians*, yet its fortifications were in no condition to stand a regular siege, against an army provided as that under *Amherst* was. But it is now time to attend the motions of general *Murray*.

Progress of
general Am-
herst,

who takes
Isle Royale;

and, after a
dangerous
voyage,

By the manifestoes he published, he had disposed the inhabitants of the south shore of the river *St. Lawrence* to submit and take the oath of neutrality, while lord *Rollo* made himself master of *Trois Rivières* without resistance, and disarmed the inhabitants on the north side. It is amazing, that *Levi*, the *French* general, who kept at *Murray*'s rear with his army, made no attempt to stop his progress, but abandoned every post he came to.

When *Murray* came to the village of *Sorel*, he found it deserted, and the inhabitants in arms, “ I was, therefore, (says he, in his letter to the secretary of state, which does immortal honour to his humanity) under the cruel necessity of burning the greatest part of the houses of this poor unhappy people. I pray God, this example may suffice, for my nature revolts, when this becomes a necessary part of my duty.” On the 24th, he arrived at *Contecaur*, which lies within nine miles of *Montreal*, under the discouraging circumstance of not having heard all this while of general *Amberst* or his operations; but he was resolved, at all events, to have attempted the conquest of *Montreal* with his own troops.

lands at Montreal.

1760.

which capitulates.

In the mean while, Mr. *Amberst* landed at *La Chine* without opposition, and taking precautions for the security of his boats, after a march of two leagues, he formed his army on a plain before the town, being provided with two twelve pounders, and some other pieces of field artillery. His troops passed all that night under arms, and next morning, being the 7th of September, *Vaudreuil* sent *Bougainville* and another officer with a letter, proposing a capitulation, and a copy of the articles he was willing to agree to. All that this produced was a cessation of arms for a few hours; and *Amberst* returned the terms, which he was willing to grant. *Levi*, who, by this time, had arrived with his troops at *Montreal*, interposed to have the *English* terms mitigated, and general *Murray* having now landed below the town, *Amberst*'s terms were accepted of on the morning of the 8th, with mutual expressions of politeness on both sides.

THE chief of the articles were, That the garrison of *Montreal* was to lay down their arms, and not to serve during the war, as were all the *French* troops at *Detroit*, *Michillimakinac*, and other places of *Canada*, the whole of which was now to be considered as being subject to his *Britannic* majesty. The *Canadian* militia were to return home without molestation, but all warlike stores were to be delivered up, through the whole province, to the *British* army; while the marquis of *Vaudreuil*, with all the chief military officers, who should chuse it, were to be conveyed in *British* ships to *France*, as likewise were all the civil officers who desired the same. The exercise of the *Roman* catholic religion was to continue to the inhabitants under certain restrictions. In short, the capitulation was extremely favourable to the *French*, considering their situation; but the wording of it, it being drawn up by themselves, was tedious and tautologous. We shall here but just mention, that general *Murray*'s difficult voyage from *Quebec* to *Montreal*, was so happily conducted by captain *Deane*, that he did not lose a boat or a man during the whole; and that before the capitulation was signed, colonel *Haviland*, with his detachment, landed on the south side of the river opposite to *Montreal*. Thus was effected the conquest of this extensive province; and it would be doing injustice to the chief officers employed under the general, not to insert his own account of their conduct, which he sent home to the government of *England*.

A passage of his letter to the secretary of state.

“ I SHOULD not (said he) do justice to general *Murray* and colonel *Haviland*, if I did not assure you they have executed the orders I gave them to the utmost of my wishes. I must also beg leave to say I am obliged to brigadier-general *Gage* for the assistance he has given me, and I have taken the liberty to give, in public orders, my assurances to the three armies, that I would take the first opportunity of acquainting the king with the zeal and bravery, which has always been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the regular and provincial troops; as also by his majesty's faithful *Indian* allies. Sir *William Johnson* has taken unwearied pains in keeping the *Indians* in humane bounds; and I have the pleasure to assure you, that not a peasant, woman, or child, has been hurt by them, or a house burnt, since I entered what was the enemy's country. I shall now use my utmost endeavours for settling every thing in this country, to keep a sure possession of it; and I shall immediately dispose of the troops in such a manner, that I may completely finish the forts, which were begun last year; and, as far as the season will permit me, I shall repair or erect such forts or posts, as may be necessary for strengthening and insuring the future command of the lakes, with the possession of every part of the south side of the river *St. Lawrence*.”

French ships destroyed in the bay of Chaleurs.

No sooner was the capitulation signed than colonel *Haldiman* took possession of *Montreal* with the grenadiers, and the light infantry of the line, and brought off in triumph the colours of *Pepperell*'s and *Shirley*'s regiments, that had been taken at *Oswego*, and deposited at *Montreal* as trophies. Brigadier general *Gage* was appointed governor of the place, with a garrison of 2000 men. Mr. *Murray* returned to *Quebec*, where his garrison was augmented to 4000. During Mr. *Amberst*'s expedition, the object of which was no secret to the *French*, that court had given orders for equipping the *Machaux* frigate of thirty guns, two large storeships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels, most of which had been taken from the *British* traders, which was accordingly done. While they were on their voyage they received intelligence of the *British* squadron having proceeded up the river *St. Lawrence*; upon which they thought proper to take shelter in the bay of *Chaleurs* on the coast of

a of *Acadia*. Captain *Byron* was then senior officer of the *British* ships at *Louisbourg*, and receiving intelligence from brigadier general *Whitmore* of the enemy lying at *Ristigouchi* at the bottom of that bay, he immediately sailed with the *Fame*, *Dorsetshire*, *Achilles*, *Scarborough*, and *Repulse*, and destroyed them all, together with two batteries and two hundred houses, besides ruining the *French* settlements there.

THIS gave the finishing blow to the power of *France* upon the continent of *North America*; an event productive of many reflexions. Had the *French* court exerted half the expence of men, money, and shipping, in establishing this colony, that it did in endeavouring to save it, it must have been inaccessible to the *British* arms. Though enough cannot be said in praise of the courage and conduct of the officers and soldiers, who achieved the conquest, yet it cannot be denied, that great part of it was owing to their good fortune. The immense preparations made by three separate armies, to reduce such a place as *Montreal*, exceeded perhaps the importance of the object; but it is without a precedent in history, that the three armies, which marched against it in such different directions, should all meet at the same place within twenty-four hours of each other. The province in general was in a worse condition than our generals seem to have apprehended, and when the inhabitants appeared before Mr. *Amherst*, misery and famine were painted in their countenances; so that in fact they were saved by being subdued; for the *British* general was so humane as to give them bread and provisions from his own stores. The *French* colonists of *Miramichi*, *Reckebou*, and other places, newly colonized, had before this time made their submission to colonel *Frye*, the commandant of fort *Cumberland* at *Ghigneto* in the most formal manner, and had engaged for themselves and their constituents, that they would in the spring repair with their ships and effects to *Bay Verte*, there to be disposed of according to the direction of colonel *Lawrence*, the *British* governor of *Hallifax*. In this submission they were accompanied by two *Mickmack* deputies, who likewise put themselves under the protection of the *English*.

All Canada reduced, and ceded to the English by the treaty of Paris.

THE great object of the war between *Great Britain* and *France*, being now accomplished on the part of the former, by the reduction of all *Canada*, and thereby disabling the *French* from extending their encroachments upon the *English* possessions, which were now fully secured; the fate of that province became a capital consideration at the conferences for peace, which were opened between the two crowns, soon after the accession of his present majesty king *George* the third, in 1761. The public is sufficiently apprized of the progress of that negotiation, which is foreign to this part of our work, any farther than it relates to *Canada*. By *Vaudreuil's* capitulation at *Montreal*, the *English* general insisted upon him and his officers giving up all the charts and plans relating to that colony, or its dependencies; and according to the report of the *English* officers, *Vaudreuil* made them far more extensive than Mr. *Bussy*, the *French* minister at *London*, and his court, were willing to admit of; but the *English* still insisted upon having the boundaries fixed as they had been described by *Vaudreuil*. This was an important article and made some noise; upon which *Vaudreuil* wrote a letter to the duke *de Choiseul*, solemnly disclaiming all that had been alledged by the *English* on that head, and that he had never furnished the *English* with any maps; but that a *British* officer afterwards coming to him with a map, he told him the limits marked upon it were not just, and that *Louisiana* not being comprehended under the term, *Canada*, which he had always made use of, extended on one side to the carrying-place of the *Miamis*, which is the height of the lands, whose rivers run into the *Ouabache*, and on the other to the head of the river *Illinois*.

October 30, 1761.

THE assertion of this *Frenchman* did not greatly draw the attention of the people of *England*, who were divided on another head, namely, whether it was most eligible to give up *Canada*, or the *French* islands that had been reduced in the *West Indies*. The truth is, interested considerations had a great share in this dispute; but the government, as well as the majority of the public, was of opinion, that, if a cession must be made, it ought to be that of the islands; and that *Canada* should be retained, as best answering the original purposes of the war. The subsequent advantages gained by *Great Britain*, rendered the disputes concerning the limits of *Canada* of no significance; because not only that country, but *Louisiana* itself, all but *New Orleans*, and a district about it, was ceded to *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris*, on the 10th of *February*, 1763. By the 13th article of that treaty, his most Christian majesty renounces all pretensions, which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the king of *Great Britain*: Moreover, his most Christian majesty cedes and guaranties to his said *Britannic* majesty, in full right, *Canada*, with all its dependencies; as well as the island of *Cape Breton*, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of *St. Lawrence*; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and

and all rights, acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian king, and the crown of *France*, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of *Great Britain*, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee, under any pretence, or to disturb *Great Britain* in the possessions abovementioned. His *Britannic* majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of *Canada*. He will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new *Roman* catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the *Romish* church, as far as the laws of *Great Britain* permit. His *Britannic* majesty further agrees, that the *French* inhabitants, or others, who had been the subjects of the most Christian king in *Canada*, may retire with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his *Britannic* majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for their emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present peace.

Reflexion.

We shall conclude our account of *Canada* with one reflexion, highly interesting to its new possessors, which is, that it is greatly to be wished, before the country had been ceded to *Great Britain*, some care had been taken to have obtained the consent of the savages, as to what regards their subjection to our crown. It already appears from many bloody effects, that they either did not consider the *French* as being authorized to subject them to *England*; or that the jesuits and popish missionaries are now exciting them to renew all their barbarities against our fellow-subjects; but it is to be hoped, that the prudent and vigorous measures taken by our government, will soon have their due effect, not only in repressing, but humanizing those barbarians.

END of the FOURTEENTH VOLUME.